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THE  
ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL  
HISTORY  
OF  
THE POPES OF ROME

DURING THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY SARAH AUSTIN.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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# C O N T E N T S .

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BOOK VII.

1590—1630.





## CHAPTER I.

### PROGRESS OF THE RESTORATION OF CATHOLICISM.

1590—1617.



#### INTRODUCTION.

It appears to me that I do not deceive myself, nor overstep the province of the historian, if I here pause a moment to indicate an universal law of social life, which the period under consideration naturally suggests.

It is indisputable that the great movements which stir society from its very foundations, are invariably produced by the workings of the living spirit of man. The sense of moral and intellectual want, which disposes men to seize on new opinions, often lies for centuries fermenting in the fathomless depths of the heart of society. At length, in the fulness of time, arises one of those master-spirits, endowed with the genius, energy and confidence which fit a man to wield these moral forces; to reveal to his age the wants of which it had but a dim and perplexed consciousness; to interpret to it its own confused and half-formed opinions, and to give them shape, compactness and strength.

It is of the very nature of these moral forces to be eager to carry the world with them—to strive to bear down all resistance. The greater however their success, and the wider the circle which they embrace, the more inevitably do they come in contact with peculiar and independent elements of social existence which they cannot completely subdue or absorb. Hence it happens, that as they are of necessity in a state of continual progress, they must continually undergo change and modification. The foreign elements which they gather up in their course and incorporate with themselves, tinge them with their own color; tendencies are developed, events take place, which are not unfrequently at variance with the predominant character of the movement. These heterogeneous elements necessarily share in the general growth of the body of which they form a part; the important matter is, that they should not acquire a predominance which would completely destroy the

unity, and change the principle, to which it owes its compactness and its character.

We have seen how powerfully internal discrepancies and profound contrasts were at work within the bosom of reviving and restoring papacy. But the master-idea retained its victory; the highest unity of catholicism, though not perhaps with its former all-embracing power, remained predominant, and advanced with steady course, unimpeded by moments of internal strife, from which indeed it often borrowed fresh energy for new conquests.

Its projects now bespeak our attention. What was their success, what the social revolutions they occasioned, and what the resistance they encountered from within or from without, are questions of the highest importance to the human race.

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§ 1. MEASURES UNDERTAKEN FOR THE SPREAD OF CATHOLICISM  
IN POLAND AND THE NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES.

We have already expressed our opinion, that the protestants, who for some time had decidedly the ascendancy in Poland, would have been strong enough to raise a king of their own religion to the throne; but that even they ultimately thought it more advantageous to their interests to have a catholic sovereign; since in the pope he would be forced to recognise a superior power, and a supreme judge. If such were the motives by which they were guided, they drew down upon themselves a severe punishment for this departure from protestant principles.

For it was precisely by means of a catholic king that the pope was enabled to wage war against them.

Besides, of all the foreign ministers in Poland, the papal nuncio alone had the privilege of an audience of the king without the presence of a senator:—we know well what sort of men filled that office; they were dexterous and prudent enough to foster and turn to account the confidential intercourse which was thus open to them.

Cardinal Bolognetto was the nuncio in Poland at the beginning of the year 1580. He complains of the inconveniences of the climate, the cold, (to which an Italian was doubly susceptible,) the suffocation of the small heated rooms, and the mode of life, so thoroughly strange to him; nevertheless he accompanied king Stephen from Warsaw to Cracow, from Wilna to Lublin—throughout the kingdom; sometimes indeed in rather a melancholy mood, but not the less indefatigable: during the campaign he kept up a constant correspondence with Stephen, and maintained an unbroken connection between the interests of Rome and the person of the king.

We have a detailed account of the manner in which he performed

his office, and by this we are made acquainted with the nature of his undertakings and the measure of his success.\*

Above all things he impressed upon the king the necessity of filling the government offices exclusively with catholics; of tolerating the catholic mode of worship alone in the royal towns, and of re-establishing titles; measures which, about this same time, were taken in other countries, and which were either the causes or the signs of the revival of catholicism.

He did not now succeed in his attempt; king Stephen did not think he could venture so far, and declared that he was not yet sufficiently powerful.

Nevertheless, this prince had not only catholic convictions, but an innate zeal for the interests of the church; on many other points he gave in to the representations of the nuncio. The Jesuit colleges in Cracow, Grodno, and Pultusk were established by the immediate bounty of the king; the new calendar was introduced without difficulty, and the greater portion of the decrees of the council of Trent put in execution. But the most important point was the king's determination to confer the bishoprics in future only on catholics.† Protestants had possessed themselves of the highest as well as the subordinate ecclesiastical dignities; the nuncio was now empowered to summon them before his tribunal, and to depose them; a matter of the greatest importance, since a seat and voice in the senate were attached to the episcopal office. It was this very political character of the ecclesiastical institutions of Poland which the nuncio chiefly sought to turn to account. He most earnestly enjoined the bishops to unanimity in their measures at the diet, and these measures he prescribed to them; with the most powerful, namely, the archbishop of Gnesen and the bishop of Cracow, he had personally formed a strict friendship which was extremely advantageous to him; and he thus succeeded not only in inspiring the clergy with renovated zeal, but acquired a great influence in temporal matters. The English had proposed a commercial treaty with the Poles, which promised to be very advantageous, especially to Dantzic; the nuncio alone prevented its conclusion, chiefly because the English required the most distinct promise that they should be allowed to trade in peace, without molestation on account of their religion.‡

\* Spannocchi, *Relatione all' Ill<sup>mo</sup> Rev<sup>mo</sup> Cardinal Rusticucci, segretario di N. S. Papa Sisto V, delle cose di Polonia intorno alla religione e delle azioni del cardinal Bolognetto in quattro anni ch'egli è stato nunzio in quella provincia.*

† "Sendosi (il re) determinato che nessuno possa tenere chiese che non sia della vera fede romana." (Spannocchi.)

‡ Spannocchi, "Il che non prima venne agli orecchj del Bolognetto, che andò a trovare S. M<sup>a</sup>, e con efficacissime ragioni mostrò quanto esorbitante cosa sarebbe stata che avesse concesso per publico decreto una tanto obbrobriosa setta, e come non senza nascosto inganno e speranza d'importantissime conseguenze quella scellerata donna voleva che si dichiarasse così per decreto potersi esercitar la setta Anglicana in quel regno, dove tutto il mondo pur troppo sa che si per-

In short, whatever might be the moderation of king Stephen's proceedings, it is certain that catholicism first materially regained its ascendancy under him.

But this change acquired a higher degree of importance from the fact that the most powerful party in Poland, that of the Zamoskies, to whom, chiefly by the favor of the king, the highest offices of the state were entrusted, now also assumed a catholic complexion;\* and it was this faction which, after the death of Stephen, decided the election of his successor. The Zamoskies placed upon the throne that Swedish prince whom Catherina Jagellonica bore in prison; and who from his earliest years, either from original inclination, or from the influence of his mother, or perhaps from a hope of succeeding to the Polish crown, or from a combination of all these motives, had remained immovably firm in the catholic faith, in the midst of a protestant country. The character of mind and opinions of Sigismund III were entirely moulded by those catholic impulses which at that period agitated all Europe.

Pope Clement VIII says, in one of his instructions, that he had, while he was yet cardinal and legate in Poland, advised that prince to distribute all public appointments in future exclusively to catholics. This advice had already been often given, by Paul IV, by cardinal Hosius,† and also by Bolognetto; but now for the first time it found a soil fitted to receive it. A measure, which neither Sigismund Augustus, nor Stephen could be prevailed upon to adopt, Sigismund III showed a ready determination to carry through. He established it as a principle to promote only catholics, and pope Clement had perfect reason to ascribe the progress of catholicism in Poland to this measure above all others.

The highest attribute of the kingly power in Poland consisted in the distribution of the great public offices and dignities. All appointments, whether temporal or spiritual, great or small, (and they were said to amount to nearly twenty thousand,) were in the gift of the king. It is obvious what an effect must have been produced by Sigismund's resolution to fill not only ecclesiastical but all offices whatsoever with catholics; to extend the "beneficence of the state," as the Italians once expressed it, the full rights of citizenship in the highest sense of the word, to his co-religionists alone. A man's success in life depended mainly on his skill in ingratiating

*metta il credere in materia di religione quel che piace a chi si sia: con queste ed altre efficacissime ragioni il re Stefano rimase talmente persuaso che promesse non voler mai far menzione alcuna di religione, in qualunque accordo avesse fatto con quella regina o suoi mercanti."*

\* Spannocchi: "Alle dignità senatorie et all' entrate del regno dicono hoggi non ammettersi se non i dependenti da esso cancelliero, acciò che da nessuno venga impedito di far quello che ad esso ed al re più tornea di piacere di fare."

† In a letter dated 14th of March, 1568, he begs the king to declare "nullis se deinceps vel honores vel præfecturas vel quæcunque tandem alia munera publice mandaturum nisi qui Christum aperte confessus fuerit et omni perfidia sive Lutherica sive Calvinistica sive anabaptistarum nuntium remiserit."

himself with the bishops and the Jesuits. The Starost Ludwig of Mortangen was created Woivode of Pomerellia, chiefly because he presented his house in Thorn to the company of Jesus. In consequence of this a feud arose between the cities and the nobles in the Polish-prussian provinces, which assumed a religious complexion. Both parties had originally embraced protestantism, but the nobles now returned to their ancient faith. The example of the houses of Kostka, Dzialinsky and Konopat, which rose to power by abjuring protestantism, exercised the strongest influence upon others. The Jesuits' schools were chiefly attended by the young nobility; and we soon find that quarrels arose between the scholars of the Jesuits and the citizens' sons in those towns which still remained protestant. The revived spirit of catholicism was chiefly displayed amongst the nobility. The college at Pultusk contained four hundred pupils, all noble.\* The general impulse originating in the spirit of the times, the instruction given by the Jesuits, the newly awakened zeal which animated the whole body of the clergy, and the favor of the court, all conspired to dispose the Polish nobility towards a return to catholicism.

It naturally followed that, encouraged by success, the government soon took stronger measures, and that those who did not recant, were made to feel its displeasure.

The Catholic clergy of Poland urgently renewed a claim formerly set up; viz: that all ecclesiastical buildings which had been founded by the faithful, at the suggestion or with the co-operation of bishops and frequently of popes, were the unalienable property of their church. In all places where the Catholic service had been excluded from the parish churches, the bishops resorted to legal proceedings founded upon that claim. The courts of law were now filled with zealous catholics; and, as might be anticipated, the same suits were instituted and the same judgments obtained, in one town after another. It was of no avail that the sufferers appealed to the king and reminded him of that confederation, by the terms of which equal protection had been promised to both confessions: he replied, that the very meaning of equal protection was, that each party should be assisted to regain its own rights, and that the confederation contained no clause securing the ecclesiastical buildings to the protestants.† In a few years the catholics regained possession of all the parish churches in the towns: "In the parish churches," exclaims a Polish writer, "the ancient God is worshipped;" in the smaller towns of Russian-Poland the Lutheran service was performed in a room of the town-hall; among the larger, Dantzic alone retained its parish church.‡

\* Maffei, ii, 140.

† The circumstantial letter of the Waiwode of Culm, translated by Lengnich, *Polnisch-preussische Geschichte*, vol. iv, p. 291, particularly details these motives.

‡ Lengnich, *Nachricht von der Religions änderung in Preussen*, § 27.

Elated by the success which had crowned their efforts, the catholics were no longer contented with their triumphs over the protestants, but turned their eyes to the Greek schismatics.

On this point too, the king and the pope united their influence; and it appears that the threat of exclusion from a seat and a vote in the senate had great effect on the Greek bishops, some of whom, including Wladika of Wladimir, accordingly determined, in the year 1595, to join the Romish church according to the standard fixed by the council of Florence. Their delegates proceeded to Rome; papal and royal commissioners appeared in the province; the ceremony of reconciliation with the church, at which a Jesuit, the king's confessor, preached a sermon full of zeal and enthusiasm, was performed; and in this part of the Polish dominions also, churches were restored to the catholics.

This was an immense advance in so few years. "But shortly before," says a papal nuncio in the year 1598, "it appeared as if heresy would completely supersede catholicism in Poland; now, catholicism bears heresy to its tomb." Our inquiries into the causes of this revolution lead us to attribute it principally to the personal character and disposition of the king; and these, from his peculiar position, rapidly led him to far more extensive projects.

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## § 2. ATTEMPT UPON SWEDEN.

By the death of his father John, in the year 1592, Sigismund became king of Sweden.

This monarchy was not indeed an absolute one, nor was Sigismund unfettered by personal pledges—for in the year 1587 he had signed a solemn engagement not only to alter nothing in the ceremonies of the church, but even to promote none but protestants. He now pledged himself anew, to maintain the privileges of the clergy as well as of the laity; neither to love nor hate any one on account of his religion, nor in any manner to endeavor to prejudice the church of the country. Yet in spite of these securities, all the hopes of the catholics and all the fears of the protestants were instantly excited.

The earnest wish of the catholics to have a king of their own faith in Sweden was now granted them. Surrounded by a catholic retinue which even included a papal nuncio, Malaspina, Sigismund made his entry into his hereditary dominions in July, 1593. Already had his progress through the Prussian provinces been marked by the advancement of catholicism: Bartholomeus Powsinsky, a papal envoy, hastened to meet him at Dantzic, with a present of 20,000 scudi, "a small contribution," as it was called in his instructions, "towards the expenses which would attend the re-establishment of catholicism."

These instructions are very remarkable, as showing with what confidence this re-establishment was hoped for and recommended in Rome.\*

“Powsinsky,” they state, “a confidential servant of his holiness and vassal of your majesty, has been commissioned to express to your majesty the interest taken by the pope in the joyful events which have lately occurred to you; the safe delivery of your wife, the happy issue of the last diet, but above all, the greatest felicity which could have befallen you, namely, the opportunity now afforded you to re-establish catholicism in your hereditary dominions.” The pope failed not to indicate some new points of view under which this work might be regarded.

“Without doubt it was through God’s special providence,” he adds; “that several sees were at that moment vacant—among others the archbishopric of Upsal.† Should the king delay for a moment to remove the protestant bishops still remaining in the country, he would assuredly at any rate fill the vacant benefices with orthodox believers.” The envoy was furnished with a list of Swedish catholics who appeared qualified for those offices. The pope expressed his conviction that these bishops would immediately endeavor to secure the services of catholic priests and schoolmasters. It must be the king’s care to put it in their power to do so.

“It might perhaps be possible,” he adds, “immediately to found a Jesuits’ college in Stockholm; but if this could not be effected, the king might certainly take with him into Poland as many young Swedes of good capacity as he could find, and have them educated at his court in the catholic faith by some of the most zealous bishops, or in the Polish Jesuits’ colleges.”

The pope’s first object here, as elsewhere, was to reduce the clergy once more to obedience; but the nuncio had another project in view, viz. to instigate the catholics who still remained in Sweden, to institute legal proceedings against the protestants; for the king would then occupy the position of judge over both parties, and every arbitrary change would assume the appearance of a legal decision.‡ He was only sorry that Sigismund had not brought with him a stronger armed force to give effect to his edicts.

There is however no proof that the king had fully adopted the views of the Roman court; judging from his own declarations, it

\* *Instruzione al Sr. Bartolommeo Powsinsky alla M<sup>a</sup> del re di Polonia e Suetia.* (MS. Rom.)

† “Intendendosi restar vacante l’arcivescovato di Upsalia, che la divina provvidenza per più facilitare le cose del suo servitio non ha permesso che in due anni sia stato provveduto dal re morto, haverà S. M<sup>a</sup> particolare pensiero a pigliare un arcivescovo cattolico.”

‡ *Ragguaglio dell’ andata del Re di Polonia in Suetia.* (MS. Rom.) “Erano tuttavia nel regno alcune reliquie de’ cattolici: et il nuntio seguendo la forma già tenuta da Cl. Madruzzo, per fortificar l’ autorità dell’ imperatore, cercava di costituire il re giudice tra li cattolici e gli heretici di Suetia, inducendo quelli a querelarsi appresso il re dell’ insolenza e delle ingiurie di questi.”

would appear that his intentions at first were only to procure for the catholics some few immunities, and that he did not contemplate the overthrow of the protestant constitution. But would it be in his power to restrain the fanatical impulses which actuated his court, and the representatives of which were in his train? Was it to be believed that he could stop at that precise point, when he should have reached it?

The protestants were not disposed to abide the trial. The views which were cherished by the one party called forth from the other an instant and almost unconscious opposition.

Immediately after the death of John, the Swedish councillors of state—names illustrious both in the earlier and later history of Sweden: Gyllenstiern, Bielke, Baner, Sparre, Oxenstiern—united themselves to the brother of the late and uncle of the present king, another of the sons of Gustavus Vasa, the zealously protestant Duke Charles; “agreed to recognise him, in the absence of his nephew, as governor of the kingdom, and promised him obedience in all things that he should do for the maintenance of the Augsburg confession in Sweden.” In furtherance of this object a council was held at Upsal in March, 1593. The Augsburg confession of faith was here proclaimed afresh, the liturgy of king John condemned, and everything in the existing ritual which retained a trace of catholic ceremonies, altered; the rite of exorcism was retained, but in a milder form, and for the sake of its moral significance;\* and a declaration was drawn up, that no heresy, whether popish or Calvinistic would be tolerated in the country.† In the same spirit appointments were made to public offices. Many former defenders of the liturgy now renounced it; but this abjuration did not in all cases avail to protect those who made it from dismissal. The vacant dioceses, upon the filling up of which such magnificent schemes had been founded in Rome, were bestowed upon Lutherans; the archbishopric of Upsal upon M. Abraham Angermaunus, the most vehement opponent of the liturgy. The clergy, by an immense majority, placed at their head the most strenuous Lutheran they could find; he had two hundred and forty-three, and his next competitor only thirty-eight votes.

Up to the latter years of king John’s reign a moderate party, not so directly opposed to papacy as the protestants in other countries,

\* For we are not to believe with Messenius, that it was done away with. The words “Faar här uth” were merely changed for the words “Wick här ifra;” and the reply made to Duke Charles, who required that the forms of exorcism should be entirely abolished, was, “retinendum esse exorcismum tanquam liberam ceremoniam propter utilem commonefactionem ad auditorium et baptismi spectatores permanentem;” a view of the case to which the duke assented. Baaz, *Inventarium*, iv, x, 525. In Baaz may be found the documents, in general tolerably complete.

† “Concilium definit,” it further says, “ne hæreticis advenientibus detur locus publice conveniendi.”



had existed, and by their aid Sigismund might easily have brought about a change such as the catholics wished; but now the extreme party had been beforehand with them, and protestantism had established itself more firmly than ever.

Even the royal prerogatives of Sigismund were not spared. He was no longer considered as the true and legitimate king, but rather as a foreigner possessing a claim to the throne; an apostate, who must be jealously watched as dangerous to religion. The great majority of the nation, unanimous in their protestant convictions, joined duke Charles.

The king was well aware of his isolated position on his arrival. He could do nothing, and only endeavored to evade the demands made upon him.

But while he awaited in silence what time would produce, the hostile creeds, which had never yet stood in such direct opposition in Sweden, came into open collision. The Lutheran preachers broke out into invectives against the papists, and the Jesuits who preached in the court chapel were not slow in answering them. The catholics in the king's suit took possession of a Lutheran church on occasion of a burial, after which the protestants held it necessary for some time to abstain from using their desecrated sanctuary. These hostile demonstrations soon led to acts of violence; the heiduks had recourse to force to obtain possession of a pulpit which was shut, and the nuncio was accused of having ordered stones to be thrown from the windows of his house upon some young protestant choristers; in short, the mutual exasperation increased every moment.

At length the court proceeded to Upsal to celebrate the coronation. The Swedes demanded above all things the confirmation of the decrees of their council. The king resisted, declaring that he desired only toleration for the catholics; indeed he would have been contented, had he been permitted to entertain a hope of having power to grant this at some future time. But the Swedish protestants were inflexible. It is said, that the king's own sister\* told them, that it was his nature to make a long and obstinate resistance, but at length to yield; and that she impressed on them the necessity of reiterating their attacks upon him. They demanded absolutely that in all parts of the kingdom the doctrines of the Augsburg confession should be taught purely and exclusively in the churches and schools.† At their head stood Duke Charles. The position which he occupied gave him an independence and a power such as he could never have hoped to attain; and, by inevitable consequence, his personal intercourse with the king daily became more disagree-

\* The Ragguaglio calls her "ostinatissima eretica."

† Messenius, vii, 19: "Absolute urgebant ut confessio Augustana qualis sub ultimo Gustavi regimine et primi Johannis in patria vigisset, talis in posterum unica sola et ubique tam in ecclesiis quam in scholis perpetuo floreret."

able and bitter. The king was, as we have seen, almost without an armed force, while the duke assembled several thousand men on his own domains around the town. At last the Estates plainly declared to the king, that they would not do homage to him if he refused to comply with their demands.\*

The unfortunate prince felt all the painful embarrassment of his situation. He could not yield without violence to his conscience; he could not refuse without the loss of a throne.

In this perplexity he first asked the nuncio whether he might not give way; but no arguments could induce Malaspiua to sanction such a course.

The king next addressed himself to the Jesuits in his suite; they took upon themselves a responsibility which the nuncio had not dared to accept. They declared that, in consideration of the necessity of the case, and of the undeniable and imminent danger in which the king was placed, he might comply with the demands of the heretics, without offending God. The king was not satisfied until he held in his hands their decision in writing. Under the shelter of this authority he proceeded to grant the demands of his subjects; he confirmed the decrees of Upsal, the exclusive exercise of religion as prescribed by the genuine unaltered Augsburg confession, without the smallest admixture of foreign doctrine, in church or school; and promised that none should be employed in the public service who were not prepared to defend that confession.† He recognised the appointments of the prelates who had been nominated to their sees in opposition to his will.

But could his catholic heart find peace in such a state of things? Could his Romanist court content itself with a result which it must so thoroughly condemn? It would have been most unreasonable to expect it.

They had recourse to the expedient so often employed in similar cases; they protested. "The nuncio," says the report of the transaction sent to Rome, in the words of which I can best relate this occurrence, "was most zealously employed in devising some mode of escape from the irregularity which had taken place. He succeeded in inducing the king, for the safety of his conscience, to make a written protest, in which he declared that what he had conceded had been wrung from him by force and against his will. The nuncio further prevailed on the king to make corresponding concessions to the catholics, that so he might be pledged to both

\* *Supplicatio ordinum*: "Quodsi cl. rex denegaverit snbdtis regiam approbationem horum postulatorum, inhbent nostri fratres domi remanentes publicum homagium esse S. R. M. præstandum."

† The words however run so, that they leave open a chance of evasion. "Ad officia publica nulli promovebuntur in patria qui religionem evangelicam nolunt salvam, quin potius qui eam serio defendere volunt publicis officiis præfiantur." (*Generalis confirmatio postulatorum regis Sigismundi, in Baaz, 537.*)

parties in Sweden as well as in Poland, in like manner as the emperor of Germany. With this the king was satisfied.”\*

This is a most curious device; one protest was not enough; so in order in some degree to get rid of an obligation formally incurred by oath to the one party, the king took an oath of directly contrary tendency to the other. Thus, being equally pledged to both parties, he would be compelled to bestow equal justice.

The Swedes were astonished that the king, after such solemn promises, should yet grant the catholics a protection which he took little trouble to conceal. His conduct doubtless arose from this secret pledge. “Even before his departure,” continues our informant with complacency, “the king conferred offices and dignities upon true catholics. He made four governors, though heretics, swear to protect the catholics and their religion, and re-established in four places the exercise of the catholic service.”

These were measures which might appease the unquiet conscience of a bigoted prince, but which could have no other than a mischievous influence upon the affairs of the country; for the constant irritation in which they kept the Estates of Sweden, strengthened and exasperated their hostility to the court.

The clergy reformed their schools in the strictest Lutheran spirit, and directed a special thanksgiving for the maintenance of the true religion “against the devices and stratagems of the Jesuits;” in the year 1595 a resolution was passed at the diet of Sudercoping, that all exercise of the catholic rites, wheresoever the king might have established them, was again to be prohibited. “We unanimously resolve,” is the expression of the estates, “that all sectaries hostile to the Lutheran religion, who have established themselves in this country, shall quit the kingdom within six weeks;”† and these resolutions were carried into effect with the utmost rigor. The convent of Wadstena, which had existed for two hundred and eleven

\* *Relatione dello stato spirituale e politico del Regno di Svezia 1598.* “Mandò alcuni senatori Polacchi a darle parte dello stato delle cose in le sue circostanze e conseguenze, e detti patri dichiararono che presupposto la necessità e pericolo nel quale era costituita la M<sup>a</sup> S. la potesse senza offender Dio concedere alli heretici ciò che ricercavano, e la M<sup>a</sup> S. per sua giustificazione ne volle uno scritto da detti patri . . . . Hora fatta la coronatione e concessione pose ogni studio il nunzio per applicare qualche rimedio al disordine seguito, onde operò per sicurezza della coscienza di S. M<sup>a</sup> ch’ ella facesse una protesta in scritto, come ella non con la volontà sua ma per pura forza si era indotto a concedere ciò che haveva concesso; e persuase al s<sup>mo</sup> re che concedesse da parte agli cattolici altrettanto quanto haveva concesso agli heretici, di modo che a guisa dell’ imperatore e del re di Polonio restasse la M<sup>a</sup> S. giurata utrique parti. S. M. si contentò di farlo, et immediatamente mise in esecuzione le dette concessioni: perchè avanti la sua partenza diede officij e dignità a cattolici, e lasciò in quattro luoghi l’ esercizio della religione e fece giurare a quattro governatori, se ben erano heretici, quali lasciò nel regno, che haverebbero protetto la religione e li cattolici.”

† *Acta ecclesie in conventu Sudercop. in Baaz, 567.*

years, and had remained uninjured through so many convulsions, was now dissolved and destroyed.

Angermannus held an ecclesiastical visitation, which had never been equalled for searching rigor; those who neglected the Lutheran churches were punished with stripes, the archbishop having with him several robust young students, who carried the punishment into execution under his own eyes. The altars of the saints were destroyed, their relics scattered, and ceremonies, which in the year 1593 had been declared matters of indifference, were now in 1597 abolished.

The relation subsisting between Sigismund and Charles gave a personal character to this conflict. All that was done, was in opposition to the well known will and command of the king; in all, the influence of Duke Charles was felt to be predominant. It was contrary to the express command of Sigismund that the duke held the assembly of the diet; he endeavored to prevent any interference of the king in the affairs of the country; and caused a resolution to be passed, in virtue of which the rescripts of the king were not valid till they were confirmed by the Swedish government.\*

Charles was already in substance sovereign and ruler of the kingdom; and the thought soon suggested itself to become so in title also. A dream which he had in 1595, is one of the indications of what was passing in his mind. He thought he was at a feast in Finland, and a covered double dish was placed before him; on removing the cover, he saw in the one part the insignia of the crown; in the other, a death's head. Similar thoughts seem to have been afloat in the nation; there was a story current in the country, that in Linkoping a crowned eagle had been seen contending with an uncrowned one, and that the latter had been victorious.

But when things had reached this pass—when the ascendancy of protestant opinions had been maintained by such harsh and violent means, and so successfully as to give their champion a sort of claim to the highest power in the state, a party arose in favor of the king. Some few nobles who had appealed to his authority against the duke, were banished, but their adherents remained; the common people were discontented at the abolition of all ceremonies, and attributed to that cause whatever disasters happened in the country; in Finland, Flemming the governor openly held the field in the king's name.

This was a state of affairs which rendered it a matter of necessity as well as of expediency to king Sigismund, to make an appeal to arms. It was probably the latest moment at which it would be possible for him to re-establish his power. In the summer of 1598 he set out for the second time to take possession of his hereditary dominions.

\* *Ausa illustrissimi principis domini Caroli Sudermanniaë ducis adversus serenissimum et potentissimum dominum Sigismundum III, regem Sueciae et Poloniaë suscepta, scripta et publicata ex mandato S. R. Majestatis proprio.—Dant. 1598.*

He was now more strictly catholic, if possible, than before. In the simplicity of his bigotry, he believed that the various misfortunes which had befallen him since his first journey (among others the death of his wife), had been sent him as punishments for the concessions he had then made to the heretics, and he disclosed these painful thoughts to the nuncio with deep contrition of heart; declaring that he would rather die than again sanction anything which would stain the purity of his conscience.

But the cause espoused by Sigismund was in some sense an European one. Catholicism had made such progress, that an enterprise in its favor, even in so remote a corner of Europe, was principally regarded as a branch of a general combination.

During their war with England, the Spaniards had already cast their eyes occasionally towards the Swedish coasts; they perceived that the possession of a Swedish port would be of the greatest advantage to them, and had entered into negotiations with a view to obtain one. It was now regarded as certain that Sigismund, the moment he should be master in his own country, would give up to them Elfsborg in West Gothland. Here it would be easy to build a fleet, to keep it ready for service, and to man it with Poles and Swedes; from hence they could wage war on England with far greater advantage than from the shores of Spain, and soon force her to desist from her aggressions on their Indian dominions. On the other hand, an alliance with the catholic monarch could not prove otherwise than advantageous to the authority of the king in Sweden.\*

But the catholics looked further. They thought that they might thus acquire power in Finland and on the shores of the Baltic. From Finland they hoped to be able to make a successful attack upon Russia, and when once in possession of the Baltic, to bring the duchy of Prussia into subjection. As yet, the electoral house of Brandenburg had failed in its endeavors to procure the investiture of this fief; the nuncio asserted that the king had determined not to grant it, but on the contrary to attach the duchy to the crown; he endeavored by every argument to confirm him in this intention; chiefly of course from religious considerations, for it was certain that the house of Brandenburg would never consent to the restoration of catholicism in Prussia.†

When we consider on the one hand, the extent of the schemes

\* *Relazione dello stato spirituale e politico.* The proposal is, “Che a spese del cattolico si mantenga un presidio nella fortezza che guardi il porto, sopra lo quale niuna superiorità habbia il cattolico, ma consegnì lo stipendio per esso presidio al re di Polonia.”

† *Relatione di Polonia, 1598:* “Atteso che se rimarà il ducato nelli Brandeburgesi non si può aspettare d'introdurre la religione cattolica, si mostra S. M<sup>a</sup>. risoluto di voler ricuperare il dette ducato.” King Stephen ought already to have done this. “Ma ritrovandosi con penuria di danari mentre era occupato nelle guerre, ne fu sovvenuto delli Brandeburgesi.”

which were built on the king's success (a result by no means improbable), and on the other, the weight which Sweden would acquire in the scale of nations if the protestants were victorious, we must admit that the issue of this struggle was one of those events which decided the destinies of Europe.

Zamoysky had advised the king to enter Sweden at the head of a strong army, and to conquer it by force of arms. King Sigismund, thought that this was not necessary; he could not bring himself to believe that he should be forcibly resisted in his own hereditary dominions. He had about 5000 men with him, and having landed with them at Calmar without opposition, moved on upon Stockholm, where another division of his troops had already arrived and been admitted into the city. Meanwhile a body of Finlanders advanced upon Upland.

Nor had Duke Charles been idle. If the king succeeded, it was evident that his power and the ascendancy of protestantism were at an end. Whilst his peasants of Upland held the Fins in check, he posted himself at the head of a regular military force in the way of the king, who was marching upon Stegeborg. He demanded that the royal army should be withdrawn, and the matters in dispute referred to the decision of the diet; on these conditions he promised to disband his own troops.

The king would not consent to them, and the hostile armies advanced against each other.

Their number was inconsiderable, a few thousand men on either side; but the result of the conflict was not less momentous, the consequences not less lasting, than if vast armies had been sacrificed to obtain them.

Everything depended upon the personal character of the princes. Charles was his own counsellor;—daring, determined—a man in the fullest sense of the word, and what was more important, in actual possession: Sigismund, dependent upon others; yielding, good-natured, no soldier; and now under the unfortunate necessity of conquering a country which belonged to him, the legitimate king indeed, but compelled to do battle for his kingdom with the actual ruler.

Twice the troops were engaged near Stangebros, the first time more through accident than design; on this occasion the king had the advantage, and is said to have put a stop to the massacre of the Swedes. But the second time, when, in consequence of the rising of the Dalcarlians in his favor and the arrival of his fleet, the Duke was victorious, no one checked the slaughter of the Poles; Sigismund suffered a total defeat, and was forced to accede to all that was required of him.\*

He even consented to give up the few faithful subjects he had

\* *Piacesii Chronicon gestorum in Europa singularium*, p. 159. Extracts from the letters of the princes in Geijer; *Schwedische Geschichte*, ii, p. 305.

found, to be tried by a Swedish tribunal; and, in his own cause, he promised to abide by the decision of the diet.

But this was only a mode of escaping from the embarrassment of the moment; instead of attending the diet, where he must have acted the melancholy part of the conquered, he sailed for Dantzic with the first favorable wind.

He flattered himself indeed with the hope of becoming at some future time—some more favorable moment—lord of his hereditary dominions; but in fact he abandoned them, by his departure, to the overwhelming influence of his uncle, who did not scruple shortly afterwards to assume the title of king, and instead of awaiting the war in Sweden, transferred it to the frontiers of Poland, where it was carried on with various success.

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### § 3. DESIGNS ON RUSSIA.

In a short time, however, it appeared as if this failure was to be atoned for by success in another quarter.

It is well known how many times the popes had entertained the hope of gaining over Russia; Adrian VI and Clement VII had successively attempted it; the Jesuit Possevin had next tried his influence with Iwan Wasiljowitsch; and in the year 1594, Clement VIII sent a certain Comuleo to Moscow, with more than usual confidence of success, in consequence of his acquaintance with the language: but all these endeavors were vain; Boris Godunow declared, “that Moscow was now the true and orthodox Rome,” and directed that prayers should be offered up for him, “as the only Christian ruler upon earth.”

Under these discouraging circumstances, the prospect which the appearance of the false Demetrius most unexpectedly opened was doubly welcome.

Demetrius identified himself perhaps even more with the religious than with the political interests of Poland. A catholic confessor was the first person to whom he discovered himself, and it was not till after the Jesuit fathers had been sent to examine him, that the papal nuncio Rangone espoused his cause; at the same time declaring to him at their first interview, that he had nothing to hope if he did not renounce the schismatical and embrace the catholic religion. To this Demetrius made but little demur; indeed he had already promised to quit the Greek church, and on the following Sunday he openly avowed his conversion.\* He was de-

\* Alessandro Cilli, *Historia di Moscovia*, p. 11. Cilli was present at the act. In Karamsin, x, p. 109 of the translation, there is a passage, which is not quite so much in accordance with Cilli as it may seem. Karamsin did not understand Cilli. We do not find in Cilli any thing like the words which Karamsin has put into the mouth of Demetrius.

lighted that Sigismund immediately recognised his claims, (which he justly ascribed to the influence of the nuncio,) and promised to do all that lay in his power for the spread and defence of the Roman catholic faith;\* a promise of vast import. At that time his story was not generally believed in Poland; what then was the general astonishment when the miserable fugitive soon afterwards took possession of the palace of the Czars! The sudden death of his predecessor, in which the common people beheld a judgment of God, perhaps mainly contributed to his success.

Demetrius now renewed his promises; received the nephew of the nuncio with every mark of honor and reverence; and, as he was soon after joined by his Polish consort, attended by a numerous court, consisting not only of knights and ladies, but of a still larger retinue of monks—Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuit†—it appeared that he intended promptly to perform them. But it was this zeal for catholicism which mainly caused his ruin; for while it secured him the support of the Poles, it deprived him of the favor of the Russians. They remarked that he did not bathe nor eat like them; that he did not reverence the saints; he was a heathen, and had placed an unbaptised heathen wife upon the throne of Moscow; it was impossible that he should be the son of a czar.‡

They had recognised him in consequence of a groundless and inexplicable belief; this rapidly gave place to another and a stronger, under the influence of which they dethroned him.

Here, too, religion was the real and effective agent: a power arose in Russia, as well as in Sweden, which, from its very origin and nature, was directly opposed to catholicism.

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#### § 4 TROUBLES IN POLAND.

Abortive enterprises against a foreign enemy have generally the effect of exciting internal commotions. An agitation now showed itself in Poland which made it doubtful whether the king would be able to carry on the government in the spirit in which he had commenced it. This movement had its origin in the following causes.

King Sigismund was not careful to maintain a good understanding with those through whose exertions he had ascended the throne. This party had elected him in opposition to the wishes of Austria; he, on the contrary, allied himself closely with that power. He

\* Cilli: "Con rinnovare insieme la promessa dell'augumento e difesa per quanto havessero potuto le sue forze e nel suo imperio e fuori di quello della santa fede cattolica."

† Cilli, p. 66.

‡ Müller, *Sammlung Russischer Gesch.*, v, 373, remarks that letters from the pope were found upon him.



twice took a wife from the line of Grätz, and at one time incurred the suspicion of wishing to place that family on the throne.

The king's conduct had already disgusted his chancellor Zamoy-sky; but when Sigismund, in order to render himself independent of his adherents and defenders, promoted their enemies to the highest offices and received them into the senate,\* his disgust was changed into the deepest resentment. For it was chiefly by means of the senate that Sigismund sought to govern. He filled it with men personally devoted to him, and at the same time thoroughly catholic. The bishops, who were nominated by the king under the influence of the nuncio, formed a strong and by degrees, an omnipotent party.

Hence arose a formidable two-fold opposition, directed both against the constitution and the religion of the Polish government.

The provincial deputies formed a political body opposed to the senate; and as the latter took part with the king, the former joined Zamoy-sky,† for whom they entertained boundless veneration, and who owed to their willing submission an authority little less than royal. This was a position which must have had peculiar charms for an ambitious magnate; and no sooner was it vacant by the death of the high chancellor, than it was occupied by the palatine of Cracow, Zebrzydowsky.

The protestants now joined this party. The bishops were, in reality, the objects of their common hatred; the former detested them on account of their spiritual, the latter on account of their temporal influence. The protestants declared it was monstrous, that in a commonwealth like that of Poland, which rested upon free agreement, well-earned rights should be incessantly infringed; that men of low birth should be raised to the highest dignities, and men of noble blood compelled to obey them. This grievance was also alleged by many catholics.‡

There can be no doubt that religious animosities gave a vehement impulse to the disturbances of Poland.

After the grievances had been frequently brought forward, the supplies refused, and the diet dissolved—all without avail—the malcontents adopted the last resource; they summoned the whole body of nobility to the Rocotz. The Rocotz was a legitimate form of insurrection, according to which the assembled nobility claimed a right of summoning king and senate before their tribunal. In this assem-

\* Cilli, *Historia delle Sollevazioni di Polonia, 1606—1608, Pistoia 1627*,—an author the more worthy of credit, as he was a long time in the service of the king,—enlarges in the very beginning upon the power possessed by Zamoy-sky: “Zamoschi si voleva alquanto della regia autorità usurpare;” but relates how the king began to resist him, “essendo patrone S. M.<sup>a</sup> non solo di conferire le dignità del regno, ma anco le stesse entrate.”

† Piasecius: “Zamoyscius ejus autoritate potissimum nitebatur ordo nunci-orum.” From this time the country deputies began to have greater influence: one party supported the other.

‡ Cilli: “Gli eretici, spalleggiati da cattivi cattolici, facevano gran forza per ottenere la confederazione.”

bly the Lutherans were greatly strengthened by their union with the professors of the Greek faith.

Meantime the king had also his partisans. The nuncio held the bishops together;\* the bishops directed the proceedings of the senate, and a league was formed between these bodies for the defence of the throne and the altar. This favorable moment was adroitly seized to obliterate the old divisions between the laity and the clergy. The king showed inflexible firmness in the moment of danger; trusting, as he said, in his righteous cause, and in God.

And in fact he maintained his ascendancy; in October 1606, he dissolved the Rocotz, at the time when a great number of the members were absent: in July 1607, the parties came to a regular engagement; uttering the cry of *Jesu Maria*, the king's troops attacked the enemy and completely routed them. Zebrydowsky kept the field for a while, but in the year 1608, he was obliged to submit, and a general amnesty was then proclaimed.

By these successes the government was enabled to follow out the catholic course in which it had embarked. Those who were not catholics remained excluded from office; and we may judge of the effects of this measure by the applause it constantly drew from Rome.† “A protestant prince—a prince who would have distributed high and honorable places among both parties equally—would have filled the whole country with heresy; for in an age so selfish as this, private interests are too strong for religious attachments; but since the king had displayed so much constancy, the nobles had learned to obey his will.”

The protestant service was also restricted in the royal towns; “the inhabitants were compelled,” says a papal instruction, “to change their religion, although not by open violence.‡

The nuncio took care that the highest tribunals should be filled with judges attached to the catholic church, and that justice should be administered in them in strict accordance with the precepts of the holy canons. The question of mixed marriages now acquired the highest importance. The supreme court of justice would recognise the validity of none which were not performed in the presence of a priest and several witnesses; but the priests refused to

\* Cilli: “Il nuntio Rangone con sua destrezza e diligenza tenne e conservò in fede molti dei principali.”

† Istruzione a V. S.<sup>ia</sup> M.<sup>re</sup> di Torres: “Il re, benchè nato di padre e fra popoli eretici, è tanto pio e tanto divoto e di santi costumi guernito, che dentro a Roma non avrebbe potuto nascere o allevarsene un migliore, imperocchè haveudo esso con la longhezza del regnare mutati i senatori eretici, che se tre ne togli crano tutti, gli ha fatto divenire, levatine due o tre, tutti quanti cattolici.” Their principle was, “le cose spirituali seguono il corso delle temporalì.”

‡ Istruzione a M.<sup>r</sup> Lancelotti: “La conforti [the king] grandemente a vietare che nelle città regie che da lei dipendono altro esercizio di religione che il cattolico si comporti, nè permetta che v'abbiano tempj ne sinagoge loro: poiche si vengono per tal dolce modo senza violenza espressa a far convertire o a mutar paese.”

bestow the benediction upon mixed marriages; it was no wonder, therefore, that many conformed to the catholic religion rather than subject their children to all the disadvantages consequent upon marriages of disputable validity. Others were forced into conformity by finding that church patronage in the hands of protestants was subjected to legal dispute. A government possesses a thousand means of promoting the religion which it favors; and here all were applied, short of direct compulsion: the work of conversion proceeded, with little noise or ostentation indeed, but with unstayed progress.

Doubtless the zeal and ability with which the nuncios administered the ecclesiastical affairs, had a considerable share in producing this result. They took care that the sees should be filled with men well fitted for their high office; they visited the convents, and put an end to a practice which had been introduced, of sending disobedient and refractory monks, whom their superiors or convents wanted to be rid of, into Poland; they also directed their attention to the secular clergy, and endeavored to introduce psalmody and schools into the parishes. They insisted upon the establishment of episcopal seminaries.

Their most efficient agents were the Jesuits, whom we find actively employed in all the provinces; among the docile Livonians—in Lithuania, where they had to contend with traces of the old worship of the serpent—and among the Greeks, where the Jesuits were frequently the only catholic priests: sometimes they had to administer baptism to youths of eighteen; sometimes they met with aged men who had never received the Lord's Supper; but it was chiefly in Poland proper "that," as one of the members exultingly says, "hundreds of learned, orthodox, and devout men of the order are employed in rooting out errors, and implanting catholic piety by schools and associations, by preaching and writing."\*

In this, as in every other country, they awakened enthusiasm in their followers; but here it was most unfortunately united to the insolence of an overbearing young nobility. Though the king abstained from acts of violence, the pupils of the Jesuits thought themselves authorised to commit them. It was no unusual thing for them to celebrate Ascension-day by a general attack upon the protestants, whose houses they broke into, plundering and destroying, and whose persons were not secure from outrage and danger if they were found at home or met in the streets.

In 1606 the church, and in 1607 the churchyard, of the Lutherans in Cracow was attacked, and the dead bodies dragged out of their graves: in 1611 the church of the protestants in Wilna was destroyed, and their ministers ill-treated or murdered: in 1615 a book was published in Posen, setting forth that the Lutherans had

\* *Argentus de rebus Societatis Jesu in regno Poloniae, 1615.* A work which might, however, have been rendered far more instructive.

no right to live in that town; and the following year the Jesuits' scholars utterly destroyed the Bohemian church, leaving not one stone upon another, and burned the Lutheran church. Similiar outrages were perpetrated in various other places, and in some the protestants were driven by incessant acts of violence, to sell their churches. The Jesuits soon ceased to confine their outrages to the towns; the Cracow students burned the protestant churches in the neighboring villages. In Podlachia an aged Lutheran minister, of the name of Barkow, was walking before his carriage leaning upon his staff, when a Polish nobleman who met him, ordered his coachman to drive directly over him; before the old man could get out of the road, the horses were upon him, and he received injuries of which he died.\*

Nevertheless, protestantism could not be wholly suppressed. The king was bound by a promise which he had not power to retract. The nobles were subject to no constraint, and did not all immediately abjure their religion. Occasionally too, amidst many adverse judgments, a favorable one was obtained, and here and there a church was restored to the protestants. In the cities of Polish Prussia the protestants always formed the majority; the Greek schismatics were still less to be gotten rid of, and the union of 1595 excited hatred rather than imitation. Thus the combined body of dissidents, consisting of protestants and Greeks, still formed a powerful party. Their demands came with peculiar weight, backed by the most industrious and thriving cities, and by the most warlike tribes, such as the Cossacks; and their opposition became more formidable from the growing efficiency of the support afforded by their neighbors, the Russians and Swedes, who had successfully resisted every attempt to subdue them to catholicism.

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#### § 5. PROGRESS OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

Principles of a totally different nature and tendency prevailed in Germany. where every prince held it to be his unquestionable right to establish in his dominions the religion to which he was himself attached; and in consequence, the movement in favor of catholicism, the beginnings of which we have already traced, continued its course without much interference from imperial authority, and without exciting much attention.

The ecclesiastical princes especially held it to be their duty to lead back their subjects to the catholic faith. Here again we find the pupils of the Jesuits early and active in the field of proselytism. John Adam von Bicken, elector of Mayence from 1601 to 1604, was a student of the Collegium Germanicum in Rome. It is re-

\* Wengerscii Slavonia Reformata, p. 224, 232, 236, 244, 247.

ported that on hearing the Lutheran congregation, in the castle of Königstein, singing hymns at the funeral service of their minister, he exclaimed, "Let them give their synagogue decent burial!" On the following Sunday a Jesuit ascended the pulpit, in which a Lutheran preacher was never again beheld. The same occurred elsewhere.\* What Bicken left undone was zealously completed by his successor, John Schweikard. He was a man attached in a remarkable degree to the pleasures of the table, but endowed with the character and the talents requisite for the business of government. He succeeded in carrying through the counter-reformation in every part of his diocese, even in Eichsfeld. He sent a commission to Heiligenstadt, which within two years converted two hundred citizens, many of whom had grown gray in the protestant faith. Some few yet remained unshaken; these he exhorted in person, "as their father and their shepherd, from his inmost heart," to use his own words, and his exhortations were successful. He saw with extraordinary pleasure a city which had been thoroughly protestant for forty years, restored to the catholic church.†

The same course was followed by Ernest and Ferdinand of Cologne, both of them Bavarian princes, and by the elector Lothaire, of the house of Metternich of Trèves—a prince distinguished by the acuteness of his understanding, and by the talent of overcoming whatever difficulties presented themselves; prompt in the execution of justice, vigilant in pushing the interests of his country, as well as those of his family; and, where religion was not concerned, affable and indulgent. On that point he was inexorable; he would not tolerate a protestant in his court.‡ To these great men Neithard von Thüngen, bishop of Bamberg, associated himself. When he took possession of his capital, he found the whole council protestant, with the exception of two of its members. He had already assisted in the reforms of bishop Julius in Würzburg, and he now determined to apply the measures of that prelate to Bamberg. He immediately (at Christmas, 1595,) promulgated his reformation-edict, which ordained the celebration of the Lord's Supper according to the catholic rite, on pain of exile; and although the chapter, the nobility, and the gentry opposed him, although the most urgent representations were made by the neighboring princes, we find that in every successive year the reformation-edicts were renewed and substantially executed.§ If we look to northern Germany, we find that Theodore von Fürstenberg rivalled in Paderborn the acts

\* Serarius, *Res Moguntinæ*, p. 973.

† Wolf, *Geschichte von Heiligenstadt*, p. 63. In the interval between 1581 and 1601, the number of converts was reckoned at 497, the greatest number in the year 1598, in which they amounted to 73.

‡ Masenius, *Continuatio Broweri*, p. 474.

§ Jäck, *Geschichte Von Bamberg*, e. g. iii, 212, 199. Or rather I refer generally to this book, which is principally occupied with the subject of the anti-reformation.

of bishop Neithard in Bamberg. In the year 1596, he imprisoned all the priests of his diocese who administered the sacrament in both kinds; this naturally produced dissensions between himself and his nobility, and we accordingly find the bishop and the nobles engaged in driving each others cattle and horses. He also eventually came to an open rupture with the city; where, unfortunately, a violent demagogue arose, who had not the character or talents fitted for the high part which he had undertaken. In the year 1604, Paderborn was compelled to do homage anew. Immediately after, the Jesuits' college was magnificently established and endowed, and an edict appeared which, like that of Bamberg, left no alternative but attendance at mass, or exile. Catholicism thus gradually regained absolute possession of Bamberg and Paderborn.\*

The rapid and yet lasting change which was wrought in all these provinces, is one of the most remarkable phenomena in history. Are we to infer from it that protestantism had not struck deep root among the people? or are we to ascribe it to the method pursued by the Jesuits? It is at any rate certain that the members of that order were deficient neither in zeal nor in prudence. From every point where they had obtained a firm footing, we see the circles of their influence spreading wider and wider. We see them skilled to captivate the multitude, and drawing crowds to their churches. We observe them always attacking the most prominent and formidable difficulties; wherever there is a Lutheran confident in his biblical knowledge, to whose judgment the neighbors defer, we find them leaving no means untried to win him over to their side, and from their practised skill in controversy, seldom failing of success. We see them employed in works of active beneficence, healing the sick and reconciling enemies. Those whom they subdued by their address or their services, they bound to them by solemn oaths. We see bands of the faithful marching under their banner to every place of pilgrimage, and even men who had been the most zealous protestants now joining in the processions.

The Jesuits had educated not only spiritual but temporal princes; among whom, at the close of the 16th century, their two most illustrious pupils, Ferdinand II and Maximilian I, appeared on the stage of Europe.

It is said that when the young archduke Ferdinand celebrated the festival of Easter in the year 1596, in his capital of Grätz, he was the only individual who received the sacrament according to the catholic ritual; that there were indeed but three catholics in the whole city.†

In fact, after the death of the archduke Charles, and during the

\* Strünk, *Annales Paderborn*, lib. xxii, p. 720.

† Hansitz, *Germania Sacra*, ii, p. 712: "Numerus Lutheri sectatorum tantus ut ex inquilinis Græcensibus pæne cunctis invenirentur avitæ fidei cultores tres non amplius." The words "pæne cunctis" render the matter again doubtful.

feeble minority of his successor, the catholic cause had rather retrograded. The protestants had regained possession of the churches from which they had been ejected, and their schools at Grätz had been reinforced by new and eminent professors. The nobility had elected a committee from their own body, with the view of resisting every attempt prejudicial to protestantism.

Nevertheless, Ferdinand, impelled by mixed motives, political and religious, immediately determined to proceed in the accomplishment of the counter-reformation. He declared that he would be master in his own country, as well as the elector of Saxony or the Elector Palatine. When the dangers which might arise from an inroad of the Turks during civil discord were suggested to him, he replied, "that he could not reckon upon God's assistance till the conversion of the country was effected." In the year 1597, Ferdinand proceeded by way of Loreto to Rome, to throw himself at the feet of Pope Clement VIII. Having made a vow to re-establish the catholic religion in his hereditary dominions, even at the peril of his life—a resolution in which the pope confirmed him—he returned, and began the work of proselytism. In September, 1598, he issued a decree commanding that all Lutheran preachers should leave Grätz within a fortnight.\*

Grätz was the central point of the protestant doctrine and interest. Nothing was left untried to shake the determination of the archduke—neither entreaties, nor warnings, nor even threats; but this young prince was, to use the expression of an historian of Carniola, "as firm as marble."† A similar edict was promulgated in Carniola in October, and in Carinthia in December.

The states now manifested extreme discontent in their several provincial meetings—the general assembly having been prohibited by Ferdinand. They refused to grant subsidies, and the soldiers on the frontiers already began to show a spirit of insubordination. But the archduke declared that he would rather lose all that he possessed by the grace of God, than recede one step. The danger to be apprehended from the Turks, who, during these proceedings, had already taken Canischa and daily advanced in a more threatening attitude, at length compelled the states to grant supplies without having obtained any concessions.

Accordingly there was now nothing to restrain the archduke. In October, 1599, the protestant church in Grätz was shut up, and the Lutheran service forbidden under pain of corporal punishment or death. There was a commission appointed which visited every part of the country with an armed force. Styria was first reformed, then Carinthia, and lastly Carniola. From place to place resounded the

\* Khevenhiller, *Annales Ferdinandeï*, iv, 1718.

† Valvassor, *Ehre des Herzogthums Krain*, part ii, book 7, p. 474, beyond all doubt the most important account of this occurrence: "Such a petition, interspersed with warning, found but a block of marble, which their pens were not skilled to penetrate or soften."

cry of, "The reformation is coming!" The churches were torn down, the preachers banished or thrown into prison, and the inhabitants compelled either to embrace the catholic faith or to quit the country. Many were still found, for example fifty burghers in the small town of St. Veit, who preferred exile to apostacy.\* The exiles were compelled to pay the tax of the tenth penny, which for them was a heavy burthen.

Such were the cruelties perpetrated in the name of religion. Such were the means by which Ferdinand earned the satisfaction of knowing, that in the year 1603 there were above forty thousand catholic communicants more than before.

This immediately produced an extensive effect on all the Austrian provinces.

At first the emperor Rudolf had dissuaded his young cousin from the schemes he contemplated; but their success induced him to imitate them. We find a reformation commission actively at work from 1599 to 1601 in upper, and from 1602 to 1603 in lower Austria.† The preachers and schoolmasters in Linz and Steier, who had grown gray in the Lutheran service, were compelled to leave the country. Their lamentations were bitter. "Now," exclaims the rector of Steier, "when bowed down by age, I am driven out to exile and want."‡ One of those who still remained behind writes, "destruction threatens us daily; our enemies lie in wait for us, and mock us, and thirst after our blood."§

The protestants of Bohemia thought themselves more effectually protected by the ancient privileges of the Utraquists, and those of Hungary by the independence and power of the states. But Rudolf now seemed little disposed to respect either the one or the other. He had been persuaded that the old Utraquists had ceased to exist, and that the Lutherans had no legal claim to the privileges granted to that sect. In the year 1602, he published an edict, commanding the churches of the Moravian brethren immediately to be closed, and forbidding their meetings.|| All the other sects felt that the same fate awaited them; nor were they long left in doubt as to what they had to expect. Open force was already resorted to in Hungary. Basta and Belgiojoso, who commanded the imperial troops in that country, took possession of the churches of Caschau and Clausenburg; with their assistance the archbishop of Colocsa endeavored to bring back to catholicism the thirteen towns of Zips. In answer to the complaints of the Hungarians, the em-

\* Hermann, St. Veit; in the *Karinthian Chronicle*, v. 3, p. 163.

† Raupach, *Evangel. Oestreich*, i, 215.

‡ "Jam senio squalens trudor in exilium." Valentine Pruenhueber, *Annales Styrenses*, p. 326.

§ Hofmarius ad Lyserum, Raupach, iv, 151.

|| Schmidt, *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, iii, 263. An extract from the appendices attached to the *Apology for the Bohemians*, published in 1618, which are frequently wanting in the later editions.



peror published a resolution in these terms: "His majesty, who sincerely believes in the holy Roman faith, wishes to propagate it in all his kingdoms, and especially in Hungary; he therefore hereby confirms and ratifies all the decrees which have been issued in favor of that faith since the times of Saint Stephen, the apostle of Hungary.\*

For in spite of his advanced age and his cautious temper, the emperor had thrown aside his moderation. The catholic princes, in a body, followed the same policy; as far as their power extended the stream of catholicism overspread the land, driven onwards by the combined operation of argument and of force; nor did the constitution of the empire afford any means of arresting its course. On the contrary the efforts of catholicism were so strong and so successful, that they began at this crisis to interfere with the affairs of the empire, and to endanger the still existing rights of the protestant part of its subjects.†

Already, aided by the influence of the papal nuncio, particularly of cardinal Madruzzi, who first drew attention to this point, changes were made in the constitution of the courts of the empire, which afforded both opportunity and means for attacks on the protestants.

The Kammergericht had also assumed, towards the commencement of the seventeenth century, a more catholic complexion, and had given judgments in conformity with the catholic interpretation of the terms of the peace of Augsburg. Those who thought themselves aggrieved, on the other hand, had adopted the legal remedy of applying for a revision of judgment; but even these revisions had come to a stand, in consequence of the cessation of the visitations; business accumulated, and things remained as they were.‡

It was under these circumstances that the Aulic Council was

\* Art. XXII, anno 1604. In Ribiny, *Memorabilia Augustanæ Confessionis*, i, p. 321.

† *Relatione del Nuntio Ferrero, 1606*, contains a summary of the consequent events: "Da alcuni anni in qua si è convertito alla nostra santa religione una grandissima quantità d' anime, restorate le chiese, rivate molte religioni di regolari alli loro antichi monasteri, restituite in bona parte le cerimonie ecclesiastiche, moderata alquanto la licenza degli ecclesiastici, e domesticato il nome del pontefice Romano riconosciuto per capo della chiesa universale."

‡ *Missive and Memorial from the Reichskammergericht to the Imperial Diet of 1608*, from the collection of the Acts of the Diet at Frankfort on the Main, of which I was kindly permitted to make a previous examination. The Kammergericht affirms it to be "land und reichskündig in wass grosser und merklicher Anzall seit Ao. 86 di Revisionen deren von gedachtem Kammergericht ergangenen und aussgesprochenen Urthell sich gehauft, dergestalt dass derselben nunmehr in die Einhundert allbereit beim kaiserlichen Collegio denunciirt und deren vielleicht täglich mehr zu gewarten."—"Known to the country and empire, to how much greater and more remarkable a number the revisions of the sentences passed and declared by the before-mentioned Kammergericht had accumulated since the year 86; to such a degree, that at the present moment notice was given of a hundred of the same at the Imperial College, and more were probably to be expected every day."

established. This at any rate appeared to give some promise of an end to litigation; since the weaker party could not have recourse to a legal process which could never be executed. But the Aulic council was not only more decidedly catholic than the Kammergericht, it was absolutely dependent upon the court. "The Aulic council," says the Florentine minister Alidosi, "gives no final judgments, without previously communicating them to the emperor and the privy council, who seldom return them without some alterations."\*

But indeed what effective institutions were there in the empire except the judicial ones? It was to them that the unity of the German people as a nation was attached. And these too were now under the influence of catholic opinions, and of court expediency. Complaints had already been heard of partial judgments and arbitrary executions, when the danger which threatened the country from this source came prominently to view in the affair of Donawerth.

It happened that a catholic abbot in a protestant town, who wished to celebrate his processions with greater publicity and solemnity than usual,† was interrupted and insulted by the mob; this incident afforded a sufficient pretext for the Aulic council to inflict on the whole city tedious and vexatious processes, mandates, citations and commissions, and finally to place it under the ban of the empire, which a neighboring prince of the most rigid catholic opinions, Maximilian of Bavaria, was commissioned to carry into effect. He was not satisfied with taking immediate possession of Donawerth, but invited the Jesuits thither, prohibited protestant worship, and took the usual measures for effecting a counter-reformation.

Maximilian himself regarded this incident as an affair of general interest. He wrote to the pope that it might be received as a test of the general decline of heresy.

But he deceived himself, when he imagined that the protestants

\* *Relatione del Sr Rod. Alidosi, 1607—1609*: "E vero che il consiglio aulico a questo di meno che tutte le definitioni che anno virtù di definitiva non le pronuntia se prima non dia parte a S. M<sup>a</sup>, o in suo luogo al consiglio di stato, il quale alle volte o augumenta o toglie o modera l' opinione di questo consiglio, e così fatto si rimanda a detto consiglio tal deliberatione e così si publica."

† It is said in the report "on the Execution at Donawerth," which is to be found amongst the Acts of the Diet of the 4th of February, 1608, and with which the other accounts and notices agree, that the abbot had only "allein so viel herbracht dass er mit niedergelegten und zusammengewickelten Fahnen ohne Gesang und Klang und zwar allein durch ein sonderes Gasslein beim Kloster hinab bis ausser der Stadt und ihrem Bezirk gangen, und die Fahnen nit eher aufrichten und fliegen oder singen und klingen lassen, er sey denn ausser deren von Donawerth Grund."—"The right to issue from the city and its domain, with banners furled and lowered, without song or music, and moreover by passing through a particular alley near the monastery; neither was he to allow his banners to be raised and unfurled, nor song or music to be heard, till he was out of Donawerth ground." These restrictions he had now broken through.

would suffer patiently. They clearly saw what they had to expect if things were allowed to go on in that course.

The Jesuits had already had the audacity to deny the validity of the treaty of Augsburg; they affirmed that its ratification could not be valid without the consent of the pope; at all events it could have been binding only down to the time of the council of Trent, and was to be considered as a kind of interim.

Even those who recognised the validity of this treaty, held, that at least all the property confiscated by the protestants since its ratification, ought to be restored; they paid no attention to the construction put upon it by the protestants. What then was to be expected when these views were adopted by the highest courts of judicature, when judgments had actually been given, and carried into execution in accordance with them?

At the meeting of the diet at Ratisbon in the year 1608, the protestants would proceed to no conference, until the validity of the treaty of Augsburg should be absolutely recognised and confirmed.\* Even Saxony, which had hitherto always inclined to the emperor's side, now required the abolition of the suits instituted by the Aulic council, in so far as they were contrary to precedent; reforms in the administration of the law; and not only the renewal of the religious peace, as concluded at the diet of Augsburg in the year 1555, but also a pragmatic sanction prohibiting the Jesuits from writing against it.

On the other side, however, the catholics were zealous and united; the bishop of Ratisbon had previously issued a circular, in which he exhorted his brethren in the faith to enjoin upon their delegates an unanimous defence of the catholic religion; "to stand together firm and fast as a wall;" by no means to temporize; there was nothing now to fear, since they had inflexible and zealous defenders in the most august and illustrious princely houses. Though the catholics showed a disposition to confirm the treaty of Augsburg, it was only under condition that a clause should be inserted, "that whatever contravened, that treaty should be abolished, and things restored to the *status quo*;" a clause which contained precisely what the protestants feared, and wished to avoid.

While such disunion existed on important questions, there was not the smallest hope that on any single point an unanimous deter-

\* Protocollum im Correspondenzrath, dated 5th of April 1608, to be found in the acts of the diet: "Die Haupteonsultation jetziger Reichsversammlung sey bisher darumben eingestellt verbliben dass die Stend evangelischer Religion den Religionsfriden zu confirmiren begert und der papistische Theil die Clausulam dem Abschied zu inseriren haben wollen: dass alle Guter die sinthero a. 55 von den Evangelischen Stenden eingezogen worden restituirt werden sollen."—"The chief consultation of the present assembly of the states of the empire had remained at a standstill, because the states professing the evangelical religion had desired to confirm the peace of Augsburg, while the catholic party had wanted to insert in the edict, the clause, that all possessions which had fallen into the hands of the evangelical states from the year 55, should be restored."

mination could be formed; or that the supplies which the emperor wished for and wanted for the Turkish war, would be voted.

It appears as if this had made some impression on the emperor; as if the court had really determined to comply in good faith with the requests of the protestants. This at least is the impression made by a very remarkable report which the papal envoy drew up of the proceedings of this diet.

The emperor was not present, being represented by the archduke Ferdinand. The nuncio was also absent from Ratisbon, and had sent thither, in his name, an Augustine friar, one Fra Felice Milensio, the vicar-general of his order, who labored with uncommon zeal to maintain intact the interests of catholicism.

This same Fra Milensio, the author of the report in question, asserts that the emperor had actually determined on issuing an edict conformable to the wishes of the protestants. He traces this to the immediate influence of Satan; and adds, the document was doubtless concocted by the privy chamberlains of the emperor, one of whom was a Jew, the other a heretic.\*

I give in his own words this further account of the transaction: "Upon the report of the intended publication of this edict, which was communicated to me and some others, I went to the archduke, and asked if such a decree had arrived: the archduke replied it had. 'And is it your imperial highness's intention to publish it?' The archduke answered, 'Such are the commands of the emperor's privy council: you, reverend father, must see yourself in what situation we are placed.' Thereupon I answered,† 'Your imperial highness will not belie the piety in which you have been educated; the piety with which you have dared, in the face of so many imminent dangers, to banish all heretics without exception from

\* *Ragguaglio della Dieta imperiale fatta in Ratisbona 1608, nella quale in luogo dell' eccmo e revmo Monsr Antonio Gaetano arcivescovo di Capua, nuntio apostolico, rimasto in Praga appresso la M<sup>te</sup> Cesarea, fu residente il padre Felice Milensio maestro Agostiniano vicario generale sopra le provincie aquilonari. "E certo fu machinato dal demonio e promosso da suoi ministri, di quali erano i due camerieri intimi di Ridolpho, heretico l' uno, Hebreo l' altro, e quei del consiglio ch' eran Hussiti o peggiori."*

† "Sovenga le, Serma Altezza, di quella cattolica pietà con la quale ella da che nacque fu allevata e per la quale pochi anni a dietro non temendo pericolo alcuno, anzi a rischio di perdere i suoi stati, ne bandì tutti gli heretici con ordine che fra pochi mesi o si dichiarassero cattolici o venduti gli stabili sgombrassero via dal paese: sovengale che nella tavola dipinta della chiesa dei padri Capucini in Gratz ella sta effigiata con la lancia impugnata come un altro Michele e con Luthero sotto i piedi in atto di passarli la gola: et hora essendo ella qui in persona di Cesare, non devo credere che sia per soffrire se perdano i beni dotati della chiesa il patrimonio di Christo, e molto meno che ia diabolica setta di Luthero sia con questa moderna concessione confermata e per peggio quella ancor di Calvino già incorporata, la quale non ricevè mai tolleranza alcuna imperiale. Questo e più dissi io et ascoltò il piissimo principe. . . . Priegola, dissi, a sospender questa materia fino alla risposta del sommo pontefice: e così fece differendo i decreti degli huomini per non offendere i decreti di Dio."

your dominions. I cannot believe that your highness will by this new concession, sanction the plunder of the church, or the establishment of the devilish sect of Luther, or the still more detestable one of Calvin, which have never yet enjoyed legal and public toleration in the empire.' The pious prince listened to me. 'But what is to be done?' said he. I answered, 'I entreat your highness to lay the matter before the pope, and to take no step until we have his reply.' This the archduke did, having more regard to the commands of God, than to the decrees of men."

If this is all true, we see what an important part this obscure Augustine friar plays in German history. At the decisive moment, he prevented the publication of concessions which would probably have satisfied the protestants. Instead of these, Ferdinand published an edict of interposition which virtually included the cause objected to by the protestants. At a meeting of the 5th of April, 1608, the protestants were unanimous in their determination not to receive the edict, nor to give way.\* As the other party was equally obstinate, and as nothing was to be obtained from the emperor or his representative calculated to appease their fears, they resorted to extreme measures, and quitted the diet. For the first time the diet separated without any formal dissolution; agreement was out of the question. It was a moment in which the unity of the empire was virtually dissolved.

Matters could not possibly remain in this state. Each party was too weak to maintain single-handed the position it had assumed; the exigency of the moment drove the protestants to form a union which they had long intended, advised, and prepared. Immediately after the diet there was a meeting at Ahausen between two palatine princes—the elector Frederick and the count palatine of Neuburg; two Brandenburg princes—the margraves Joachim and Christian Ernest; the duke of Würtemberg and the margrave of Baden, who concluded a treaty known under the name of the Union. They pledged themselves to assist each other in every way, even with arms; especially in relation to the grievances brought forward at the late diet. They immediately put themselves in a state of military organization, and every member engaged to try to induce his neighbors to join the Union. Their object was, to procure for themselves that security which, in the

\* Vote of the Palatinate, in the *Correspondenzrath*: "Dass di Confirmation des Religionsfriedens keineswegs einzugehn wie die Interpositionsschrift mit sich bringe: dann selbige den evangelischen Stenden undienlich, weilen der Abschied anno 66 eben die Clausulam habe so jetzt disputirt werde."—"That the confirmation of the peace of Augsburg, as stated in the letter of interposition, can by no means be assented to: for the same is of no service to the evangelical states, since the decree of the year 66, contains the very clause which is now in dispute." It was not contained in the decrees of 1557 and 1559. The letter of interposition referred merely to 1566, and was rejected for the reason that it treated the emperor as judge in matters of religion.

present state of things, the imperial government failed to afford them.

This was an innovation pregnant with the most extensive consequences; the more so from an event of a corresponding nature which occurred in the hereditary dominions of the emperor.

The emperor had quarrelled with his brother Matthias on various grounds; the estates of Austria, deprived both of civil and religious freedom, saw in the differences an opportunity of shaking off their yoke, and threw their weight into the scale of the archduke.

In the year 1606, the archduke, with their concurrence, concluded a peace with the Hungarians, without even consulting the emperor. The estates alleged as an excuse, that the emperor neglected public business, and that the state of affairs had compelled them to act. But as Rudolf refused to recognise this peace, they raised the standard of rebellion, in virtue of the convention they had formed.\* In the first place the Hungarian and Austrian estates concluded a mutual alliance, offensive and defensive; they then, aided by the influence of one of the Lichtenstein family, induced the Moravians to join them; and all pledged themselves to peril property and life for the archduke. On the very day on which the diet of Ratisbon broke up, (May 1608,) they took the field against the emperor under the command of a leader of their own choice. Rudolf could make no resistance, and was obliged to cede to his brother, Hungary, Austria, and Moravia.

Matthias was of course compelled to repay by concessions the services which the estates had rendered him. For forty-eight years the emperors had evaded the appointment of a palatine in Hungary: a protestant was now advanced to that dignity. Religious toleration was secured in the most solemn manner, not only to the magnates, but also to the cities; to all classes in short, even to the soldiers serving on the frontiers;† nor would the Austrians do homage till the *exercitium religionis* was secured to their castles and villages, as well as to the private houses of the towns.

What the Austrians and Hungarians had obtained by offensive, the Bohemians gained by defensive measures. Rudolf was forced from the first to consent to make large concessions, in order to oppose any effectual resistance to his brother. After Hungary and Austria had, with the aid of Matthias, obtained so considerable a share of freedom, Rudolf could not refuse the demand of the Bohemians, whatever the papal nuncio or the Spanish minister might say to the contrary. He granted them the imperial letter, which

\* The act of stipulation contained this clause: "Quodsi propter vel contra tractationem Viennensem et Turcicam. . . . hostis aut turbator aliquis ingrueret, tum serenissimum archiducem et omnes status et ordines regni Hungariæ et archiducatus superioris et inferioris Austriæ mutuis auxiliis sibi et suppetiis non defuturos." Reva ap. Schwandtner, Script. rerum Ung. ii, Kurz, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Landes Oestreich ob der Ens, vol. iv, p. 21.

† This article is to be found in Ribiny, i, 358.

not only renewed the former concessions made by Maximilian II, but permitted them to establish certain authorities for their special protection.

The posture of affairs in the German, and particularly the hereditary, dominions of the emperor, thus suddenly assumed a totally different aspect. The Union embraced a large portion of Germany, and it jealously watched, and strenuously repelled every attack of catholicism. The estates of the Austrian provinces had consolidated the privileges demanded by their ancient claims, into a well-constructed constitutional power. There was now also a considerable difference in the state of things. In the empire, catholicism had once more overspread the territories of the catholic princes; but when, encouraged by success, it advanced its pretensions, interfered arbitrarily in civil and political affairs, and endangered the existence of free popular bodies, it encountered resistance; and in the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, even within the range of the territorial rights of that house, it was insuperably opposed by the power of the protestant landholders. On one point there was a general consent. There was a very expressive saying current in Austria, that one sword must be held in the scabbard by the other.

Actuated by this feeling, the other party now also prepared for war. On the 11th July, 1609, a defensive alliance was concluded between Maximilian of Bavaria and seven ecclesiastical lords, viz: the bishops of Würzburg, Constance, Augsburg, Passau, Ratisbon, the Provost of Ellwangen, and the Abbot of Kempten; according to the terms of which, after the example of the ancient treaty of Landsperg,\* the Duke of Bavaria was invested with extraordinary powers. Shortly after, the three electoral princes of the Rhine joined them, retaining however, a certain degree of independence. The Archduke Ferdinand wished to be admitted a member of this confederation; Spain declared its approval, and the pope promised to neglect nothing which could promote its interests. It is unquestionable that the pope, chiefly through Spanish influence, allowed himself to be gradually deeper implicated in the projects of this league.†

Thus were the two hostile parties arrayed against each other; both armed, both in constant fear of being surprised and attacked, and neither able to bring affairs to any grand decisive issue.

The necessary consequence was, that it was henceforward impossible to overcome any difficulty, or to despatch any business of general importance in Germany.

In the year 1611, a king of the Romans should have been elected.

\* Maximilian makes mention of this confederacy of Landsperg, in a letter of instruction to his ambassador at Mayence, quoted by Wolf, ii, p. 470.

† The documents connected with this affair are not known: till more detailed information can be found, the statement of the Venetian ambassador Mocenigo may satisfy us.

The electors met together in vain. They could come to no agreement.

In the year 1612, even after the death of Rudolf, a long time passed in unavailing debates. The three temporal electors demanded, in the capitulation of election, the establishment of an aulic council, composed of an equal number of protestant and catholic members, which the three spiritual princes opposed. No election could have taken place, had not Saxony, which on all occasions showed great devotion to the house of Austria, gone over to the catholic party.

But what could not be carried in the electoral council, was demanded with the more violence by the Union of princes at the diet of 1613, where it was as resolutely opposed by the catholics: no further deliberation was held on the subject; the protestants did not choose any longer to subject themselves to the yoke of the majority.

In Juliers and Clèves, in spite of the wavering dispositions betrayed by the weak government of the last native prince, strong measures had at length been taken for the restoration of catholicism, through the influence of his wife, a princess of the house of Lorraine; nevertheless it appeared for a time as if the rival creed would gain the ascendancy, since the next heirs were both protestants. But here too the sectarian tendency of the age prevailed. One of the protestant pretenders to the throne turned catholic; and upon this, the parties divided. In 1614, as they recognised no common supreme authority, they proceeded to acts of violence. The one with the assistance of Spain, the other with that of the Low Countries, seized whatever they could lay hands on, and each very soon reformed, after its fashion, the country which had fallen to its share.

Attempts indeed were made at a reconciliation, and an electoral diet was proposed; but the elector palatine would not listen to this project, as he had no confidence in his colleague of Saxony. Another proposal was for a general diet of composition; but the catholic states had innumerable motives for rejecting this. Others turned their eyes towards the emperor, and advised him to assert his dignity by the demonstration of a large armed force. But what could be expected of Matthias? who by the very origin of his power belonged to both parties, and who now, loaded as he was with chains of his own forging, could display no independence or energy. The pope complained loudly of him; he declared him unfit to occupy so august a station in such times; he remonstrated with him in the strongest language, and only wondered that the emperor bore it as he did. At a later period however, the catholics were not so dissatisfied with him, and even the bigots declared that he had been of greater use to their church than might have been believed. But in the affairs of the empire he was utterly powerless. In the year 1617, he made an attempt to dissolve both the hostile confederacies, but with so little success, that the Union was immediately after renewed, and the League re-established on a new and firmer basis.



## § 6. NUNTIATURA IN SWITZERLAND.

That equal balance of parties which had long existed in Switzerland, now manifested itself as distinctly as in former times, though more peacefully.

The independence of each of the confederate cantons of Switzerland had long been declared; nor was it lawful so much as to discuss the affairs of religion at their diets.

At the commencement of the seventeenth century, the catholic party no longer entertained the slightest hope of crushing the protestants, who were not only more powerful and wealthy than themselves, but had also in their ranks men of greater ability and experience in business.\*

It is clear that the nuncios who had established their residence in Lucerne, did not deceive themselves on this head; since it is from them that we derive this representation of the state of things. Nevertheless, spite of the limits thus imposed on their sphere of activity, the situation they held among the catholics was one of great consideration.

Their chief care was, to keep the bishops to the exercise of their duties.† The bishops of German race were prone to consider themselves princes; whereas the nuncios incessantly represented to them, that they were invested with exalted temporal rank only for the sake of their spiritual calling, the high responsibilities of which they constantly pressed upon them. We find, indeed, that great zeal and activity at that time animated the Swiss church. Visitations were made, synods appointed, convents reformed, and seminaries established. The nuncios endeavored to maintain a good understanding between the spiritual and the temporal authorities, and their gentleness and persuasiveness ensured them considerable success. They had sufficient influence to prevent the importation

\* *Informatione mandata dal Sr Card' d' Aquino a Mons' Feliciano Vescovo di Foligno per il paese de' Suizzeri e Grisoni, (Informationi Polit. ix.)* adds: "Li cantoni cattolici sino a questi tempi sono tenuti più bellicosì che i cantoni heretici, ancora che quelli siano più potenti di genti al doppio e di denari: ma hoggi li cattolici si mostrano tanto affettionati e mutati da quelli antichi Suizzeri che se non fosse particolare gratia del Signore, humanamente parlando, poco o veruno avvantaggio haverebbero questi sopra gli avversarii heretici, e non sarebbe sicuro senza ajuto straniero il venir a rottura con essi, oltre che li medesimi protestanti hanno persone più dotte, pratiche, giudiciosi e potenti in ogni affare."

† *Relatione della nuntiatura de' Suizzeri*: "L'esperienza mi ha mostrato che per far frutto nella nuntiatura non è bene che i nuntii si ingerischino nelle cose che possono fare i vescovi e che spettano a gli ordinarii, se non in sussidio e con vera necessità: perchè mettendosi mano ad ogni cosa indifferentemente, non solo essi vescovi si sdegnano, ma si oppongono spesse volte e rendono vana ogni fatica del ministro apostolico, oltre che e contro la mente di monsignore e delli canonici che si metta mano nella messe aliena mandandoli i nuntii per ajutare e non per distruggere l'autorità degli ordinarii."

of protestant writings, though they were obliged to allow the people to retain their bibles and German prayer-books. Jesuits and capuchins labored with great effect. Confraternities of the Blessed Virgin were founded, including old and young; the church and the confessional were punctually attended; pilgrimages to miraculous images were again generally performed; and it even became necessary to mitigate the severities which some devout persons imposed on themselves.\* The nuncios could not find words to convey their sense of the value of the services rendered by the capuchins, especially the Italians of that order.

These efforts naturally led to conversions. The nuncios received, supported and recommended the converts, and endeavored, from the contributions of the faithful, to establish funds, under the control of the prelates, for the maintenance of the proselytes. Sometimes they succeeded in regaining jurisdictions given up for lost, and in which they then hastened to re-establish catholic worship. The bishop of Basle and the abbot of St. Gall showed peculiar zeal in this matter.

All these labors of the nuncios were greatly promoted by the formation of a Spanish party in catholic Switzerland; the adherents of Spain, for example the Lusi in Unterwalden, the Anli in Lucerne, the Bühler in Schwyz, &c. were all among the most devoted servants of the Roman See. The nuncios did not fail to encourage these sentiments by every means in their power. They treated those who held them with all possible respect and courtesy; listened with patience to the longest and most tiresome speeches; were not sparing of titles, and professed great admiration of the ancient deeds of the Swiss people, and of the wisdom of their republican institutions. They found it absolutely indispensable to keep together their friends by a regular succession of feasts, while they repaid every invitation, every civility to themselves, with a present. Presents were here found to have peculiar efficacy: a man who was advanced to the dignity of a knight of the Golden Spur, and received, together with the honor, a chain or a medal, felt himself bound to them forever. They had only to take care not to promise what they were not certain to be able to perform; if they could do more than they promised, the favor was esteemed the more highly. Their private life was expected to be regular and decorous, so as to give no handle to censure.

Thus it happened that the catholic interests, even in Switzerland, were generally sure of a good reception, and of a quiet progress.

There was only one province, in which the hostility between protestants and catholics, concurring as it there did, with unsettled political relations, could cause danger and contention.

The government of the Grisons was essentially protestant; but

\* An example is given in the *Literæ annuæ societatis Jesu*, 1596, p. 167. "Modus tamen rigido illi jejunio est a confessario adhibitus."

among their dependencies, the Italian, and especially the Valtelline, were inflexibly catholic.

Hence arose continual provocations. The government would not tolerate any foreign priests in the valley, and had even forbidden their subjects to frequent foreign Jesuits' schools; nor would it permit the bishop of Como, to whose diocese the Valtelline belonged, to perform his official duties there. On the other hand, the inhabitants saw with the greatest disgust, protestant lords and masters in their country, and consequently cherished a secret attachment to their neighbors of Italy—to the orthodox Milan, while the Collegium Helveticum, where only six places were reserved for the Valtelline, constantly sent forth young divines who inflamed their zeal.\*

These religious dissensions were attended with danger, since France, Spain, and Venice were eagerly vying with each other to establish a party in the Grisons; these parties frequently broke out into open violence, and drove each other from the field. In the year 1607, the Spanish faction, and soon afterwards the Venetian, took possession of Coire. The former broke up all the existing alliances, the latter restored them. The Spanish party had catholic, the Venetian, protestant sympathies, and these gave the tone to the whole politics of the country. It was now of the greatest importance to ascertain for which side France would declare herself. The French had pensioners all over Switzerland, not only in the catholic but in the protestant cantons, and possessed a long-established influence in the Grisons. About the year 1612, they declared for the catholic interest; the nuncio succeeded in winning over their friends to the side of Rome, and the Venetian alliance was therefore formally dissolved.

This party warfare merited little attention for its own sake; but acquired great importance from the fact, that the opening or closing the passes in the Grisons to the one or the other of the great powers, depended upon it. We shall see that the struggles of this small state had a considerable effect in determining the general relations of politics and religion throughout Europe.

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#### § 7. REGENERATION OF CATHOLICISM IN FRANCE.

At this crisis the question of the greatest interest to the world was, the position and character which France would assume with respect to religion.

\* *Rel<sup>ne</sup> della nuntiatura*: “Il collegio Elvetico di Milano è di gran giovamento, et è la salute in particolare della Val Telina, che quanti preti ha, sono soggetti di detto collegio, e quasi tutti dottorati in theologia.”

One glance suffices to show that the protestants were still extremely powerful.

Henry IV had proclaimed the edict of Nantes, by which not only the possession of the churches they then held was guaranteed to them, but also a share in the institutions for public education, and committees composed of an equal number of protestants and catholics in the parliaments; fortified places were ceded to them in great number; and above all things, a degree of independence was granted them which seems hardly compatible with the idea of a State. About the year 1600, there were seven hundred and sixty parish churches belonging to the protestants of France, all in good order: four thousand of the nobility belonged to that confession, and it was calculated that they could bring into the field without difficulty twenty-five thousand men, and that they possessed about two hundred fortified towns:—a power able to command respect, and not to be assailed with impunity.\*

Next to them however, and in direct opposition, arose a second power—the corporation of the catholic clergy of France.

The vast possessions of the French clergy gave them a certain independence as a body, which became the more conspicuous when they entered into an engagement to pay off a part of the public debt.† For their contribution was not so forced but that their engagement to pay it was from time to time renewed with the forms of a voluntary act.

Under Henry IV, the meetings which were held for this purpose assumed a more regular form. They were to be held every tenth year; always in May, when the days are long and allow time for much business; never at Paris, for fear of the interruptions and disquisitions of a capital. Every two years, smaller meetings were to be held for the purpose of auditing the accounts.

It was not to be expected that these assemblies, particularly the larger ones, would be content with the mere performance of their financial duties. The fulfilment of these soon gave them courage to aim at larger objects. In the years 1595 and 1596, they determined to reorganise the provincial councils; to oppose the encroachments made by the temporal authorities upon the ecclesiastical ju-

\* Badoer, *Relatione di Francia*, 1605.

† In the *Mémoires du clergé de France*, tom. ix.—*Recueil des contrats passés par le clergé avec les rois*—are to be found the documents relating to this affair, from the year 1561 downwards. At the convention of Poisy in this year, for instance, the clergy undertook not only to pay the interest of the debts which had been incurred by the state, but to discharge them. The discharge did not take place: the promise to pay the interest however was adhered to. The debts were chiefly those which had been contracted to the Hotel de Ville of Paris, and the city received the interest: a fixed annual rent was paid to it by the clergy. It is easy to see, why Paris, even if its citizens had not been such good catholics as they were, would never have ventured to give any countenance to the ruin of the clergy, nor consented to the destruction of the ecclesiastical possessions, which were thus mortgaged to them.

isdiction, and to permit no simony: to these resolutions the king, after some slight hesitation, gave his sanction.\* It was customary for the clergy to make general representations in all matters relating to churches and church discipline; these the king could not possibly refuse to receive, and they invariably led to new concessions. At their next meeting, the clergy set on foot an inquiry whether the changes they had directed had been carried into execution.

Henry's situation was now most extraordinary; placed between two corporations, each of which had a certain independence, each holding its meetings at stated times, and each assailing him with opposite representations, neither of which it was safe for him to resist.

His general intention was, doubtless, to maintain the balance between them, and not to suffer them to break out into fresh discord; but if we inquire to which of the two parties he was most inclined, and gave in fact the greatest assistance, we shall find that, notwithstanding his own protestant extraction, it was undoubtedly the catholic.

Henry was as little swayed by gratitude as by revenge; he was more solicitous to acquire new friends, than to reward or to gratify the old.

Had not the Huguenots been obliged to extort from him even the edict of Nantes? He granted it only at a moment when he was hard pressed by the Spaniards, and when the protestants had themselves assumed a very threatening and warlike attitude.† They used their freedom in the same spirit in which they had won it; they constituted a republic over which the king had but little influence; and from time to time they spoke as if they meant to choose some foreign protector.

The catholic clergy, on the contrary, attached themselves to the king; instead of requiring pecuniary assistance, they afforded it; the degree of independence they enjoyed could not be dangerous, since the king held the nomination to the vacant sees in his own hands. In so far as the position of the Huguenots involved, as it manifestly did, a limitation of the royal power, it is clear that the extension of that power was inseparably connected with the progress of catholicism.‡

As early as the year 1598, the king declared to the clergy that it

\* *Rélation des principales choses qui ont esté résolues dans l'assemblée générale du clergé tenue à Paris es années 1595 et 1596, envoyée à toutes les diocèses. Mémoires du Clergé, tom. viii, p. 6.*

† This appears incontestably from the narrative of Benoist, *Histoire de l'édit de Nantes*, i, 185.

‡ Niccolò Contarini: "Il re se ben andava temporeggiando con le parti e li suoi ministri e consiglieri fussero dell' una e l'altra religione, pur sempre più si mostrava alienarsi dagli Ugonoti e desiderarli minori: la ragione principal era perchè tenendo essi per li editti di pace molte piazze nelle loro mani, delle quali ben trenta erano di molto momento, senza di queste li pareva non essere assolutamente re del suo regno."

was his intention to render the catholic church as flourishing as it had been in former ages; all he asked was patience and confidence; Paris was not built in a day.\*

From that time the manner of exercising the rights conferred by the concordat was totally changed; benefices were no longer bestowed upon women and children. The king looked most carefully to the learning, the opinions, and the conduct of those upon whom he conferred church livings.

"In all internal matters," says a Venetian, "he shows himself personally devoted to the Roman catholic religion, and unfavorable to the opposite party."

Actuated by these sentiments, he recalled the Jesuits; he thought that their zeal would materially tend to the restoration of catholicism, and consequently to the extension of the royal power, such as he now contemplated and desired it.†

Yet all this would have availed but little, had not the internal regeneration of the catholic church of France, which had already commenced, just now advanced with rapid strides. Within the first twenty years of that century, it assumed a new form. This change, especially as it regards the renovation of convent discipline, in which it appears under its most striking aspect, we shall now briefly consider.

The ancient orders—the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Benedictines—were most zealously reformed. The religious communities of women emulated their zeal and asceticism. The Feuillantines imposed on themselves such austere penances that fourteen are said to have died of them in one week, and the pope himself was obliged to exhort them to moderate the severity of their discipline.‡ Community of goods, silence, and night vigils were re-introduced at Portroyal; the mystery of the Eucharist was adored day and night without intermission.§ The nuns of Calvary observed the rule of Saint Benedict in all its rigor; they offered up incessant prayer at the foot of the cross, which they regarded as a sort of expiatory penance for the outrages offered by protestants to the tree of life.||

At that time Saint Theresa had reformed the order of the Carmelites in Spain, but in a somewhat different spirit. She also prescribed the most rigid seclusion; restricting the visits of the nearest kindred at the grate, and subjecting even the confessors to vigilant

\* Mémoires du Clergé, tom. xiv, p. 259.

† Contarini: "Per abbassamento del quale (del partito degli Ugonoti) s'imaginò di poter dar gran colpo col richiamar li Gesuiti, pensando anco in questa maniera di toglier la radice a molte congiure." The king had said, in answer to the demands of the parliaments, that if they would ensure his personal safety, the exile of the Jesuits should be perpetual.

‡ Helyot, Histoire des ordres monastiques, v, p. 412.

§ Felibien, Histoire de Paris, ii, 1339, a work throughout of great importance as regards the history of the restoration, and which, in many instances, takes its accounts from original documents.

|| La vie du véritable père Josef, 1705, p. 53-73.

inspection. But Saint Theresa did not regard austerity as an end; she employed it only as a means of elevating the soul to an immediate contemplation of the Deity, and to some similitude with the divine spirit.

But experience and reflection soon taught her that no retirement from the world, no privation, no self-chastisement, would suffice to maintain the mind in the requisite state of abstraction from earthly objects without other means: these means she found in labor;—the business of the household, the works which become the hands of woman, the salt which preserves the soul of woman from corruption, the guardian which shuts the door against the intrusion of all wandering thoughts. Yet this labor was not to be costly, nor over delicate, nor to be completed within a fixed time; it was not to absorb the attention. Her object was to preserve the serenity of a soul conscious of its existence in God; a soul, as she says, “that ever lives as if standing before the face of Almighty God; that knows no sorrow nor pain but that of not enjoying His presence.” She wished to produce what she calls the prayer of love, “in which the soul forgets herself, and drinks in the voice of her Divine Master.”\* The enthusiasm of this remarkable woman was at all events pure, grand and unaffected, and made the strongest impression on the whole catholic world. The persuasion soon spread to France, that something more than mere penances was necessary. Pierre Berulle was sent to Spain as delegate to the order which he afterwards introduced, though not without some difficulty, into France, where it took root and brought forth the fairest fruits.

The monasteries founded by St. François de Sales were also governed by the same mild spirit. He endeavored to pursue every occupation with cheerful serenity, without painful effort or hurry. With the aid of his fellow-laborer, Mère de Chantal, he established the order of Visitation expressly for those whose delicate bodily frame prevented their entering the austerer communities. Not only did he avoid in his rule all acts of penance, strictly so called, and dispense the members of the order from the severer duties, but he warned them against indulging in excesses of enthusiastic feeling. We must, he says, without over-anxious self-investigation, place ourselves before the face of God our Father, and not seek to enjoy more of his presence than he sees fit to grant us: under the garb of religious ecstasy, arrogance and conceit easily get possession of the soul; we ought to walk humbly in the straight and beaten path of virtue. On this principle he enjoined the care of the sick on his nuns as their first duty. The sisters were to go out, always two

\* Diego de Yepes, *Vita della gloriosa vergine S. Teresa di Giesu, fondatrice de' Carmelitani scalzi*, Roma, 1623, p. 303. *Constituzioni principali*, § 3, p. 208. The *Exclamaciones o meditaciones di S. Teresa con algunos otros tratadillos*, Brusselas, 1682, contain proofs of an enthusiasm almost too exalted for our taste.

together, a superior and an attendant, to visit the indigent sick in their own houses. "We must pray by our works, by labors of love," was the maxim of St. François de Sales. His order exercised a beneficent influence on the whole of France.\*

All these changes mark an evident progress from severity to moderation, from enthusiasm to serenity, and from a life of ascetical seclusion to the fulfilment of social duties.

The Ursuline nuns, who take a fourth vow to devote themselves to the education of young girls—a duty which they performed with admirable zeal—had already been received in France.

As might be concluded, a similar spirit was rife and active among the religious societies of men.

Jean Bapiste Romillon, who, up to his six-and-twentieth year, had borne arms against catholicism, but had then become a convert to it, now, with the assistance of a friend who shared his views, established the order of the Fathers of Christian Doctrine, which laid the foundation of elementary instruction in France.

We have already mentioned Berulle, one of the most distinguished French ecclesiastics of that time. From his earliest youth he had shown an ardent zeal to qualify himself for the service of the church: he kept daily present to him, as he says, "the truest and most intimate thought of his heart," which was to strive after the greatest attainable perfection. Perhaps the difficulties which he encountered in this work suggested to him the paramount necessity of an institution for the education of clergymen in the special and immediate duties of their vocation. He took as his model Filippo Neri, who had founded the establishment of priests of the oratory. He allowed no vows, only simple engagements; he had sense and magnanimity enough to wish that those who did not feel a strong disposition for that service should quit it. This institution had great success; the absence of severity attracted pupils of higher rank, and Berulle soon found himself at the head of a brilliant, able, and docile set of young men; episcopal seminaries and learned schools were con-signed to his direction, and a new and active spirit animated the clergy trained in his institution. It formed a great number of celebrated preachers, and from that time the character of the pulpit eloquence of France was determined.†

It is impossible to pass over the congregation of St. Maur. Whilst the French benedictines embraced the reforms which their order had undergone in Lorraine, they added to the existing duties, that of devoting themselves to the education of the young nobility, and to letters. At the very commencement of this change appeared the celebrated Nicholas Hugo Ménard, who directed their studies

\* E. g. in Gallitia, *Leben des heiligen Franz von Sales*, ii, 285. His character appears in the clearest and most attractive manner, however, in his own works, particularly the *Introduction to a Devotional Life*.

† Tabaraud, *Histoire de Pierre de Berulle*, Paris, 1817.



to ecclesiastical antiquities, and to whom the world is indebted for so many magnificent works.\*

Mary of Medicis introduced into France the order of the brethren of mercy, founded by that unwearied servant of the sick, Juan de Dios,† a Portuguese, to whom that name was given, in a moment of admiration, by a Spanish bishop. They increased the severity of their rule, but this only served to procure them more followers, and in a short time we find thirty hospitals founded by them.

But what an undertaking is it to change the religious character of a whole nation—to give a new direction to its faith and doctrine! In many of the more remote districts, among the country people, and even among the parish priests, the old abuses still prevailed; till at length, in the midst of this general religious excitement, Vincent de Paul, the great missionary of the common people, appeared, and founded the congregation of the mission, the members of which were to travel from place to place, and to excite and spread the spirit of piety through the remotest corners of the land. Vincent himself was a peasant's son, humble, full of zeal and of practical good sense.‡ The order of the sisters of mercy also owes its origin to him; an order, in which the more delicate sex, at a time of life when all the visions of domestic happiness or worldly splendor float before their eyes, devoted themselves to the service of the sick—often of the abandoned—without venturing to give more than a transient expression to those religious feelings which were the source and spring of all their toils.

These efforts for the improvement or the consolation of humanity are now happily become of constant recurrence in every Christian land; the education of the poor, the promotion of learning, and the mitigation of human suffering, every where command attention. Never will such efforts succeed without an union of varied ability and knowledge with religious enthusiasm. In protestant countries they are generally left to the energy of each successive generation, and to a sense of the necessities of the moment. But catholicism aims at giving an unalterable basis to associations formed for such objects, and a uniform direction to the religious impulse which prompts them; in order that every effort may be consecrated to the immediate service of the church, and that successive generations may be trained, by a silent but resistless process, in the same spirit.

The most important results were soon visible in France. Already, under Henry IV, the protestants felt that they were crippled and endangered by the searching and boundless activity displayed by

\* Filipe le Cerf, *Bibliothèque historique et critique des auteurs de la congrégation de S. Maur*, p. 355.

† *Approbatio congregationis fratrum Johannis Dei*, 1572. Kal. Jan. (Bullar. Cocquel. iv, iii, 190)

‡ Stolberg, *Leben des heiligen Vincentius Von Paulus*, Münster, 1813. The worthy Stolberg ought not, however, to have treated his hero as "a man by whom France had been regenerated." (p. 6, p. 399.)

their antagonists; for some time protestantism made no progress; soon after it began to lose ground, and even before the death of that monarch they complained that desertion had commenced in their ranks.

And yet Henry had been forced by his policy to grant them fresh privileges, and to disregard the suggestions of the pope, who desired that they should be excluded from all public offices.

Mary of Medici, however, abandoned the policy which had been hitherto pursued, and on many points attached herself more closely to Spain. A decidedly catholic spirit predominated in domestic and foreign affairs, not only at court, but even in the assembly of estates. In the year 1614, the two first meetings expressly required the publication of the decrees of the council of Trent, and even the restoration of church property in Bearn.

It was exceedingly fortunate for the protestants, among whom also great zeal and activity prevailed for the interests of their church, that they occupied so strong a political situation, and were so formidable as to render it impossible to extinguish it. Since the government had joined their opponents, the protestants had found support and assistance from powerful malcontents, who have ever been, and will ever be, numerous in France. Some time therefore elapsed before it was possible to make a direct attack on them.

## CHAPTER II.

### GENERAL WAR—TRIUMPHS OF CATHOLICISM.

1617—1623.



#### § 1. BREAKING OUT OF THE WAR.

HOWEVER widely different be the circumstances which we have thus seen developed, they combine to form one grand result; on every side catholicism has advanced with mighty strides, on every side it has encountered a vigorous resistance. In Poland it has not succeeded in crushing its adversary, only because protestantism was there invincibly sustained by the sympathies of the neighboring kingdoms. In Germany a compactly cemented opposition repelled the advances of the prevailing creed, and of the returning priesthood. The king of Spain reluctantly consented to grant the United Provinces an armistice which almost implied a formal recognition. The French Huguenots were prepared against every attack by the possession of fortified towns, by disciplined and armed troops, and by well-considered financial arrangements. In Switzerland the balance of parties had long been consolidated on so firm a basis that regenerated catholicism had no power to derange it.

Europe thus appears to us divided into two worlds which surround, limit, expel, and assail each other at every point.

On instituting a general comparison between them, we are immediately struck with the far greater unity exhibited by the catholic party. We are indeed aware that it is not without intestine discords, but at present these are silenced. Above all, an amicable and even confidential intercourse subsists between France and Spain; the occasional ebullitions of the old enmity of Venice or Savoy do not materially affect the general interests of catholicism; and even such formidable attempts as the conspiracy against Venice pass over without serious disturbance. Pope Paul V, after the experience of the early part of his reign had afforded him such an impressive lesson, was calm and moderate; he found means to maintain peace between the catholic powers, and occasionally gave an important turn to the general policy of Europe.

The protestants, on the other hand, had not only no centre of union, but since the death of Elizabeth of England, and the accession of James I, who from the beginning of his reign maintained a somewhat equivocal policy, they had not even a leader. Lutherans and Calvinists stood opposed to each other with a feeling of mutual hatred, which necessarily led to opposite political measures. But the Calvinists, or as they are called in Germany the reformed church, were also divided among themselves; Episcopalian and Puritans, Arminians and Gomarists, attacked each other with the fiercest hate; and in the assembly of the Huguenots at Saumur, in the year 1611, a schism broke out which was never radically healed.

This remarkable difference between the two great parties is certainly not to be ascribed to any inferiority in religious ardor and activity on the side of the catholics; indeed we have just remarked the very contrary. A more probable cause is the following. Catholicism did not possess that energy inspired by an exclusive system of dogmas which was the characteristic of protestantism; there were important and disputed questions which it left undetermined; enthusiasm, mysticism, and that profound instinct or sentiment, hardly reaching the distinctness of thought, which from time to time will ever spring up anew out of the religious tendencies of our nature, were embraced and embodied by catholicism; they were reduced to a regular system, and rendered subsidiary to the uses of religion in the form of monastic asceticism. This spirit was, on the contrary, repressed, condemned, and utterly rejected by protestantism. Hence among the protestants, these religious tendencies, abandoned to their own course, broke out in the shape of innumerable sects, each of which sought its own narrow but uncontrolled field of action.

In harmony with this view of the two grand divisions of the religious world is the fact, that literature on the catholic side, had attained to far greater perfection and regularity of form. We may indeed assert that the modern classical forms and character of literature in Italy owe their development and finish to the auspices of the church; in Spain, as considerable an approach to them was made as the genius of the nation permitted; a similar progress commenced in France, where at a later period the classical type was so completely adopted, and with such brilliant results. Malherbe appeared, who first willingly submitted to rule and deliberately renounced all license,\* and who gave added force and currency to his opinions in favor of monarchy and catholicism, by the epigrammatical precision, the ease and the elegance (somewhat

\* The genius of Malherbe and his style of writing are discussed in the recent and remarkable additions to the biography of the poet, by Racan, in the *Mémoires* or rather *Historiettes* of Tallemant des Reaux, published by Monmerqué, 1834, i, p, 195.

prosaical indeed, but admirably adapted to the French mind) with which he expressed them. In the Germanic nations this classical tendency obtained no such triumph, even on the catholic side; it got possession only of Latin poetry, in which it sometimes has the air of a parody, even in the works of a man of such remarkable talent as Balde. All that was written in the vernacular tongue continued to be a genuine expression of nature. Still less successful was the imitation of the antique among the protestants of these nations. Shakspeare places the whole matter and spirit of the romantic before our eyes, in forms of imperishable beauty;—the free and spontaneous offspring of a mind to which antiquity and history were but ministering servants. From the workshop of a German shoemaker there issued poems, obscure, formless, and inscrutable, but possessed of a resistless attraction, marked by a German depth of feeling, and by a religious contemplation of the world, which have never found their equal;—the genuine inspiration of nature.

But I will not attempt to describe the contrasts presented by these two intellectual worlds; it were impossible to embrace them all without having devoted more attention to that of the protestant party. I may however be permitted to enlarge upon one aspect of this subject which had a direct influence on the events we are contemplating.

The monarchical tendencies were now predominant in the catholic world. Ideas of popular rights, of legitimate resistance to monarchs, of the sovereignty of the people, of the lawfulness of putting kings to death, &c., which thirty years before were maintained by the most zealous catholics, were now no longer in fashion. No considerable contest was now going on between a catholic population and a protestant prince; England was quiet even under James I; and the theories we have just alluded to became wholly inapplicable to existing circumstances. Hence it followed that the religious principle became more intimately connected with the dynastical one; and if I mistake not, this connection was greatly aided by the superiority in personal character and qualities which distinguished the catholic rulers. This at least was the case in Germany. The aged bishop Julius of Würzburg, the first who attempted a thorough counter-reformation in Germany, was still living. Elector Schweikard, of Mayence, performed the functions of arch-chancellor of the empire with an ability exalted by his warm and sincere interest in public affairs, and restored to that dignity its high influence.\* The two other Rhenish electors were resolute, active men; by their side stood the manly, acute, indefatigable Maximilian of Bavaria,

\* Montorio, *Relatione di Germania*, 1624: “Di costumi gravi, molto intento alle cose del governo così spirituale come temporale, molto bene affetto verso il servizio di cotesta santa sede, desideroso del progresso della religione, una de primi prelati della Germania.”

an able administrator, filled with lofty political objects; and archduke Ferdinand, invincible in the strength of the faith which he held with all the fervor of an energetic soul; almost all of them disciples of the Jesuits, who had the art of instilling a certain grandeur and elevation of views into the minds of their pupils; all of them reformers in their way, who had brought about that state of things which now existed, by their ardent exertions and their religious enthusiasm.

The protestant princes, on the contrary, were rather heirs to the labors of others, than originators of new enterprises; they stood in the second or third generation. In a few there were marks of some activity, but I think rather prompted by ambition and restlessness, than by energy of character or genuine strength of mind.

On the other hand, there now appeared a manifest inclination towards a republican form of government, or at least towards the independence of the aristocracy. In many countries, as for instance in France, in Poland, and in all the Austrian dominions, a powerful protestant nobility was engaged in an open struggle with the catholic government; and the republic of the Netherlands, which daily rose to a higher pitch of prosperity, afforded a brilliant example of what might be obtained by such a resistance. It was certainly matter of debate among the nobles at that time in Austria, whether they should not emancipate themselves from the reigning family, and frame a constitution like that of Switzerland or the Netherlands. The success of such plans afforded the only chance to the imperial cities of once more rising to importance, and they accordingly took a lively share in them. The internal organisation of the Huguenot party was already republican, and indeed not devoid of democratic elements. In England these were represented by the puritans arrayed against a protestant king. There is extant a little treatise by an imperial ambassador to Paris of that time, in which he earnestly calls the attention of the sovereigns of Europe to the common danger which threatened them from the growth of this spirit.\*

At the moment in question the catholic world was united, classical, monarchical; the protestant, divided, romantic, republican.

In the year 1617, everything tended towards a decisive struggle between them. It appears that the catholic party felt its own superiority; at any rate it was the first aggressor.

On the 15th June, 1617, an edict was published in France, in virtue of which the church property in Bearn was restored. This had long been demanded by the catholic clergy, but had constantly been refused by the court, out of a prudential deference to the

\* *Advis sur les causes des mouvemens de l'Europe, envoyé aux roys et princes pour la conversation de leurs royaumes et principautés, fait par Messir Al. Cunr. baron de Fridemburg, et présenté au roy très chrestien par le comte de Furstemberg, ambassadeur de l'empereur.* Inserted in the *Mercure François*, tom. ix, p. 342.

interests and wishes of the Huguenot chiefs, and to the general power of that party. It was obtained from Luines, who, although the protestants had at first relied upon him,\* had gradually attached himself to the Jesuit or papal party. In several places, the mob, encouraged by this disposition on the part of the government, had risen tumultuously, sounded the tocsin, and attacked the protestants; the parliaments, too, took part against them.

The Polish prince Wladislaus once more took arms in the confident expectation that he should now occupy the throne of Moscow. It was thought that designs upon Sweden were connected with his enterprise, and war between Poland and Sweden immediately broke out afresh.†

But the events of far the greatest importance were preparing in the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria. The archdukes had been reconciled and cordially reunited. With the magnanimity and sense which that house has often displayed in moments of danger, the other brothers relinquished to archduke Ferdinand the claims which naturally devolved on them after the death of the emperor Matthias, who had no issue; and in a short time he was actually recognised as successor to the throne in Hungary and Bohemia. This was indeed only an adjustment of personal claims, but its effects on the public interests were not the less important.

From so determined a zealot as Ferdinand, nothing could be expected, but that he would immediately endeavor to secure an absolute and undivided supremacy to his own creed at home, and would then apply the whole collective strength of these countries to the propagation of catholicism abroad;—designs pregnant with danger to all protestants in his hereditary dominions, in Germany, and indeed throughout Europe.

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But this very danger instantly aroused opposition. The protestants, who had resisted the encroachments of catholicism, were not only armed for self-protection, but had boldness enough to relinquish their defensive attitude for one of attack.

In the elector palatine Frederic were concentrated all the elements of European protestantism. His wife was the daughter of

\* This, amongst other pieces of information, is to be gathered from a letter by Duplessis Mornay, Saumur, 26 Avril, 1617, “sur ce coup de majorité,” as he styles the murder of the maréchal d’Ancre. *La vie de du Plessis*, p. 465.

† Hiörn, *Esth-Lyf- und Lettländische Geschichte*, p. 418. “The Swedes knew that the king of Poland had sent his son into Russia accompanied by a considerable force, with the intention of surprising the fortresses which had been yielded up by the Moscovites to the Swedes, in order that, should this scheme be successful, he might, with the greater ease, himself attack the kingdom of Sweden: indeed, aid in the execution of this latter design had been promised him both at the diet of the States held in Poland, and by the house of Austria; hence he turned his thoughts more upon this matter than upon anything else.”

the king of England, and the niece of the king of Denmark; his uncle was Prince Maurice of Orange; and nearly related to him was the leader of the Huguenots of the less pacific party, the Duc de Bouillon. He himself stood at the head of the German Union. He was a prince of stern, sedate character, endowed with sufficient self-command to avoid the dissolute habits which then degraded the courts of Germany, and chiefly solicitous to fulfil his duties as ruler, and sedulously to attend the sittings of his privy council; a man of a proud and melancholy nature, full of high thoughts.\* In his father's time there were tables in the dining-hall for nobles and councillors; he caused them all to be removed, and would eat in company with none but princes or persons of the most illustrious rank. The feeling of a high political vocation was cherished at this court, which designedly engaged in a thousand connections involving remote consequences. So long a time had elapsed since there had been any serious war, that people had no distinct idea what the future would bring forth; and the field was thus left open to the wildest and most daring schemes.

Such was the temper of the court of Heidelberg, when the Bohemians, who had had a rupture with the house of Austria, which daily assumed a more violent and stormy character, (especially in consequence of the sense of that danger to their religious rights to which we have alluded,) determined to throw off their allegiance to Ferdinand, although he already held their promise, and to offer the crown to the elector palatine.

For a moment Frederic hesitated. There was as yet no example of one German prince wresting from another a throne which was his by legitimate succession. But all his friends—Maurice, who had never approved the truce of the Spaniards; the Duc de Bouillon; Christian of Anhalt, who took a comprehensive view of the whole mechanism and bearing of European policy, and was persuaded that no one would have the courage or the power to oppose the step when once taken—all these, his most confidential advisers, urged him on; till at length, hurried away by the sight of the boundless vista it opened to him, by ambition and by religious zeal, he accepted the proffered crown, (August, 1619.) What must have been the results if he could have maintained his position! The power of the house of Austria in the east of Europe would have been broken—the progress of catholicism for ever checked.

And already strong sympathies were at work in his favor. There

\* *Relazione di Germania, 1617*: “Frederico IV d'età di anni 20, di mezzana statura, d'aspetto grave, di natura malinconico, di carnagione buona, uomo di alti pensieri, e rare volte si rallegra. e coll' appoggio dell' accasamento fatto con la figliuola del re d'Inghilterra e di altri parentieconfederati aspirarebbe a cose maggiori se segli appresentasse occasione a proposito: onde essendo ben conosciuto suo naturale per il colonello di Scomburg già suo ajo, seppe così ben valersene, accomodandosi al suo umore, che mentre visse fu più d'ogni altro suo confidente.”



was an universal stir among the Huguenots in France; the Béarnois resisted the king's commands; the assembly at London took part with them, and nothing could have been more desirable to the queen-mother than to gain over the support of this opposition party, which was ready to come to open war; Rohan was already on her side, and had promised her the co-operation of the rest.

In the Grisons, the scene of incessant agitation, the catholic or Spanish party was again subjugated, and the protestant predominant. The court at Davos received with pleasure the envoy of the new king of Bohemia, and promised him to hold the passes of the country against the Spaniards for ever.\*

It is well worthy of remark, that these successes on the side of protestantism were accompanied by a simultaneous rise of the republican spirit. Not only did the estates of Bohemia maintain a national independence of the king on whom they had bestowed the crown, but in all the hereditary domains of Austria an attempt was made to imitate them. The German imperial cities conceived fresh hopes; and the most liberal and timely pecuniary aid which Frederic received was furnished by them.

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But it was precisely this obvious disposition on the part of the people to connect religion with politics, which now drew closer the ties that bound together the catholic princes.

Maximilian of Bavaria and Ferdinand, who had had the good fortune at this moment to be chosen emperor, contracted the strictest alliance; the king of Spain prepared to give efficient succor, and pope Paul V was prevailed upon to furnish very considerable and welcome subsidies.

As in the stormy season of the year the winds sometimes suddenly veer completely round, so the tide of fortune and success now all at once turned.

The catholics succeeded in winning over to their cause the elector of Saxony, one of the most powerful protestant princes;—a Lutheran, however, and a bitter and inveterate foe to every Calvinistic innovation.

They immediately conceived hopes of victory. A single battle on the Weissberg, on the 8th of November, 1620, put an end to the power of the elector palatine Frederic, and to all his projects.

For the Union did not defend its chief with the requisite vigor. It may be that the united princes took alarm at the republican spirit afloat, and dreaded its consequences to themselves; they refused to open the Rhine to the Dutch, and feared the analogies which the

\* Those who were contemporary with these events perceived their connection, which at a later period, was no longer attended to. Fürstl. Anhaltische Geh. Canzlei Fortsetzung, p. 67.

government of the United Provinces might suggest to their own subjects. The catholics immediately obtained the ascendancy in southern Germany also. The Upper Palatinate was attacked by Bavaria, the Lower by Spain; and in April, 1621, the Union was dissolved. All who had been active in the cause of Frederic were driven out of the country, or entirely ruined. The catholic principle passed with wonderful rapidity from a moment of the utmost danger, to an omnipotent sway over the south of Germany and the Austrian provinces.

Meanwhile a great crisis also took place in France. After a victory which the royal power had obtained over the rebellious factions of the court, headed by the queen mother (with whom the Huguenots unquestionably were in correspondence,\*) the papal nuncio urged the necessity of taking advantage of the favorable moment for a general attack upon protestantism; he would hear of no delays; in France, what was once put off, he said, was never done at all.† Luines and the king were carried away by his argument. In Bearn the old factions of Beaumont and Grammont, which had been fighting for centuries, still existed, and their feud enabled the king to march unresisted into the country, to disband the military force, dissolve the constitution, and restore the dominion of the catholic church. The protestants in the other parts of France made some demonstrations of taking up the cause of their co-religionists; but in the year 1621 they were beaten in every quarter.

About this same time Giacopo Robustelli, a captain of the Val-teline, having collected a band of catholic exiles and banditti from the Milanese and Venetian territories, resolved to put an end to the sovereignty of the Grisons, whose protestant yoke was so oppressive to his countrymen. This lawless and sanguinary band was inflamed to a furious pitch of religious fanaticism by the exhortations of a capuchin friar; on the 19th of July, 1620, they found an entrance into Tirano, and at break of day rang the bells of the churches: the protestants hearing this rushed out of their houses, when Robustelli's troops fell upon them and massacred them all. The same fierce tragedy was acted through the whole valley. In vain did the people of the Grisons make repeated descents from their lofty mountains in the hope of regaining their power; they were beaten every time. In the year 1621 the Austrians entered the Grisons proper from the Tyrol, and the Spaniards from Milan. "The wild mountains echoed with the shrieks of death, and were fearfully lighted up with the flames of the solitary dwellings." The passes and the whole country were taken.

\* Benoist himself says, ii, 291, "Les réformés n'auroient attendu que les premiers succès pour se ranger au même parti (de la reine.)"

† Siri, *Memoire recondite*, tom. v, p. 148.

These triumphs of their arms awakened all the hopes of the catholics.

The pope represented to the court of Spain, that the Netherlanders were divided and now without allies, and that a more seasonable time could not possibly occur for renewing the war against the rebels; his representations were successful.\* The chancellor of Brabant, Peter Peckius, appeared at the Hague on the 25th of March, 1621, and instead of proposing a renewal of the truce which just then expired, proposed the recognition of the legitimate princes.† The States General declared this suggestion to be unjust, unexpected, and inhuman, and hostilities broke out afresh.

Here too the Spaniards were at first successful. They took Juliers from the Netherlanders, which greatly facilitated their enterprises on the Rhine; the whole of the left bank from Emmeric to Strasburg was in their hands.

These numerous victories conspiring to one end, occurring in so many different quarters, and attributable to such various causes and antecedents, yet, when viewed with reference to the state and progress of the public mind throughout Europe, constitute but one individual fact. Let us now attend to the more weighty point—the purposes to which those victories were turned.

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## § 2. GREGORY XV.

During the procession to celebrate the victory of the Weissberg, Paul V was struck with apoplexy. Shortly afterwards he had a second stroke, of the effects of which he died, 28th January, 1621.

The new election differed little in its general features from the preceding ones. Paul V had reigned so long that nearly the whole college had been renewed during his pontificate, and hence by far the greater number of the cardinals were dependents of his nephew, cardinal Borghese. After some hesitation and debate, Borghese found a man who united the suffrages of all his adherents—Alessandro Ludovisio of Bologna, who was forthwith elected on the 9th February, 1621, and took the name of Gregory XV.

He was a small phlegmatic man, who had formerly acquired the reputation of being a skilful negotiator, possessing the art of silently and unostentatiously accomplishing his ends.‡ Now, however, he was feeble, and sick, and bent with age.

\* *Instruzione a M<sup>re</sup> Sangro.* “Là onde S. M<sup>a</sup> non può voltare le sue forze in miglior tempo ovvuro opportunità.”

† Literally he pressed for a union—“sub agnitione dominorum principumque legitimorum.” Both the demand and the answer are to be found in *Leonis ab Aietzema historia tractatum pacis Belgicæ*, p. 2 and 4.

‡ *Relazione di IV ambasciatori*, 1521: “Di pelo che avvicinasì al biondo. La natura sua è sempre conosciuta placida e flemmatica, lontana dall’ imbarbarciarsi

What part in the struggle now going on—a struggle involving the destinies of the world—was to be expected from a pope, to whom his ministers and attendants often did not venture to communicate critical affairs, lest they should give the last shock to his frail existence?\*

But the powers of the papacy, which were too mighty for the dying arm of Gregory to wield, were instantly grasped by his nephew, Ludovico Ludovisio, a young man of twenty-five, who displayed all the talent and boldness which the posture of things demanded.

Ludovico was magnificent and brilliant; he never neglected an opportunity of obtaining wealth, of forming advantageous alliances, of promoting and favoring his friends; he was disposed to enjoy life, and indulgent to the enjoyments of others; but he never lost sight of the great interests of the church. Even his enemies admitted his great talents for the conduct of business; his singular justness of mind and tact in discovering a satisfactory way out of the most embarrassing difficulties, and that calm and cool courage which enables a man to descry a possible event in the dim horizon of the future, and to steer his course steadily towards it.† Had not the feebleness of his uncle, which promised him but a short tenure of power, held him in fetters, his fearless spirit would have shrunk from no consideration of danger.

It was a most important circumstance, that not only the pope, but his nephew, was filled with the conviction that the salvation of the world depended on the spread of catholicism. Cardinal Ludovisio, educated by the Jesuits, was their great patron. The church of St. Ignatius at Rome was built chiefly at his cost; he attached considerable importance to his office of protector of the capuchins, and declared that he thought this the most important patronage he enjoyed. He devoted himself warmly and by predilection to the most orthodox and rigid forms of Romanist opinions.‡ We can hardly convey a more accurate idea of the spirit of the new papal government, than by recalling the fact, that it was under Gregory XV that the propaganda was instituted, and that the founders of the order of Jesus, Ignatius and Xavier, were canonized.

The origin of the propaganda is properly to be traced to an edict

in rotture, amicissimo d'andare in negotio destreggiando et avanzando li proprj fini."

\* Rainier Zeno, *Relatione di Roma*, 1623: "Aggiungendosi all' età cadente una fiacchissima complessione in un corpicciolo stenuato e mal affetto."

† Rainier Zeno: "E d'ingegno vivacissimo: l' ha dimostrato nel suo governo per l'abondanza dei partiti che in ogni grave trattatione gli suggerivano suoi spiriti nati per comandare, i quali se bene in molte parti aberravano dell' uopo della bona politica, nondimeno l'intrepidezza, con la quale si mostrava pronto ad abbracciare ogni ripiego appreso da lui per buono, poco curandosi di consigli di chi gli haveria potuto esser maestro, davano a credere che la sua natura sdegnava una privata conditione."

‡ Giunti, *Vita e fatti di Ludovico Ludovisio*. MS.

of Gregory XIII; in virtue of which a certain number of cardinals were charged with the direction of missions to the east, and catechisms were ordered to be printed in the less known languages.\* But the institution was neither firmly established, nor provided with the requisite funds, nor arranged on a comprehensive scale. At that time there was a celebrated preacher at Rome, one Girolamo da Narni, who had acquired universal respect by a life which secured him the reputation of a saint, and who displayed a copiousness of thought, a purity of expression, and a majesty of delivery in the pulpit, which carried away all his hearers. As Bellarmine once came from hearing him preach, he said he thought that one of St. Augustine's three wishes had just been granted to him—the wish to hear St. Paul. Cardinal Ludovisio was one of his patrons and admirers, and defrayed the expenses of printing his sermons. This capuchin now conceived the idea of extending the institution in question.† By his advice a congregation in all its forms was founded, and charged to hold regular sittings for the purpose of watching over the conduct of missions in every part of the world, and to assemble at least once a month in the presence of the pope. Gregory XV advanced the first funds, and his nephew contributed to them from his private purse; and as this institution met a want, the existence of which was really felt and acknowledged, its success was daily more and more brilliant. But it is needless to enlarge on its achievements. Who does not know what the propaganda has done for philological learning? Nor was this all—for it labored (and perhaps in the first years of its existence with the amplest results) to fulfil its general vocation with admirable grandeur of conception and execution.

The canonisation of the two Jesuits was prompted by the same views. “At the time,” says the bull, “when new worlds were just discovered; when in the old, Luther had risen up in arms against the catholic church, the soul of Ignatius Loyala was inspired to found a company which should devote itself specially to bring about the conversion of the heathen and the return of heretics. But of all its members, Francisco Xavier proved himself most worthy to be called the apostle of the new discovered nations. For this cause both are now to be received into the catalogue of saints. Churches and altars, whereon sacrifice is offered to God, are to be dedicated to them.”‡

In the spirit revealed in these acts, the new papal government now took prompt measures that the victories gained by catholicism

\* Cocquelines, *Præfatio ad Maffei Annales Gregorio XIII*, p. v.

† Fr. Hierothei, *Epitome historica rerum Franciscanarum*, etc. p. 362: “publicis suasionibus et consiliis privatis.” Fra Girolamo had worked upon the pope. Compare Cerri, *Etat présent de l'église Romaine*, (p. 289,) where may also be found a more detailed account of the institution and the increase of its wealth.

‡ Bullarium Cocquelines, v, 131, 137.

might be followed up by conversions, and all the conquests of the church justified and confirmed by the re-establishment of religion. "We must apply all our thoughts," says one of Gregory XV's first instructions, "to extract the greatest possible advantage from the happy revulsion that has taken place, and from the triumphant attitude of the church."

A project which was executed with signal success.

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§ 3. BOHEMIA AND THE HEREDITARY DOMINIONS OF AUSTRIA.

The attention of the papal government was first turned to the rising fortunes of catholicism in the Austrian provinces.

Gregory XV not only doubled the subsidy which the emperor had hitherto received,\* but promised him a sum of no inconsiderable amount as a gift in addition—although, as he said, he retained hardly enough to live on;—at the same time urging him not to delay a single moment to follow up his victory, and instantly to begin the work of re-establishing the catholic religion,† by which alone he could prove his gratitude to the God of victory. He lays it down as a first principle, that the nations, by their rebellious backslidings, had fallen under the necessity of a more rigid control, and must be compelled by force to abandon their godless ways.

The nuncio whom Gregory XV sent to the emperor was that Carlo Caraffa so celebrated in German history. From the two reports which he left, the one printed, the other in MS., we can ascertain with perfect distinctness what were the measures he adopted for the attainment of these ends.

In Bohemia, the scene of his first exertions, he immediately endeavored to banish the protestant preachers and schoolmasters, "who were guilty of offence against divine and human majesty."

This was not so easy; the members of the imperial government at Prague deemed it as yet too perilous. It was not till Mansfield was driven out of the Upper Palatinate, all danger from without at an end, and some regiments marched to Prague at the nuncio's request, that on the 13th December, 1621, they ventured to proceed to this extreme measure; and even then they spared the two Lutheran preachers, out of deference to the elector of Saxony. The nuncio, representative of a principle which knew no respect of persons, and scorned all compromise, would hear nothing of this; he

\* From 20,000 gulden, to 20,000 scudi. The present was to consist of 200,000 scudi. He would have liked with this money to support a number of regiments to be placed under the papal authority.

† *Instruzione al vescovo d' Aversa*, 12 Apr. 1621: "Non è tempo di indugi nè di coperti andamenti." In particular they thought at Rome that Bucquoi was far too slow: "La prestezza apportarebbe il rimedio di tanti mali, se dal conte di Bucquoi per altro valoroso capitano ella si potesse sperare."

complained that the whole people were devoted to these men; that a catholic priest had nothing to do, and could not find the means of subsistence.\* In October, 1622, he at length carried his point, and the Lutheran ministers also were banished. It seemed for a moment as if the fears of the council of government would be verified; the elector of Saxony published a threatening manifesto, and assumed a hostile attitude on the most important questions; even the emperor once told the nuncio that there had been far too much haste, and that it would have been better to choose a more seasonable time.† Nevertheless means were found to keep Ferdinand steady to his purpose; the old bishop of Würzburg represented to him that "a glorious emperor ought not to be appalled by dangers; at all events it were better to fall into the hands of men, than into the hands of the living God." The emperor yielded. The nuncio enjoyed the triumph of seeing Saxony consent to the banishment of the preachers, and retract his opposition.

The way was thus smoothed. The places of the protestant preachers were filled by Dominicans, Augustines and Carmelites, for there was a great want of secular clergy; a complete colony of Franciscans arrived from Gnesen, and Jesuits were sure to be found in abundance; accordingly, when a missive arrived from the propaganda charging them to take upon themselves the duty of parish priests, they had already done so.‡

The only question now seemed to be, whether they should allow the national utraquist mode of worship to subsist, at least partially, according to the decrees of the council of Basle. The council of government, and the governor himself, Prince Lichtenstein, were for it.§ On Holy Thursday, 1622, they permitted the Lord's supper to be once more administered in both kinds, and a murmur arose among the people that they would not suffer this ancient usage, handed down to them from their forefathers, to be torn from

\* Caraffa ragguaglio MS.: "Conducevano in disperatione i parrochi cattolici per vedersi da essi (Luterani) levarsi ogni emolumento." The printed Commentarii, however, contain a more ostensible notice: "Quamdiu illi hærebant, tandiu adhuc sperabant sectarii S. majestatem consessorum aliquando liberam facultatem." (p. 130.)

† Caraffa, ragguaglio: "Sua M<sup>a</sup> mi si dimostrò con questo di qualche pensiero, ed uscì a dirmi che si haveva havuta troppa prescia e che saria stato meglio cacciare quei predicanti in altro tempo dopo che si fosse tenuto il convento in Ratisbona. Al che io replicai che Sua Maestà poteva havere più tosto errato nella tardanza che nella fretta circa questo fatto, poichè se il Sassone fosse venuto al convento, di che non amettono che egli havesse avuta mai la volontà, si sapeva per ognuno che haverebbe domandato à S. M<sup>a</sup> che a sua contemplazione permettesse in Praga l'esercizio Luterano che già vi era."

‡ Cordara, Historia societatis Jesu, tom. vi, lib. vii, p. 38.

§ According to the opinions prevailing up to that time, e. g. in Senkenberg, continuation of the Reichshistorie by Häberlins, vol. xxv, p. 156, note k, we ought to believe the contrary of Lichtenstein. That, however, would be an entirely false view, as appears from Caraffa. The nuncio, on the contrary, met with assistance from Plateis.

them. But the nuncio was deaf to every attempt to induce him to consent to this heretical practice; he adhered to the views of the curia with inflexible obstinacy, certain that the emperor would in the end approve his conduct; and in fact he succeeded in extracting from him a declaration that his temporal administration was not to interfere in the affairs of religion. From this time mass was universally performed according to the Roman ritual; in Latin with aspersion of holy water and invocation of saints; the celebration of the sacrament in both kinds, was wholly prohibited, and the boldest advocates of that practice were thrown into prison: lastly, the ancient symbol of Utraquism, the large cup with the sword, affixed to the Thein church, the very sight of which kept alive the old recollections, was pulled down. On the 6th of July, which had always been kept as a holiday in memory of John Huss, the churches were carefully closed.

The government now lent all the aid of political means to this rigorous enforcement of the dogmas and the usages of the church of Rome. A considerable portion of the landed property of the country was thrown into catholic hands by confiscation; the acquisition of land by protestants was rendered nearly impossible;\* the council of all the royal cities was changed; no member was tolerated in those bodies whose catholicism was the least suspected; the rebellious were pardoned as soon as they abjured protestantism, while, on the other hand, the perverse, the unpersuadable, who would not listen to ghostly admonitions, had troops quartered in their houses; "in order," to use the exact words of the nuncio, "that their vexations may give them some insight into the truth."†

The effects wrought by this joint application of force and argument were unexpected even to the nuncio. He was astonished at the numerous congregations which attended the churches in Prague, frequently on a Sunday morning consisting of from two to three thousand people, and at their humble, devout, and most catholic deportment. He infers from this, that catholic recollections and associations had never been entirely obliterated in these parts, (a proof of which was, that even the wife of king Frederic was not permitted to remove the great crucifix on the bridge:) its real cause doubtless was, that protestant convictions had never penetrated the masses. Nothing could arrest the work of conversion; the Jesuits assert that in the year 1624, they alone brought back 16,000 souls to the catholic church.‡ In Tabor, where protestantism appeared to have exclusive sway, fifty families went over to the faith at

\* Caraffa: "Con ordine che non si potessero inserire nelle tavole del regno, il che apportò indicibile giovamento alla riforma per tutto quel tempo."

† "Acciò il travaglio desse loro senso ed intelletto;" which expression is repeated in the printed work: "cognitumque fuit solam vexationem posse Bohemis intellectum præbere."

‡ Caraffa: "Messovi un sacerdote catolico di molta dottrina e poi facendosi missioni di alcuni padri Gesuiti."



Easter, 1622; and at Easter, 1623, their example was followed by all the remaining population. In the course of time Bohemia became thoroughly catholic. The example of that country was followed by Moravia, where, indeed, the object was more rapidly obtained, in consequence of the union of temporal and spiritual power in the hands of cardinal Dietrichstein; who was at the same time governor of the province and bishop of Olmütz. But a singular obstacle here presented itself. The nobility could not be brought to hear of the expulsion of the Moravian brethren, who were invaluable as domestic servants or husbandmen, and whose settlements were the most thriving places in the whole country.\*— They found advocates even in the emperor's privy council. Nevertheless the nuncio and the principle of which he was the organ, conquered even here. About 15,000 were expelled.

Under these circumstances, the often-repeated, and as often unsuccessful, attempts to re-establish catholicism in Austria proper, were at length renewed with triumphant success.† First the protestant preachers accused of rebellion, then all the others, were banished: furnished with a pittance for their subsistence on the road, the unfortunate men slowly ascended the Danube amidst insulting cries of, "Where is now your strong tower?" The emperor plainly declared to the provincial estates, "that he had absolutely and incontestably retained, for himself and his posterity, the disposal of all things concerning religion." In October, 1624, a commission appeared, fixing a certain time within which the inhabitants must profess the catholic faith or void the country. Some degree of indulgence was for the moment shown to the nobility alone.

In Hungary, though conquered, it was not possible to proceed in so tyrannical a manner; yet even here the current of things, the favor of the government, and, above all, the exertions of archbishop Pazmany, wrought a considerable change. Pazmany possessed in

\* Raggiaglio di Caraffa: "Essendo essi tenuti huomini d' industria e d'integrità venivano impiegati nella custodia de' terreni, delle case, delle cantine e de' molini, oltre che lavorando eccellentemente in alcuni mestieri erano divenuti ricchi e contribuivano gran parte del loro guadagno a' signori de' luoghi ne' quali habitavano, sebbene da qualche tempo indietro havevano cominciato a corrompersi essendo entrata tra di loro l'ambizione e l'avarizia con qualche parte di lusso per comodità della vita. Costoro si erano sempre andati augumentando in Moravia, perciocchè oltre a quelli che seducevano nella provincia e ne' luoghi convicini, havevano corrispondenza per tutti li luoghi della Germania, di dove ricorrevano alla loro fratellanza tutti quelli che per debito o povertà disperavano potersi sostenere, e specialmente veniva ad essi gran numero di poveri Grisoni e di Svevia lasciandosi rapire da quel nome di fratellanza e sicurtà di havere sempre del pane, che in casa loro diffidavano potersi col proprio sudore guadagnare, onde si sono avanzati alle volte sino al numero di centomila."

† This had been the emperor's first thought, even before the battle of Prague, when Maximilian first entered the territory of Upper Austria; he pressed the latter to remove the preachers without delay, "so that the pipers might be dismissed, and the dance stopped." His letter is in Breier's continuation of Wolf's Maximilian, iv, 414.

a singular degree the talent of writing his mother-tongue well. His book, called "Kalauz,"\* full of ability and learning, was irresistibly attractive to his countrymen. Nor was the gift of eloquence denied him: we are told that he personally persuaded fifty families—among whom we find the names of Zrinyi, Forgacz, Erdödy, Ballassa, Jakusith, Homonay, and Adam Thurzo—to abandon the protestant faith. Count Adam Zrinyi alone expelled twenty protestant ministers, and put catholic priests in their stead. Under these influences, the political affairs of the kingdom of Hungary took a new turn. At the diet of 1625, the catholic Austrian party had the majority. A convert recommended by the court—an Esterhazy—was named palatine.

But let us not omit to remark a difference. The conversions in Hungary were far more free and voluntary than in the other provinces of the empire; the magnate proselytes renounced none of their rights; they rather acquired new ones. In the Austro-Bohemian provinces, on the contrary, the entire independence of the estates—their energy and their power—had thrown itself into the form of protestantism; their conversion was, if not in every individual case, yet on the whole, compulsory; and the re-establishment of catholicism was accompanied by a restoration of the absolute power of the government.

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#### § 4. THE EMPIRE.—TRANSFER OF THE ELECTORATE.

We know how much greater progress the reformation had made in the German empire than in the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria; nevertheless recent events had a mighty effect even in that province, where the counter-reformation at once acquired an accession of vigor and a new field of action.

Maximilian had hardly taken possession of the Upper Palatinate, when he set on foot measures for changing its religion. He divided the territory into twenty stations in which fifty Jesuits were employed; the churches were forcibly delivered into their hands, and the exercise of protestant worship universally forbidden; while the disposition of the inhabitants to conform increased with the increasing probability that the country would return into the hands of Bavaria.†

The victorious party regarded the Lower Palatinate also as completely their own. Maximilian actually gave the Heidelberg library to the pope! Even before the conquest of that city, the pope had requested this as a favor of the duke, then at Cologne, through his nuncio, Montorio, and the duke had promised it with his accus-

\* *Hodægus Igazságra vezérlő Kalauz.* Presburg, 1613, 1623.

† Kropff, *Historia societatis Jesu in Germania superiori*, tom. iv, p. 271.

tomed ready obsequiousness; as soon therefore as the news of the taking of Heidelberg reached Montorio, he asserted his claim to the library. He had been told that the manuscripts were of inestimable value, and he sent a special request to Tilly to protect them from injury during the pillage.\* The pope then despatched doctor Leone Allacci, scriptor of the Vatican, to Germany, to take possession of the books. Gregory XV carried the thing with a high hand. He declared this acquisition to be one of the fortunate events of his pontificate; it would conduce, he said, to the honor and advantage of the holy see, the church, and of learning generally; it was also glorious to the Bavarian name, that so precious a spoil should be preserved in Rome, the museum of the world, in eternal memory of the munificence of its princes.†

The duke evinced in all respects an indefatigable zeal for catholic reform, even surpassing that of the Spaniards, who were certainly not subject to the reproach of lukewarmness in the cause.‡ The nuncio beheld with rapture mass celebrated and conversions taking place in Heidelberg, “whence the *norma* of the Calvinists, the famous catechism, had gone forth.”

Meanwhile elector Schweikard was carrying on the work of reform in the Bergstrasse, which he had taken possession of; and margrave Wilhelm in Upper Baden, which was awarded to him after long litigation, although his birth was scarcely legitimate, much less of the requisite degree of nobility, he having expressly pledged himself to the nuncio Caraffa, to forward the views of the church if he succeeded.§ In districts too which were not immediately affected by political events, the ancient efforts in support of catholicism were persecuted with fresh zeal;|| in Bamberg, Fulda, and Eichsfeld; in Paderborn, where two catholic bishops in succession were appointed; but more especially in the diocese of Münster, where Meppen, Vechta, Halteren, and many other districts were converted to catholicism in the year 1624: we find Jesuit missionaries as far as Halberstadt and Magdeburg; they fixed themselves for a while in Altona, to learn the language, and thence to proceed to Norway and Denmark.

We see in what a mighty torrent catholicism poured from the

\* Relazione di Mr Montorio ritornato nunzio di Colonia, 1624. The passage is given in the Appendix, No. 109.

† “Che così pretioso spoglio e così nobil trofeo si conservi a perpetua memoria in questo teatro del mondo.” Istruzione al dottore Leon Allatio per andare in Germania per la libreria del Palatino. See Appendix, No. 101, for an examination of the authenticity of this document.

‡ Montorio: “Benché nelle terre che occupano i Spagnuoli non si camini con quel fervore con quale si camina in quelle che occupa il S: D: di Baviera alla conversione de’ popoli.”

§ Caraffa, Germania restaurata, p. 129.

|| Johann Georg Fuchs of Dornheim was particularly active; he won back three-and-twenty knights’ parishes to catholicism. Jäck, Geschichte von Bamberg, ii, 120.

south to the north of Germany. An attempt was now made to get possession of a new centre of operations whence to act upon the general affairs of the empire.

Immediately after the dissolution of the Union, Ferdinand II had promised Duke Maximilian that if their cause were successful, he would transfer the Palatine electorate to him.\*

There can be no question under what aspect this circumstance was mainly regarded in the catholic party. The majority which that party possessed in the council of princes had hitherto opposed the equality of voices which the protestants claimed in the electoral college; if the contemplated transfer of the electorate took place, this check would be for ever removed.†

The most intimate alliance had always existed between the papal court and Bavaria, and Gregory XV now made this matter completely his own.

By the very first nuncio whom he sent to Spain, he admonished the king to lend his assistance to the destruction of the count palatine and to the transfer of the electorate; measures which would for ever secure the imperial crown to the catholics.‡ It was not easy to persuade the Spaniards to take this course. They were engaged in the most important negotiations with the king of England, and had some hesitation in offending him in the person of his son-in-law the count palatine Frederic, to whom the electorate actually belonged. Their reluctance served only to inflame the zeal of Gregory. Not satisfied with the exhortations of the nuncio, in the year 1622 he sent brother Hyacinth (a capuchin of great ability and address, who enjoyed the particular confidence of Maximilian), charged with a special commission to the Spanish court.§ It was with extreme reluctance that the king went further into the matter; he could only be brought to declare that he would rather see the electorate in the house of Bavaria than in his own. This, however, was sufficient for brother Hyacinth. Possessed of this declaration, he hastened to Vienna, in order to remove from the emperor's mind all scruples concerning Spain, and found himself supported there by the wonted influence of the nuncio Caraffa, and even by a fresh missive from the pope himself. "Behold," exclaims Gregory to the emperor, "the gates of heaven are opened; the heavenly

\* Letter from the emperor to Baltasar de Zuniga, 15 October, 1621, printed by Sattler, *Württembergische Geschichte*, vi, p. 162.

† Istruzione a M. Sacchetti nuntio in Spagna, notices the restoration of the Palatinate as an "irreparabile perdita della reputazione di questo fatto e della chiesa cattolica, se il papa ci avesse condisceso, con indicibil danno della religione cattolica e dell' imperio, che tanti e tanti anni hanno bramato, senza poterlo sapere non che ottenere, il quarto elettore cattolico in servizio ancora del sangue Austriaco."

‡ Istruzione a Mons Sangro. He is admonished, "di infervorare S. M<sup>a</sup>, acciò non si lasci risorgere il Palatino, e si metta l'elettore in persona cattolica, e si assicuri l'impero eternamente fra cattolici."

§ Khevenhiller, ix, p. 1766.

hosts urge thee on to win so great a glory; they will fight for thee in thy camp." The emperor was wrought upon by a singular consideration, which strikingly illustrates his character. He had long meditated this transfer, and had expressed his intention in a letter which fell into the hands of the protestants and was made public by them. The emperor thought himself as it were bound by this accidental publicity. He fancied it essential to the maintenance of his imperial dignity to adhere to an intention which he was known to have formed. In short he took the resolution of proceeding to execute the transfer at the next electoral diet.\*

It was however still a question whether the princes of the empire would consent. The most important among them was Schweikard of Mayence, and we learn from the nuncio Montorio, that this cautious prince was at first hostile to the measure, and declared that war would only break out afresh, more fiercely than ever; and also, that if there must be a change, the count palatine of Neuberg had the next claim, and could not possibly be passed over. The nuncio does not relate by what arguments he at length overcame these objections; "In the four or five days," says he, "which I passed with him in Aschaffenburg, I obtained from him the desired decision." We find only that he promised substantial assistance on the part of the pope, in case war should break out afresh.

The determination of the elector of Mayence was decisive as to the matter in question. Both his colleagues on the Rhine followed his example. In spite of the continued resistance of Brandenburg and Saxony (the opposition of Saxony not being overcome till a later period by the archbishop of Mayence),† in spite of the declared hostility of the Spanish ambassador, the emperor steadily pursued his object. On the 25th of February, 1623, he transferred the electorate to his victorious ally, under condition, it is true, that at first it should be only a personal possession, and that the palatine heirs and agnates should retain their rights as to the future.‡

But even with this condition, the advantage gained was incalculable; above all, the preponderancy in the supreme council of the empire, whose assent now gave a legal sanction to every fresh decision in favor of catholicism.

Maximilian clearly saw how much he was indebted to Gregory XV. "Your holiness," he writes, "has not only furthered this matter, but by your admonitions, your authority, your zealous exertions, has in reality accomplished it. It is to be absolutely and entirely ascribed to the favor and the vigilance of your holiness."

\* Caraffa, *Germ. restaur.*, p. 120.

† Montorio calls Schweikard "unico instigatore a far voltare Sassonia a favore dell' imp<sup>o</sup> nella translatione dell' elettorato."

‡ The declaration of Oñates, and the violent letter of Ludovisio against the restoration of an electorate into the hands of a blaspheming Calvinist. Khevenhiller, x, 67, 68.

“Thy letter, O son,” answered Gregory, “hath filled our breast with a stream of delight sweet as manna from heaven: at length may the daughter of Sion shake the ashes of mourning from her head, and array herself in festal garments.”\*

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§ 5. FRANCE.

At the moment these events were passing in Germany, the great tide in the affairs of France set in.

If we inquire what was the principal cause of the decline of protestantism in the year 1621, we shall find it in the internal divisions of the party, and still more in the apostasy of the nobles. It is possible that the latter was connected with that strong tendency towards republicanism on the part of the people, which was founded on a municipal as well as a theological basis, and was therefore hostile to the influence of the nobles. The nobility probably found it more for their advantage to attach themselves to the king and court, than to endure the tyranny of preachers and mayors. Whatever be the cause, in the year 1621, the governors of fortified towns vied with each other in alacrity in giving them up; every man sought only to bargain for an advantageous post for himself; the same scenes were renewed in 1622, when La Force and Chatillon received the batons of marshals on abjuring their faith; the aged Lesdiguières turned catholic,† and even commanded a division against the protestants, and many others were carried away by the force of such examples.‡ Under these circumstances it was impossible to conclude a peace in 1622 on other than extremely unfavorable terms; nor dared the Huguenots flatter themselves that even this peace would be maintained. Formerly, when the protestants were powerful, the king had often exceeded or broken his treaties with them; was it likely that he would observe them now that they had lost their power? The treaty of peace was accordingly violated in almost every particular; the exercise of protestant worship was in many places absolutely prevented; the Huguenots

\* Giunti, Vita di Ludovico Ludovisi, ascribes the merit chiefly to the pope's kinsman. “Da S. S<sup>ta</sup> e dal C<sup>le</sup> furono scritte molte lettere anche di proprio pugno piene d'ardore et efficacia per disporre Cesare, et in oltre fu mandato M<sup>or</sup> Verospi auditore di rota e dopo il P. F. Giacinto di Casale cappuccino.” Through these two the emperor was told, “che il vicario di Christo per parte del S<sup>co</sup> fin con le lacrime lo pregava e scongiurava e le ne prometteva felicità e sicurezza della sua salute.”

† There are remarks on this conversion in the Mémoires de Deageant, at p. 190, and in several other places, which are well worthy of notice.

‡ Liste des gentilhommes de la religion réduits au roi, in Malingre, Histoire des derniers troubles arrivés en France, p. 789. Rohan also concluded his treaty; unhappily, the articles, as they appear in the Mercure de France, vii, p. 845, are not authentic.

were forbidden to sing their psalms in the streets or shops; their privileges in the universities were curtailed;\* Fort Louis, which the government had bound itself to raze, was kept standing; an attempt was made to transfer the choice of magistrates of protestant cities into the hands of the king;† on the 17th April 1622, an edict was issued appointing a commissary to be present at all meetings of Huguenots; and at length, after they had once been brought to endure these vast inroads on their ancient liberties, the government interfered in their affairs of a purely ecclesiastical nature; the Huguenots were hindered from receiving the decrees of the synod of Dort by the commissaries above mentioned.

They had no longer any independence; they could no longer make a steady, persevering resistance, while on every side their ranks were thinned by conversions.

The capuchins filled Poitou and Languedoc with missions;‡ the Jesuits, who had obtained new establishments in Aix, Lyon, Pau, and many other places, had the most triumphant success both in the cities and the country; their brotherhoods of the Virgin attracted universal notice and admiration by the care with which they had tended the wounded in the late war.§

There were also Franciscans who rendered eminent services to the cause; as for instance, father Villele de Bourdeaux, of whom things almost fabulous are related. After having brought the whole city of Foix over to his faith, he succeeded in converting a man above a hundred years old,—the very same who had received the first protestant preacher from the hands of Calvin, and had conducted him to Foix. The protestant church was pulled down, and the fathers, in the insolence of their triumph, caused the exiled preacher to be accompanied from town to town by a trumpeter.||

In a word, the work of conversion advanced with resistless force. The high and low, and even the learned, recanted; the latter, particularly influenced by the assurance, that the invocation of saints, prayers for the dead, a hierarchy, and many other usages and institutions of the catholic church, had been recognised by the primitive church even before the council of Nice.

The reports of certain bishops are still extant, showing the numerical proportions of the two confessions which resulted from these changes. In the diocese of Poitiers half of the inhabitants of some cities were protestant, e. g. Lusignan and St. Maixant; in others, such as Chauvigny and Niort, a third; in Loudun a fourth; in Poitiers itself only a twentieth, and in the rural districts the proportion was far smaller.¶ The bishops were in immediate corres-

\* Benoist, ii, 419.

† Rohan, Mém. i, iii.

‡ Instruzione all' arcivescovo di Damiaata, MS. See App. No. 106.

§ Cordara, Historia soc. Jesu, vii, 95, 118.

|| Rélation Catholique, inserted in the Mercure François, viii, 489.

¶ Relatione del vescovo di Poitiers, 1623, MS.

pondence with Rome respecting the conversions; they sent regular reports and suggested whatever they deemed desirable; the nuncio was admonished to lay before the king any reports or requests they might transmit to him, and to support them by his recommendation. These documents are often filled with minute details. For example, the bishop of Vienne complains that the missionaries are extremely troubled and obstructed by a preacher in St. Marcellin, who has proved quite invincible in argument; the nuncio is commissioned to urge upon the court the expediency of his banishment. He is also desired to give his support to the bishop of St. Malo, who complained that in one castle in his diocese catholic worship was not tolerated. He is to have ready an accomplished converter (who is pointed out by name) for the bishop of Xaintes. Sometimes when the bishops met with obstacles, they are exhorted to state more in detail what can be done to remove them, in order that the nuncio may lay the same before the king.\*

The striking features of this period are, a close union between all spiritual authorities, the propaganda, (which, as we have remarked, displayed perhaps its greatest activity and vigor in the first years of its existence,) and the pope; zeal and efficient activity in following up the advantages gained by arms; and sympathy on the part of the court, which discerned its own strong political interest in what was going on; and, as the result of these combined causes, the inevitable and final downfall of protestantism in France.

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#### § 6. UNITED NETHERLANDS.

Nor was the revolution in opinion we have just been contemplating confined to countries in which the government was catholic; it displayed itself at the same moment under protestant rulers.

We are astonished at finding that even in Bentivoglio's time, in those very cities of the Low Countries which made so long and so heroic a resistance to the king of Spain, chiefly on account of religion, the majority of the great families had again become catholic;†

\* *Instruzione all' arcivescovo di Damiaata*:—one example may suffice. “Della relazione del vescovo di Candon si cava, che ha il detto vescovo la terra di Neaco, ove sono molti eretici, con una missione di Gesuiti, li quali in danno s'affaticano se con l'autorità temporale il re non da qualche buon ordine: ed ella potrà scrivere al detto vescovo che avvisi ciò che può fare Sua M<sup>a</sup>, perchè nella relazione non lo specifica. Da quella del vescovo di S. Malo s'intende che in un castello e villa del marchese di Moussaye è solo lecito di predicare a Calvinisti: però sarebbe bene di ricordare alla M<sup>a</sup> del re che levasse i predicatori acciocchè i missionarj del vescovo potessero far frutto: il castello e villa non è nominato nella relazione, e però si potrà scrivere al vescovo per saperlo. Il vescovo di Montpellier avvisa di haver carestia d'operarj, e che dagli eretici sono sentiti volentieri i padri Cappuccini, onde se gli potrebbe procurare una missione di questi padri.”

† *Relatione delle provincie ubbidienti*, parte ii, c. ii, in which the state of religion in Holland is discussed.



but we are far more amazed when we read the details of the spread and progress of catholicism under circumstances so unfavorable, which are to be found in a circumstantial report of the year 1622. The priests were persecuted and exiled, yet their numbers increased. The first Jesuit arrived in the Netherlands in the year 1592; in the year 1622 there were twenty-two members of the order in that country. The colleges of Cologne and Louvaine continually sent forth new laborers, and in the year 1622, two hundred and twenty secular priests were employed in the provinces, and were quite insufficient for the wants of the population. According to this report, the number of catholics in the diocese of Utrecht amounted to 150,000; in that of Haarlem, to which Amsterdam belonged, to 100,000 souls. Leuwarden contained 15,000, Gröningen 20,000, and Deventer 60,000 catholics. The vicar apostolic who was then sent by the see of Rome to Deventer, confirmed 12,000 persons in three cities and a few villages. The numbers in the report may be greatly exaggerated, but it is evident that this pre-eminently protestant country still contained catholic elements of extraordinary strength. Even the bishoprics which Philip II had tried to introduce, were constantly recognised by the catholics.\* It was probably this state of things which excited in the Spaniards their intense eagerness to renew the war.

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#### § 7. STATE OF CATHOLICISM IN ENGLAND.

Meanwhile more peaceful prospects had opened upon England. The son of Mary Stuart was heir to the united crowns of Great Britain, and could now present a more determined front than ever to the catholic powers.

Even before James I ascended the throne of England, Clement VIII sent him word "that he prayed for him, as the son of so virtuous a mother; that he wished him all prosperity worldly and spiritual, and that he hoped still to see him a catholic." James's accession was celebrated in Rome with solemn services and processions.

He could not have dared to make any corresponding return to these advances, even had he been inclined; but he permitted Parry, his ambassador in France, to live on terms of intimacy with the nuncio Bubalis. The nuncio produced a document from the hand of the pope's nephew Aldobrandino, in which that cardinal exhorted

\* *Compendium status in quo nunc est religio catholica in Holandia et confederatis Belgii provinciis, 1622, 2 Decemb.* "his non obstantibus—laus Deo—quotidie crescit catholicorum numerus, præsertim accedente dissensione hæreticorum inter se."

the English catholics to obey king James as their sovereign and natural lord; and even to pray for him; to this Parry responded with an instruction of James, promising to allow peaceful catholics to live without molestation.\*

In fact, in the north of England people began openly to attend mass again; the puritans complained that within a short time fifty thousand Englishmen had become proselytes to catholicism; to which James is said to have replied, "that they might go and convert the same number of Spaniards and Italians."

These appearances might perhaps lead the catholics to pitch their hopes too high: when therefore they saw that the king still adhered firmly to the protestant cause; that the old acts of parliament were again put in execution, and that new persecutions were set on foot, they fell into an irritation exasperated by disappointment; an irritation which found fearful vent in the gunpowder plot. With this ended all possibility of toleration on the part of the king. The severest laws were enacted and enforced; domiciliary visits, imprisonment, and fines were inflicted; the priests, and above all the Jesuits, were banished and persecuted; and it was thought necessary to restrain such daring enemies by the extremest severity.

But in private conversation the king's expressions were very moderate. He said plainly to a prince of the house of Lorraine, who once visited him with the privy of Paul V, that after all there was but little difference between the two confessions; that he, to be sure, thought his own the best and had embraced it from conviction, and not for reasons of state; but that he liked to hear the opinions of others; and as the convocation of a council was attended with insuperable difficulties, he wished there could be an assembly of learned men, who might try to effect a reconciliation; that if the pope would set one step in advance, he was ready to set four to meet him; that he too acknowledged the authority of the fathers; that he esteemed Augustine above Luther, and St. Bernard more than Calvin; nay, that he saw in the church of Rome, even in her actual state, the true church, the mother of all others, only that she stood in need of purification: he admitted, what indeed he would not say to a nuncio, but might confess to a friend and cousin, that the pope was the head of the church, the supreme bishop: † it was, he said, doing him great injustice to call him a heretic or a schismatic; a heretic he was not, for he believed what the pope believed, only the pope admitted some few articles of

\* Breve relatione di quanto si è trattato tra S. S<sup>ta</sup> ed il re d'Inghilterra. (MS. Rom.)

† "Che riconosce la chiesa Romana etiamdio quella d'adesso per la vera chiesa e madre di tutte, ma ch'ella avevabisogno d'esser purgata, e di più ch'egli sapeva che V. S<sup>ta</sup> è capo di essa chiesa e primo vescovo."—expressions which, though in other quarters attributed to this prince, can in no way be reconciled with the principle of the church of England. (Relatione Del S<sup>r</sup> di Breval al papa.)

faith more than he; neither was he a schismatic, for he regarded the pope as head of the church.

With such opinions, and a consequent antipathy to the puritanical side of protestantism, it would unquestionably have been more agreeable to the king to come to a peaceable understanding with the catholics, than to keep them down by means of force and with incessant peril to himself.

In England they were still numerous and powerful. In spite of dreadful defeats and losses, or rather in consequence of them, Ireland was in incessant fermentation, and the king had the greatest possible interest in putting an end to this state of discontent and insubordination.\*

It must be observed, that English and Irish catholics attached themselves to Spain. The Spanish ambassadors in London, men of great address, prudence, and at the same time magnificence, had gathered around them a vast following; their chapel was always filled, and the solemnities of the holy week were celebrated there with great pomp. Their house was the resort of their brethren in the faith, and, as a Venetian said, they were regarded almost in the light of legates of the apostolic see.

To this cause, I think, may safely be attributed king James's project of marrying his heir to a Spanish princess. He thus hoped to attach the catholics, and to win over the favor with which they regarded the house of Spain to his own. His foreign relations furnished an additional motive; since it might reasonably be expected that the house of Austria, when so nearly connected with him, would be more friendly to his son-in-law the elector palatine.

The only question was, as to the practicability of the scheme. The difference of religion presented an obstacle which at that time it was really difficult to overcome.

There is a certain fantastic element inseparably blended with the realities of the world and the common-place of life; it finds utterance in poetry and romantic tales, which, again, re-act upon the character and conduct of the young. Whilst the negotiations which had been set on foot were delayed from day to day and from month to month, the prince of Wales, and his intimate friend and companion Buckingham, conceived the romantic thought of setting out to fetch his bride.† The Spanish ambassador Gondemar appears

\* *Relazione di D. Lazzari, 1621.* He founds his opinion on the timidity of the king: "havendo io esperimentato per manifesti segni che prevale in lui più il timore che l'ira." He says moreover, "per la pratica che ho di lui (del re) lo stimo indifferente in qualsivoglia religione."

† Papers relative to the Spanish match, in the *Hardwicke Papers*, i, p. 309. They contain the correspondence between James I and the two travellers, which excites the greatest interest in the persons concerned. James's failings appear at least those of a very humane temper. His first letter begins: "My sweet boys and dear ventrous knights, worthy to be put in a new romanso."—"My sweat boys," is his common mode of address; they write, "dear dad, and gossip."

to have had some share in this adventure; at least, he told the prince that his presence would put an end to all difficulties.

What was the amazement of the English ambassador in Madrid, Lord Digby, who had hitherto conducted this negotiation, when on being one day called out of his chamber to speak to two cavaliers, he beheld the son and the favorite of his sovereign! The contracting parties now applied themselves in earnest to remove the obstacles presented by religion. It was necessary in the first place to obtain the pope's consent, and king James had displayed no repugnance to enter into direct negotiation with Paul V for that object; but that pope would listen to them only under the condition that the king should grant entire religious freedom to his catholic subjects. The impression made on Gregory XV, on the contrary, by the prince's adventurous journey was so powerful, that he would have been content with less extensive concessions. In a letter to the prince, he expresses his hope that "the ancient seed of Christian piety, which had of old borne fruit in English kings, would once more spring up and flourish in him; at all events, since he intended to marry a catholic lady, he could not desire to oppress the catholic church." The prince answered, that he would never use any hostile measure against the church of Rome; on the contrary, he would try to bring it about, "that as we all," to use his words, "acknowledge one triune God and one crucified Christ, we may unite in one faith and one church."\* We see how great were the advances made by both sides. Olivarez affirmed that he had entreated the pope with the utmost earnestness to grant the dispensation; that he had declared to him that the king could refuse the prince nothing.† The English catholics too assailed the pope with entreaties; they said that a refusal of the dispensation would bring upon them fresh persecutions.

The points which the king was required to promise were now discussed.

Not only was the infanta with her suite to be allowed to exercise her religion in a chapel of the palace, but the early education of all the children of this marriage was to be entrusted to her; no penal law was to have any application to them, nor to interfere with their right of succession, even if they should remain catholic.‡ The king promised, generally, not to trouble the private exercise of

\* Frequently printed: I follow the copy in Clarendon and the Hardwicke Papers, apparently taken from the original.

† In the first impulse of joy, he went so far as to say, according to Buckingham's account, (20th of March,) "that if the pope would not give a dispensation for a wife, they would give the infanta to thy son Baby as his wench."

‡ The most important stipulation, and the source of much mischief. The article runs thus: "Quod leges contra catholicos Romanos latæ vel ferendæ in Anglia et aliis regnis regi magnæ Britanniæ subjectis non attingent liberos ex hoc matrimonio oriundos, et libere jure successionis in regnis et dominiis magnæ Britanniæ fruantur." (Merc. Franc. ix, Appendice ii, 18.)

the catholic religion; not to impose upon the catholics any oath at variance with their faith; and to endeavor to obtain from parliament the repeal of all laws against the catholics.

In August 1623, king James swore to these articles, and no doubt appeared to remain of the completion of the nuptials of prince Charles.

Rejoicings took place in Spain; the court received congratulations; the ambassadors were formally apprised of the intended marriage; and the ladies and the confessor of the infanta were admonished not to let fall a word which could raise up any obstacles to it.

James admonished his son not to forget, in the joy of this fortunate event, the wrongs of his cousin, who was robbed of his inheritance, and the tears of his sister. The affair of the Palatinate was warmly taken up. There was a plan for drawing the imperial house and that of the Palatinate into the new alliance, viz. by marrying the son of the expelled elector to a daughter of the emperor; while Bavaria was to be conciliated by the creation of an eighth electorate. Hereupon the emperor immediately opened a negotiation with Maximilian of Bavaria, who testified no reluctance, and only stipulated that the transferred palatine electorate should remain in his possession, and the newly-created one be given as an indemnity to the palatine house. This made no important difference to the interests of the catholics, who were to enjoy religious freedom in the restored Palatinate, and would still possess a majority of votes in the electoral college.\*

Thus did the power which, in the preceding reign, had formed the bulwark of protestantism, enter into the most friendly relations with those ancient foes to whom she seemed to have sworn irreconcilable hatred—the pope and Spain. The English catholics began to receive a totally different treatment; domiciliary visits and persecutions ceased; certain oaths were no longer required; catholic chapels arose, to the great vexation of the protestants, while the puritan fanatics who declaimed against the marriage were punished. King James doubted not that before the winter he should embrace his son, together with his youthful bride and his favorite; an event, to which he appears, from all his letters, to have looked forward with the most affectionate longing.

The advantages attendant on the execution of the above-named articles are sufficiently obvious; but the alliance itself gave expectation of far other consequences, the extent of which could not be foreseen. That influence of the catholic church over the government of England, which force had never been able to obtain, seemed now likely to be acquired in the most peaceable and natural manner.

\* In Khevenhiller, x. 114.

## § 8. MISSIONS.

At this point of our researches, while considering the brilliant triumphs of catholicism in Europe, it seems expedient to turn our eyes to those remoter regions of the globe, in which, urged on by a kindred impulse, the religion of Rome advanced with mighty strides.

Religious motives entered into the first idea which prompted the discoveries and the conquests of the Spaniards and Portuguese: these motives never ceased to accompany and animate them, and assumed prominence and force in their newly-constituted empires both in the east and west.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century we find the proud edifice of the catholic church completely reared in South America. There were five archbishoprics, twenty-seven bishoprics, four hundred monasteries, and innumerable parish churches and *doctrinas*.\* Magnificent cathedrals had sprung up, of which the most splendid of all was, perhaps, that of Los Angeles. The Jesuits taught grammar and the liberal arts; a theological seminary was united to their college of San Ildefonso in Mexico. A complete system of theological discipline was taught in the universities of Mexico and Lima. It appears that the Americans of European extraction were distinguished for their remarkable acuteness; though, as they complain, they were too far removed from the countenance of the king's grace to be rewarded according to their merits. Meanwhile the mendicant orders, more particularly, began to diffuse Christianity with regular progress over the South American continent. Conquests gave place to missions, and missions gave birth to civilisation; the monks who taught the natives to read and to sing, taught them also how to sow and to reap, to plant trees and to build houses; and, of course, inspired the profoundest veneration and attachment. When the priest visited his parish he was received with ringing of bells and with music; flowers were strewn in his way, and the women held out their children to him to bless. The Indians manifested singular pleasure in the externals of devotion. They were never weary of attending mass, of singing vespers, and of waiting in the choir for the performance of the service. They had a talent for music, and took an innocent delight in decorating their churches—an employment which accorded well with the temper of their minds, extremely susceptible to simple and fanciful impressions.† In their dreams they beheld the joys of paradise.

\* Herrera, Descripción de las Indias, p. 80.

† Compendio y descripción de las Indias occidentales, MS. "Tienen mucha caridad con los necesitados y en particular con los sacerdotes; que los respetan y reverencian como ministros de Christo, abraçan los mas de tal suerte las cosas de nuestra santa fe, que solo el mal exemplo que los demos es causa de que no

The queen of heaven appeared to the sick in all her glory and majesty, surrounded by youthful attendants, who brought refreshment to the fevered and fainting sufferer; or she appeared alone, and taught her worshiper a song of her crucified son, "whose head is bowed down, even as the yellow ears of corn."

Such are the characteristics of catholicism which produced so mighty an effect in these countries. The monks only complain that the bad example and the cruelty of the Spaniards corrupted the natives, and obstructed the work of conversion.

In the East Indies, as far as the Portuguese dominion extended, the progress of conversion was very similar. Goa became the grand focus of catholicism; thousands were converted yearly, and no later than 1565 it was calculated that there were three hundred thousand Christians in that city and its neighborhood, in the mountains of Cochin, and at Cape Comorin.\* But the general relations of catholicism to the east were totally different from those it bore to the west. In the former, a vast, singular, and unconquered world opposed its impenetrable mass to their doctrine as well as to their arms; primeval religions, whose rites enchained the senses and the spirit, were intimately blended with the manners and the opinions of the inhabitants.

Catholicism was eminently calculated to vanquish even such a world as this.

That it was so, is the fundamental idea which lies at the root of all the efforts and proceedings of Francisco Xavier, who arrived in India in the year 1542. He traversed the country in every direction; prayed at the tomb of the apostle Thomas at Meliapur; preached to the people of Travancore from a tree; in the Moluccas taught spiritual songs, which were repeated by the boys in the marketplace, and by the fishermen on the sea. Yet he was not destined to complete the work; his favorite expression was, 'Amplius, amplius!' his zeal for converting was mingled with a sort of passion for travelling; he got as far as Japan, and had formed the design to explore China, the focus and birth-place of the opinions which there encountered him, when he died.†

It is in human nature, that his example, and even the very difficulties of his undertaking, rather allured to imitation than deterred. The early part of the seventeenth century exhibits varied and incessant activity in the east.

In 1606 we find father Nobili in Madaura. He expresses his astonishment at the small progress Christianity had made in so long

aya entre ellos grandes santos, como io experimente el tiempo que estuve en aquellos regnos."—The *Literæ annuæ provinciæ Paraquariæ missæ a Nicolao Duran*, Antv. 1636, are peculiarly worthy of notice, the Jesuits having always kept the Spaniards at a distance from that country.

\* Maffei, *Commentarius de rebus Indicis*, p. 21.

† Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*, lib. xiii et xiv.

a time; and thinks this can only be explained by the fact that the Portuguese had addressed themselves to the Parias, in consequence of which Christ was regarded as the especial God of that degraded caste. He therefore took a totally different course, and, as he was persuaded that an effectual conversion must begin with the higher classes, he declared that he was of the first order of nobility, (of which he had brought the proofs,) attached himself to the Bramins, adopted their dress and modes of living, submitted to their penances, learned Sanscrit, and entered into their ideas.\* They had a tradition that in former times there had been four roads to truth in India, and that one had been lost. He affirmed that he had come to show them this lost but straitest way to immortality. As early as the year 1609 he had converted seventy Bramins. He was cautious not to wound their prejudices: not only tolerating their distinction of castes (giving them another signification), but separating the castes in the churches; he changed the expressions in which former missionaries had taught the doctrines of Christianity, for more elegant and classical language. His whole conduct was so admirably adapted to its end, that he was soon surrounded by crowds of converts; and although his method of instruction at first gave great offence and scandal at home, it seemed to be the only one fitted to advance the cause. In the year 1621, Gregory XV expressed his approbation of it.

Not less remarkable are the labors of the missionaries at the court of the emperor Akbar about the same time.

We must remember that the ancient Mongolian Khans, the conquerors of Asia, for a long time occupied a singularly undecided position between the two religions which divided the world. We are almost tempted to think that the emperor Akbar was of a similar way of thinking. In his invitation to the Jesuits he tells them, "that he had endeavored to understand all the religions of the earth, and that now, by the help of the fathers, whom he respected and honored, he wished to become acquainted with the Christian religion." The first who established himself at his court was Geronimo Xavier, the nephew of Francisco, in the year 1595, at which period the insurrections of the Mahommedans tended to dispose the emperor in favor of the Christians. In the year 1599, Christmas-eve was celebrated with the greatest solemnity at Lahore: the holy manger was exposed to view for twenty days; numerous catechumens, with palm-branches in their hands, went in procession to the

\* Juvencius, *Historiæ Societ. Jesu*, pars v, tom. ii, lib. xviii, § ix, No. 49. "Brachmanum instituta omnia cærimoniasque cognoscit: linguam vernaculam, dictam vulgo Tamulicam, quæ latissime pertinet, addiscit: addit Baddagicam, qui principum et aulæ sermo, denique Grandonicam sive Samuteradam, quæ lingua eruditorum est, ceterum tot obsita difficultatibus, nulli ut Europæo bene cognita fuisset ad eam diem, atque inter ipsosmet Indos plurimum scire videantur qui hanc utcunæque nôrint etsi aliud nihil nôrint."



churches and received baptism. The emperor read with great interest a life of Christ in Persian, and caused a picture of the Virgin, copied from the Madonna del Popolo at Rome, to be brought into his palace and shown to his women. The Christians inferred from these facts far more than they really warranted, but they undoubtedly contributed very greatly to their success; in the year 1610, after Akbar's death, three princes of the blood-royal solemnly received baptism. They rode to church upon white elephants and were received by father Geronimo with a flourish of trumpets.\* Christianity seemed gradually to assume a character of stability; although here also opinions and dispositions fluctuated according as the political relations of the country to Portugal were more or less amicable. In 1621 a college was founded in Agra and a station in Patna, and in the year 1624 the emperor Dschehangir gave hopes that he would become a convert.

The Jesuits had at the same time penetrated into China, where they endeavored to conciliate the skilful, scientific, and instructed population of that empire by a display of the inventions and the sciences of the west. The progress made by Ricci is to be imputed to his power of teaching mathematics, and to his learning by heart and reciting striking passages from the writings of Confucius. He gained admittance to Pekin by means of a present of a striking clock to the emperor, in whose favor and estimation, however, nothing raised him so highly as a map which he drew, and which far surpassed any attempt of that kind by the Chinese. It is a characteristic trait of Ricci, that when the emperor ordered that ten similar maps should be drawn on silk and hung round his chamber, he seized the opportunity of rendering even these subsidiary to the cause of Christianity, and filled the margins and vacant spaces with Christian symbols and maxims. Such was the general character of his teaching; he began with mathematics and finished with religion; his scientific talents and attainments secured respect to his religious doctrine. Not only did he win over his immediate disciples, but many mandarins, whose garb he had assumed, went over to him; and in the year 1605 a society of the Blessed Virgin was already established in Pekin. Ricci died in 1610; worn out not only by excessive labor, but still more by the numerous visits, the long dinners, and all the other duties of Chinese society. After his death, his successors followed the advice he had given, to proceed in their work without ostentation or noise, and in this tempestuous sea to keep near the shore; they also imitated his example as to the aid to be derived from science. In the year 1610 there was an eclipse of the moon: the predictions of the native astronomers differed by a full hour from those of the Jesuits; and when the latter were verified by the event, the popular respect for the fathers was greatly

\* Juvencius, l. 1, No. 1—23.

raised.\* Not only were they entrusted, in connection with certain mandarins, their disciples, with the rectification of the astronomical tables, but the cause of Christianity was thus promoted. In 1611 the first church was consecrated in Nankin; in 1616 there were Christian churches in five provinces of the empire. When assailed by opposition, which not unfrequently happened, they found their best and most effectual defence lay in the production of works by their pupils, which enjoyed the approbation of the learned; they knew how to elude the threatening storm; they conformed as nearly as possible to the customs of the country, and in the year 1619 received the pope's sanction to several concessions of this kind. Accordingly, not a year passed in which they did not convert thousands, while their opponents gradually became extinct; in 1624 Adam Schall appeared, and the accurate description of two eclipses of the moon which happened in that year, and a work of Lombardo's on earthquakes, gave fresh brilliancy to the reputation they enjoyed.†

The course pursued by the Jesuits among the warlike and divided Japanese was totally different. From the very first they took part with one of the hostile factions. In the year 1554 they had the good fortune to find themselves on the side of the conqueror, under whom, secure of his favor, they made extraordinary progress. Not later than the year 1579 the number of Christians in Japan was estimated at three hundred thousand. Father Valignano, who died in 1606, a man whose advice Philip II valued very highly on eastern affairs, founded three hundred churches and thirty Jesuits' houses in Japan.

The connection of the Jesuits with Mexico and Spain, however, excited at length the jealousy of the native authorities; fresh civil wars broke out in which they had not their former good fortune; the party to which they had attached themselves was defeated; and after the year 1612 they were assailed by fearful persecutions.

But they stood their ground well. Their converts courted martyrdom; they founded a brotherhood of martyrs for the purpose of

\* Jouvency has dedicated the whole of his 19th book to the Chinese enterprise, and has joined, p. 561, a dissertation, "Imperii Sinici recens et uberior notitia," which is still worthy of perusal.

† *Relatione della Cina dell' anno 1621.* "Lo stato presente di questa chiesa mi pare in universale molto simile ad una nave a cui e li venti e le navole minacciano di corto grave borasca, e per ciò li marinari ammainando le vele e calando le antenne fermino il corso, e stiano aspettando che si chiarisca il cielo e cessino li contrasti de' venti: ma bene spesso avviene che tutto il male si risolve in paura e che sgombrate le furie de' venti svanisce la tempesta contenta delle sole minaccie. Così appunto pare che sia accaduto alla nave di questa chiesa. Quattro anni fa se le levò contro una gagliarda borasca, la quale pareva che la dovesse sommergere ad un tratto: li piloti accomodandosi al tempo raccolsero le vele delle opere loro e si ritirarono alquanto, ma in modo che potevano essere trovati da chiunque voleva l'ajuto loro per aspettare donec aspiet dies et inclinentur umbræ. Sin' hora il male non è stato di altro che di timore."

affording each other mutual encouragement under every possible suffering; they designate those years as the “*æra martyrum*.” Notwithstanding the vast increase of persecution, say their historians, new converts were daily added to them.\* They assert that from 1603 to 1622, 239,339 Japanese were (according to accurate calculation) converted to Christianity.

In all these countries we find therefore that the Jesuits maintained the same character for ability, adaptation to circumstances, and at the same time perseverance and endurance. Their progress outwent all expectation, and they succeeded in overcoming, at least to a certain extent, the resistance of those national systems of religion which are the immemorial growth of the east.

While engaged in the work of conversion, they did not neglect to provide for the union of the oriental Christians with the church of Rome.

They had found even in India those primitive Nestorian churches, known under the name of the Christians of St. Thomas, and as these regarded the patriarch of Babylon (at Mosul) as their chief and the pastor of the universal church, and not the pope of Rome (of whom indeed they knew nothing), preparations were soon made to bring them within the pale of the Roman church. Neither force nor persuasion was spared. In the year 1601 the chief men among them seemed to be won over, and a Jesuit was appointed bishop over them. The Roman ritual was printed in Chaldaic, the errors of Nestorius were anathematized in a diocesan council; a Jesuits’ college was established in Cranganor, and the new appointment to the episcopal see in the year 1624, took place with the consent of those who had hitherto been its most obstinate opponents.†

It is evident that the weight of the Spanish and Portuguese power in the east greatly facilitated these religious successes; its influence was also powerfully felt about the same time in Abyssinia, where all previous attempts of the kind had been unavailing. It was not till the year 1603, that the Portuguese of Fremona, by affording essential aid to the Abyssinians in a battle with the Caffres, gained greater respect for themselves and their religion. Just then father Paez appeared; a Jesuit of great ability, who preached in the language of the country, and gained access to the court. The victorious sovereign wished to establish a nearer connection with the king of Spain, mainly with the view of having an ally against his enemies in the interior; upon which Paez represented to him that his only means of accomplishing this object was to renounce his schismatical doctrines and go over to the church of Rome. His

\* The *Lettere annue del Giappone dell’ anno 1622*, afford an example: “I gloriosi campioni che morirono quest’ anno furon 121: gli adulti, che per opera de’ padri della compagnia a vista di così crudele persecutione hanno ricevuto il santo battesimo arrivano il numero di 2236 senza numerar quelli che per mezzo d’altri religiosi e sacerdoti Giapponesi si battezzano.”

† Cordara, *Historia Soc. Jesu*, vi, ix, p. 535.

representations had the greater weight in consequence of the fidelity and courage displayed by the Portuguese in the internal wars of the country. Disputations were set on foot, in which the ignorant monks were easily defeated; Sela-Christos, the bravest man of the empire and brother of the emperor Seltan-Segued (a Socinian), was converted; countless numbers followed his example, and a connection was soon formed with Paul V and Philip III. As might be expected, the representatives of the established religion bestirred themselves in opposition to this change, and civil war in Abyssinia, as in Europe, assumed the garb of religion; the Abuna and his monks being always on the side of the rebels, Sela-Christos, the Portuguese, and the converts, on the side of the emperor. Battles were fought, year after year, with changing fortune; at length the emperor and his party were triumphant. It was a triumph at once of catholicism and of the Jesuits. In the year 1621, Seltan-Segued decided the controversies which had so long existed on the two natures in Christ, in favor of the scheme of the church of Rome; he forbade his subjects to pray for the patriarch of Alexandria, and caused catholic churches and chapels to be erected in his cities and even in his gardens.\* In the year 1622, after confessing to Paez, he received the sacrament according to the catholic rite. The court of Rome had long been requested to send a Latin patriarch to Abyssinia, but hesitated to do so, so long as the disposition or the power of the emperor were doubtful; but now, as he had overcome all his enemies, and had given unquestionable and unequalled proofs of submission and attachment, Gregory XV appointed a Portuguese whom king Philip had recommended—doctor Alfonzo Mendez, of the society of Jesus, to be patriarch of Ethiopia† (19th Dec. 1622.) After the arrival of Mendez, the emperor solemnly promised obedience to the pope of Rome.

Meanwhile the catholics never lost sight of the Greek Christians inhabiting the Turkish empire; the popes sent mission after mission among them. The Roman “*professio fidei*” was introduced among the Maronites by some Jesuits; in 1614, we find a Nestorian archimandrite in Rome, who abjured the doctrines of Nestorius in the name of a great number of followers. In Constantinople a Jesuit mission was established, and through the influence of the French ambassador, attained to a certain stability and credit; among other triumphs, it succeeded in the year 1621, for a time at least in procuring the removal of the patriarch Cyril Lucaris, who inclined to protestant opinions.

How boundless was the activity of which we have now taken a rapid and cursory survey! extending at once from the Alps to the

\* Juvencius, p. 705. Cordara, vi, 6, p. 320. Ludolf calls the emperor Susneus.

† Sagripanti, *Discorso della religione dell' Etiopia*, MS. from the *Atti Consistoriali*.

Andes; sending forth its scouts and pioneers to Thibet and to Scandinavia; insinuating itself into the favor of the governments of China and of England: yet on every part of this wide arena, vigorous, entire and indefatigable; the spirit which was at work in the centre animating, perhaps with increased vivacity and intensity, the laborers at its extremest bounds.

## CHAPTER III.

### CONFLICTING POLITICAL RELATIONS.—NEW TRIUMPHS OF CATHOLICISM.

1623—1628.



A GROWING power is seldom, if ever, arrested in its progress solely by resistance from without; in general, such a reverse, if not entirely caused, is at least greatly aggravated by internal divisions.

Had catholicism remained unanimous—had it gone forward to its end with united and compacted forces—it is not easy to see how the northern or Germanic part of Europe, which was to a considerable extent implicated in its interests, and entangled in its policy, could in the long run have held out against it.

But was it not to be expected, that at this rapid aggrandisement of catholicism, those antagonist principles which had formerly risen up against it—which had been stifled but not extinguished, and had been incessantly smouldering at the heart of society, would burst forth anew?

The peculiar characteristic of the state and progress of religious opinions at this epoch was, that they every where reposed on the basis of political and military superiority. Missions followed in the rear of armies. Hence we find that the greatest political changes were connected with those successes of a religious party, which had also some substantive importance, and necessarily occasioned reactions, upon which it was impossible to calculate.

Of all these changes, the most momentous unquestionably was, that the German line of the house of Austria, which hitherto, embarrassed by the troubles existing in its hereditary dominions, had taken little share in the general affairs of Europe, suddenly attained to the independence, importance and vigor of a great European power. It was in consequence of the elevation of German Austria, that Spain, which since the time of Philip II had remained pacific, now, animated with fresh eagerness for war revived her former hopes and claims. The two powers had come into immediate connection in consequence of the affair of the Grisons; the passes of the Alps were occupied on the Italian side by Spain, on the Ger-

by Austria; and on the summit of these mountains they appeared to pledge each other mutual faith and support in projects which embraced every part of the world.

Unquestionably, this connection opened, on the one hand, wide and brilliant prospects for catholicism, to which both lines had devoted themselves with inviolable attachment; but, on the other, it was pregnant with danger of internal dissension. The Spanish monarchy under Philip II had excited universal jealousy; the collective power of the house now immensely increased and consolidated by the addition of its German forces, could not fail therefore to awaken the old antipathies in greater violence than ever.

The first became apparent in Italy.

The small Italian states, which could not possibly exist self-sustained, had the most urgent need of the protection afforded by the balance of power, and at the same time the quickest sense of anything that disturbed it. Their present position, hemmed in as it were between two great powers, cut off from all external help by the occupation of the passes of the Alps, they regarded as imminently threatening. Little influenced by the advantages which this combination promised to their common faith, they turned to France, who indeed alone could help them, to entreat her to endeavor to break it. Louis XIII, who was alarmed for the continuance of his influence over Italy, readily listened to their petition, and immediately after the peace of 1622, even before his return to his capital, concluded a treaty with Savoy and Venice, in virtue of which the house of Austria was to be compelled by a union of their common forces to give up the Grisons passes and fortresses;\*—a purpose which, though directed exclusively to a single point, might easily affect the general interests of Europe.

Of this Gregory XV was abundantly aware; he distinctly perceived the danger to the peace of the catholic world, to the interests of religion, and hence to the renovation of the papal dignity, which was threatened from this point: with the same zeal with which he promoted missions and conversions, he now sought to prevent the breaking out of hostilities, the consequences of which were vividly before his eyes.

The authority of the papal see—or rather the feeling of the unity of the catholic world—had still so much of vitality and power, that both Spain and France declared themselves willing to leave the decision of this affair to the pope. Nay, he was even petitioned to take possession of the fortresses which excited so much jealous alarm, as a deposit, until the terms of agreement could be fully settled, and to garrison them with his own troops.†

\* Nani, *Storia Veneta*, p. 255.

† *Dispaccio Sillery*, 28 Nov. 1622. Corsini, 13, 21 Gen. 1623, in *Siri, Memorie recondite*, tom. v, p. 435, 442. *Scrittura del deposito della Valtellina*, *ib.* 459.

For a moment pope Gregory hesitated whether or not he should undertake this active, and doubtless costly share in distant quarrels; but as it was obvious how important to the peace of the catholic world was his compliance with this request, he at length ordered a few companies to be raised, and sent them under the command of his brother, the Duke of Fiano, to the Grisons. The Spaniards were desirous of retaining at least Riva and Chiavenna; but even these they now delivered up to the papal troops.\* Archduke Leopold of Tyrol also finally consented to cede to them all the districts and fortified towns to which he did not lay claim as part of his own hereditary possessions.

In this way the danger which had created the greatest agitation in the Italian states seemed averted. The main consideration now was to make arrangements for the protection of catholic interests. To this end, it was proposed, that as the Valtelline was not to be suffered to fall again into the hands of Spain, so neither should it be allowed to return under the dominion of the Grisons; since in the latter case the progress of the catholic restoration there would, in all probability, be interrupted; it was therefore to be attached to the three ancient Rætian confederates, as a fourth, with equal rights and equal independence. From the same prudent regard to the interests of the church, the pope would not entirely break up the alliance of the two Austrian lines, which appeared necessary to the prosperity of catholicism in Germany. The passages through Worms and Valtelline were to remain open to the Spaniards; always understood, for the passage of troops into Germany, not for their entrance into Italy.†

Thus far had things proceeded—not indeed absolutely concluded, but all ripe for a conclusion—when Gregory XV died (8th of July, 1623). He had however the satisfaction of seeing the dissensions which threatened the safety of the church, appeased, and her authority constantly increasing. In the course of these negotiations there had even been a talk of a new alliance between France and Spain, with a view to an attack on La Rochelle and Holland.

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But after the death of Gregory, these projects were far from being realised.

In the first place, the new pope, Urban VIII, did not enjoy that confidence which is inspired by the presumption, founded on experience, of perfect impartiality; in the next, the Italians were far from satisfied with the agreement entered into; but the most important point was, that in France the helm of state was now in the hands of men who revived the opposition to Spain, not in compli-

\* Siri, *Memorie recondite*, v. 519.

† Art. ix of the scheme of the convention.



ance with the requests of others, nor merely as allies; but of their own free will, and as the cardinal point of French policy—Vieuville and Richelieu.

Perhaps, however, their adoption of this line of policy was less the result of choice than has generally been imagined. France, as well as the Austro-Spanish powers, was increasing and concentrating all her internal forces; the kingly power, the unity and the nationality of feeling of the country, were immeasurably enhanced by the victory over the Huguenots; and as her claims rose with her strength, everything conspired to induce her to attempt a bolder policy than that she had hitherto pursued. This natural tendency as naturally called into existence its appropriate organs;—men able and willing to carry it into effect. Richelieu was from the very first determined to resist the supremacy which the house of Austria had always asserted, and to which she had lately set up new and loftier claims; and to enter the lists with her in a struggle for ascendancy over Europe.

This resolution caused a far more perilous schism in the catholic world than any former one, since it seemed inevitably to lead to open war between the two great powers. The execution of the Roman treaty, which we have just mentioned, was now out of the question; and the endeavors of Urban VIII to hold the French to the concessions they had made, were utterly vain. But an alliance with the catholic opposition was not enough for France. Although a cardinal of the church of Rome, Richelieu had no scruple in entering into an undisguised alliance with protestants.

His first step was to make advances to England, with a view of breaking off that Spanish marriage, which could not fail to add so greatly to the influence of the house of Austria. He was seconded in his schemes by personal circumstances;—the impatience of James I, who longed for the return of his son and of his favorite with all the yearning of an old man who thinks himself near death; and a misunderstanding between the two ministers to whom the conduct of the affair was entrusted, Olivarez and Buckingham. Here, too, the event was chiefly determined by the nature of the thing itself. The affairs of the Palatinate disclosed invincible difficulties in the negotiations with Austria, Spain, Bavaria, and the Palatinate;\* while an alliance with France, considering the new line of policy which that power had adopted, rendered probable a prompt decision of the matter by an appeal to arms. As this alliance not only secured to the king of England so considerable a dowry, but also a prospect of attaching the English catholics to the throne, James preferred a French princess as a wife for his son, and

\* It appears by a letter from the elector palatine of the 30th of October, that force alone would have brought him to accede to the propositions which were made to him.

guaranteed to her the same religious immunities which he had promised to the Spaniards.

Warlike preparations were immediately set on foot. Richelieu conceived a plan, which for magnitude and extent surpassed all hitherto known to European policy, and of a nature completely his own. His idea was, to cripple the Austrian power at one stroke by a general and simultaneous attack.

He intended to co-operate with Savoy and Venice in hostilities against the Spanish power in Italy. Without the smallest regard to the pleasure of the pope, he marched French troops suddenly into the Grisons, and drove the papal garrisons out of the fortified towns.\*

He had not only contracted an alliance with England, but renewed that with Holland; and his plan was that the Dutch should make a descent in South America, and the English on the coast of Spain. At the instigation of king James, the Turks were set in motion, and threatened an assault on Hungary. But the main point of attack was to be Germany. The king of Denmark, who had long been in a state of preparation, was at length resolved to lead into the field the forces of Denmark and Lower Germany, in the cause of his kinsman of the Palatinate. Not only did England promise him help, but Richelieu bound himself to furnish a subsidy of a million of livres for the expenses of the war.† Thus supported by both these powers, Mansfeld was to join the king, and then to make his way into the hereditary provinces of Austria.

Thus we see that in this general assault of nations, one of the two most puissant catholic states was arrayed against the other.

There is no question that this had a direct tendency to check the progress of catholicism. Although the French confederacy was of a political nature, yet so close was the connection between ecclesiastical and political interests, that it could not but greatly advance the cause of protestantism. The protestants drew breath. A new champion, the king of Denmark, arose in Germany, with fresh and unimpaired strength, and sustained by the grand combination of

\* *Relatione di IV Ambasciatori*, 1625: "Il papa si doleva che mai Bettune gli aveva parlato chiaro, e che delle sue parole non aveva compreso mai che si dovessero portare le armi della lega contra li suoi presidii." The usual policy of France.

† Extract from the *Instruction of Blainville*, in *Siri*, vi, 62: "Nel fondo di Alemagna" Mansfeld was to co-operate with him (*Siri*, 611.) *Relatione di Caraffa*: "(I Francesi) hanno tuttavia continuato sino al giorno d'hoggi a tener corrispondenza con li nemici di S. M<sup>te</sup> Ces<sup>a</sup> e dar loro ajuto in gente e danari se ben con coperta, quale però non è stata tale che per molte lettere intercette e per molti altri rincontri non si siano scoperti tutti l'andamenti e corrispondenze: onde prima e doppo la rotta data dal Tilly al re di Danimarca sempre l'imperatore nel palatinato inferiore e nelli contorni d'Alsatia v'ha tenuto nervo di gente, dubitando che da quelle parti potesse venire qualche ruina." (See Appendix, No. 112.)

European policy. His triumph would at once render abortive all the successes of the imperial house, and of the catholic restoration.

But the difficulties involved in a project do not come to light till the attempt is made to put it in execution. Brilliant as were Richelieu's talents, he had rushed too precipitately into an enterprise to which all his inclinations were directed; which rose before him, whether in full consciousness, or in dim presentiment, as the aim and purpose of his life. This enterprise was pregnant with dangers to himself.

Not only the German protestants—the adversaries of the house of Austria—but the French—the enemies of Richelieu himself—were emboldened by these new political combinations. We learn from their own declaration, that they hoped, should the worst happen, to be reconciled to the king by the mediation of his present allies.\* Rohan set himself in motion by land, Soubise by sea. In May 1625, the Huguenots were in arms all over the country.

At the same moment the cardinal was met by enemies, perhaps still more formidable, from the other side. Spite of all his leaning to France, Urban VIII possessed too much sense of his own dignity not to be deeply wounded and irritated by the expulsion of his garrisons from the Grisons.† He ordered troops to be raised and to march into the Milanese, for the express purpose of retaking the lost places, with the co-operation of the Spaniards. It is very possible that these military demonstrations meant little; but the ecclesiastical influence which was involved in them was of the greatest significance. The complaints of the papal nuncio, that the most Christian king was become the ally of heretical princes, found an echo in France; the Jesuits proclaimed ultra montane doctrines, and Richelieu was violently attacked by the strict adherents of the church.‡ He found, it is true, protection against them in the Gallican principles, and defence in the parliaments; nevertheless, he dared no longer have the pope for an enemy. The catholic principle was too completely bound up with the restored monarchy, for the cardinal to brave the impression which spiritual admonitions might make on his sovereign.

Richelieu thus saw himself assailed in the very country in which he ruled; assailed, too, by the two hostile parties at once. What-

\* Mémoires de Rohan, part i, p. 146: "espérant que s'il venoit à bout, les alliés et liguez avec le roi le porteroient plus facilement à un accommodement."

† Relazione di P. Contarini: "S. S.<sup>a</sup> (he speaks of the first moment after the reception of the news) sommamente disgustata, stimando poco rispetto s'havesse portato alle sue insegne, del continuo e grandemente se ne quereleva." (See Appendix, No. 111.)

‡ Mémoires du Cardinal Richelieu, Petitot, 23, p. 20.

ever might be attempted against Spain in future, his present position was untenable; he must hasten to get out of it.

And as in the attack he had shown a genius for boundless combinations, for daring enterprising designs; so he now, in the moment of retreat, displayed that perfidious skill in making his allies mere tools, and then betraying and deserting them, which was so peculiarly and so invariably his own.

He first persuaded his new allies to support him against Soubise. He himself had no naval force. With protestant resources drawn from foreign lands, with Dutch and English ships, he overcame his protestant foes at home, (September, 1625.) He used their mediation to force the Huguenots to accept disadvantageous terms; they doubted not that as soon as he had got quit of these enemies, he would renew the general attack in which they were all engaged.

What then was their amazement, when, on the contrary, the news of the peace of Monzon, which was concluded between France and Spain in March, 1626, was suddenly proclaimed! A papal legate had been despatched for that purpose to both courts; and though it does not appear that he had exercised any material influence on the terms of the treaty, yet he at all events asserted the power and efficacy of the catholic principle. Whilst Richelieu was using the protestants for his own ends, under a show of the strictest confidence, he had with still greater zeal employed his negotiations with Spain for their destruction. Concerning the Valtelline, he agreed with Olivarez that it should return under the government of the Grisons; but should have an independent power of appointing to its own offices, and an uncontrolled liberty of catholic worship.\* The great catholic powers, which appeared on the point of engaging in mortal combat, in a moment stood re-united.

This event was partly brought about by the misunderstandings which had arisen in the course of the discussion of the treaty of marriage between France and England, and of their mutual engagements.

All the hostile measures set on foot against Spain were now necessarily brought to a stand.

The Italian princes were compelled, however reluctantly, to submit to what was unalterable; Savoy concluded a truce with Genoa; Venice esteemed herself fortunate that she had not fallen into the power of Milan, and disbanded her troops. It was asserted that the vacillating behaviour of the French prevented the raising of the siege of Breda in 1625, so that the loss of that important fortress to the Spaniards was attributed to them.

\* Du Mont. v. 2, p. 487, § 2: "Qu'ils ne puissent avoir par ci-après autre religion que la catholique . . . § 3. qu'ils puissent elire par election entre eux leurs juges, gouverneurs et autres magistrats tous catholiques:" certain limitations then follow.

But the greatest and most decisive reverse occurred in Germany.

The forces of Lower Germany had rallied round the king of Denmark, under the shield, as it was believed, of the universal alliance against Spain. Mansfield advanced on the Elbe, while the emperor had redoubled his efforts to meet him, knowing how all-important were the results of the impending conflict.

When the armies met, the alliance no longer existed; the French subsidies were not paid; the English succors arrived too late; the imperial troops were more disciplined and warlike than their adversaries; it followed that the king of Denmark lost the battle of Lutter, and was compelled to fall back upon his own country; and that Mansfield was driven as a fugitive into those Austrian provinces, which he had hoped to traverse as a conqueror and restorer.

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The effects of this event were of necessity as manifold as its causes.

In the first place, as regarding the imperial dominions. These may be described in a word. The last movement set on foot there in the cause of protestantism—in the hope of the general combination we alluded to—was crushed; and the nobles, who had hitherto escaped vexation, were now forced into conversion. On St. Ignatius' day, 1627, the emperor proclaimed, that after the lapse of six months, he would tolerate no one, not even of the degree of lord or knight, in his hereditary kingdom of Bohemia, who did not agree with himself and with the apostolical church in the only true faith.\* Similar edicts were published in Upper Austria, and in the year 1628, in Carinthia, Carniola, and Syria, and after some time, in Lower Austria also. It was useless to entreat even for respite; the nuncio Caraffa represented that such entreaties were to be ascribed only to the hope of a general change. From that time these countries once more became thoroughly catholic. What resistance had the nobility opposed to the house of Austria eighty years before! Now, the sovereign hereditary powers rose, orthodox, victorious, and uncontrolled, above every obstacle.

And still more extensive were the effects of the recent victory in the rest of Germany. Lower Saxony was completely subdued; the imperial troops had penetrated to the Cattergat; they had possession of Brandenburg and Pomerania; Mecklenburg was in

\* Caraffa, Relatione MS. "Havendo il Sr cardinale ed io messo in considerazione a S. M<sup>a</sup>, che come non si riformassero i baroni e nobili eretici, si poteva poco o nulla sperare della conversione delli loro sudditi e per conseguenza haviano potuto ancora infettare pian piano gli altri, piacque a S. M<sup>a</sup> di aggiungere al Sr C<sup>le</sup> ed agli altri commissarj autorità di riformare anche li nobili."

the hands of the imperial general; all these chief seats of protestantism were in the power of a catholic army.

It became immediately evident how the catholic party intended to profit by this state of things. A prince of the imperial house was appointed bishop of Halberstadt; and the pope, in virtue of his apostolical power, nominated him also archbishop of Magdeburg. There was no question, that if a catholic archducal government could succeed in planting itself there, it would urge on the restoration of catholicism throughout the see with the zeal and rigor of the other ecclesiastical princes.

Meanwhile the anti-reformation proceeded with fresh ardor in upper Germany. Caraffa's catalogue of proclamations, issued from the imperial chancery in the course of these years, is most curious; containing numerous admonitions, decrees, decisions, commands—all in favor of catholicism.\* The young count of Nassau-Siegen, the younger counts palatine of Neuburg, and the grand master of the Teutonic order, undertook new reformations; in the Upper Palatinate even the nobility was forced into catholicism.

The old legal proceedings instituted by spiritual lords against the temporal estates for the recovery of confiscated church property, now assumed a different character from their former one. Würtemberg was thrown into a state of the greatest alarm. All the old complainants, the bishops of Constance and Augsburg, the abbots of Mönchsreith and Kaisersheim, prosecuted their claims against the ducal houses, whose very existence was endangered.† The bishops in every case gained their cause against the cities; the bishop of Eichstädt against Nürnberg, the chapter of Strasburg against the city of Strasburg; while Schwäbisch-Hall, Memmingen, Ulm, Lindau, and many other cities, were compelled to restore to the catholics the churches they had taken from them.

If on every hand the protestants appealed to the letter of the treaty of Augsburg, they had a much stronger interest in a more general application of its principles, as they were now understood.‡

"After the battle of Lutter," says Caraffa, "the emperor appeared to wake as from a long sleep: freed from a great fear which had enthralled him and his predecessors, he conceived the project of restoring all Germany to the form marked out by the terms of the peace of Augsburg." Not only Magdeburg and Halberstadt, but Bremen, Verden, Minden, Camin, Havelberg, Schwerin, and almost all the North German ecclesiastical endowments, were restored to catholicism. This had ever been the distant aim upon which the pope and the Jesuits, in the most brilliant moments of

\* *Brevis enumeratio aliquorum negotiorum quæ— in puncto reformationis in cancellaria imperii tractata sunt ab anno 1620 ad annum 1629, in the Appendix to the Germania sacra restaurata, p. 34.*

† Sattler, *Geschichte von Würtemberg unter den Herzogen*, vol. vi, p. 226.

‡ Senkenberg, *Fortsetzung der Häberlinschen Reichsgeschichte*, vol. xxv, p. 633.

prosperity, had fixed their eyes. For this very reason it was matter of some anxiety to the emperor. "He was doubtful," says Caraffa, "not of the justice of the measure, but of the possibility of its execution." But the zeal of the Jesuits, especially of his confessor Lamormain; the favorable opinions of the four catholic electors; the unwearied solicitations of the papal nuncio, who himself informs us that it cost him the labor of a month to prevail, at length overcame all scruples. As early as August 1628, the edict of restitution was framed in the same form in which it afterwards appeared.\* Before it was published, it was once more submitted to the consideration of the catholic electors.

But a more extensive plan was connected with this: the catholics indulged the hope of winning over the Lutheran princes by measures of conciliation. This was not to be attempted by theologians, but by the emperor, or by some of the catholic princes of the empire. The arguments which they meant to urge were, that the conception entertained of catholicism in North Germany was erroneous; that the deviation of the unaltered Augsburg confession from the catholic creed was very slight; they hoped to propitiate the elector of Saxony by leaving him the patronage of the three great chapters of his dominions:† they did not even despair of exciting the hatred of the Lutherans against Calvinism, which might then be made subservient to a complete re-establishment of catholicism. This idea was eagerly embraced at Rome, and worked out into a feasible project. Urban VIII had not the slightest intention of resting satisfied with the articles of the peace of Augsburg, which had never been sanctioned by a pope.‡ Nothing less than a complete restitution of all church property—nothing less than a complete gathering together of all protestants within the fold of the church, would satisfy him.

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But Urban, intoxicated by his present prosperity, aspired to a yet more daring project—an attack upon England. This plan from

\* That this was the epoch of the drawing up of the edict, appears from Caraffa, *Commentar. de Germ. sacra restaurata*, p. 350. He remarks, that the edict was drawn up in 1628, and published in 1629: he then proceeds to say, "Annuit ipse Deus, dum post paucos ab ipsa deliberatione dies Cæsarem insigni victoria remuneratus est." He speaks of the victory of Wolgast, obtained on the 22d of August.

† As early as 1624 hopes were nourished in Rome of the conversion of this prince. *Istruzione a Monsr Caraffa*. "Venne ancora qualche novella della sperata riunione con la chiesa cattolici del sigr duca di Sassonia, ma ella svani ben presto: con tutto ciò il vaderlo non infenso a' cattolici e nemicissimo de' Calvinisti ed amicissimo del Magontino e convenuto nell' elettorato di Baviera ci fa sperare bene: laonde non sarà inutile che S. S. tenga proposito col detto Magontino di questo desiderato acquisto."

‡ "A cui," says the pope of the treaty of Passau, in a letter to the emperor, "non haveva giammai assentito la sede apostolica."

time to time reappeared, by a sort of necessity, in the grand catholic schemes. The pope now hoped to avail himself of the renewed good understanding between England and France for that purpose.\*

He first represented to the French ambassador, how offensive it was to France, that the English by no means adhered to the promises made at the marriage. Either Louis XIII ought to compel the English to fulfil their engagements, or to wrest the crown from a prince who showed himself, as a heretic before God, and a violator of his word before men, unworthy to wear it."†

He next addressed himself to the Spanish ambassador Oñate. The pope said that, were it merely from his duty as a knight, Philip IV was bound to succor the queen of England, his near kinswoman, who was now suffering oppression on account of her religion.

As soon as the pope perceived that he might indulge any hope of a favorable result, he committed the negotiation to Spada, the nuncio at Paris. Among the influential men of France, cardinal Berulle, who had conducted the negotiations concerning the marriage, embraced this idea with the greatest eagerness. He calculated how the English trading vessels might be captured on the French coasts, and the English fleets burnt in their own harbors. Olivarez adopted the plan, and took immediate measures for its execution. Former perfidies of France might indeed have made him pause and doubt, and another great statesman, cardinal Bedmar, opposed it on that ground; but the idea was too grand and comprehensive to be rejected by Olivarez, who in all things loved the dazzling and magnificent.

The negotiation was carried on with the utmost secrecy; even the French ambassador in Rome, to whom the first disclosures had been made, learned nothing of its further progress. The articles of the treaty were drawn up by Richelieu, corrected by Olivarez, and adopted, with his amendments, by Richelieu. On the 20th of April, 1627, they were ratified. The French engaged immediately to begin their armament, and to put their ports in a state of defence. The Spaniards were ready that same year to commence the attack, and

\* In Siri, *Memorie*, vi, 257, some account, though very imperfect, is given of this affair. That given in the *Mémoires de Richelieu*, xxiii, is merely partial. The statement in Nicoletti, of which we here make use, is much more circumstantial and authentic. (Concerning Nicoletti's work, see App. No. 120.)

† According to Nicoletti, the pope says, "Essere il re di Francia offeso nello stato pel fomento che l'Inghilterra dava agli Ugonotti ribelli: nella vita, rispetto agli incitamenti e fellonia di Seiales, il quale haveva indotto il duca di Orleans a macchinare contro S. M<sup>a</sup>, per lo cui delitto fu poscia fatto morire: nella riputazione, rispetto a tanti mancamenti di promesse: e finalmente nel proprio sangue, rispetto agli strapazzi fatti alla regina sua sorella: ma quello che voleva dir tutto, nell' anima, insidiando l'Inglese alla salute di quella della regina ed insieme a quella del christianissimo stesso e di tutti coloro che pur troppo hebbero voglia di fare quello infelice matrimonio."



it was agreed that the French should come to their aid with all their forces in the following spring.\*

It does not appear very clearly from our accounts, how Spain and France intended to divide the spoil; but thus much is evident, that even in this matter the pope was not forgotten. Berulle disclosed to the nuncio in the profoundest secrecy, that if they were successful, Ireland was to fall to the share of the holy see; in which case the pope would probably govern it by a viceroy. The nuncio received this communication with extreme satisfaction; he however recommended his holiness not to allow the least rumor of it to get wind; lest it should appear as if their schemes for the advancement of religion were in any degree mixed with worldly considerations.

The interests of Germany and Italy were also kept in view.

It seemed yet possible to destroy the superiority of the naval power of England and Holland by means of a general combination. The idea was suggested of forming an armed company, under the protection of which a direct communication between the Baltic Flanders, the French coast, Spain and Italy might be maintained, without the participation of the two maritime powers. The emperor even made proposals to that effect to the Hans towns; and the Infanta at Brussels wished that a port of the Baltic might be ceded to the Spaniards.† Negotiations were also set on foot with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, to the end that the Spanish and Portuguese trade might pass through Leghorn.‡

Things did not indeed go the length proposed. In consequence of the intricacy of the relations, events took a far different turn, yet one which eventually led to a result extremely favorable to the cause of catholicism.

While the catholic powers were devising this vast plan of an attack on England, it fell out that they themselves were surprised by an attack from England.

In July, 1627, Buckingham appeared off the coast of France with a stately fleet; he landed in the isle of Rhé, and occupied it

\* Lettere del nunzio, 9 Aprile, 1627: "Tornò a Parigi il prefato corriere di Spagna con avvisi che il re cattolico contentavasi di muoversi il primo, come veniva desiderato da Francesi, purchè da questi si concedessero unitamente le due offerte altre volte alternativamente proposte, cioè che il christianissimo si obbligasse di muoversi nel mese di maggio o di giugno dell' anno seguente e che presentemente accomodasse l'armata cattolica di alcune galere ed altri legni.— Portò anche nuova il medesimo corriere che il conte duca haveva in Ispagna staccata la pratica e dato ordine che se ne staccasse una simile in Fiandra col re d'Inghilterra il quale offriva al cattolico sospensione d'armi per tre anni o altro più lungo tempo tanto a nome del re di Danimarca quanto degli Olandesi."

† Pope Urban says this in a letter of instruction to Ginetti, in Siri, Mercurio, ii, 984.

‡ Scrittura sopra la compagnia militante, MS. in the Archivio Mediceo, contains a discussion of the practicability of this plan: "Si propone che i popoli delle città anseatiche enteranno nella compagnia militante per farne piacere all' imperatore e che i Toscani non abbino a ricusare come chiamati da sì gran monarchi."

all except the citadel of St. Martin, to which he immediately laid siege, and called upon the Huguenots to make a fresh effort in defence of their liberties and their religious independence, which were daily more imminently threatened.

The English historians usually attribute this expedition to a romantic passion of Buckingham for Anne of Austria. Whether he really entertained any such passion or not, a very different, but doubtless, a more substantial, ground of his enterprise is to be found in the grand course of events. Was Buckingham to await in England the projected attack? It was doubtless better to anticipate it, and to carry the war into France.\* A more favorable moment could not be found; Louis XIII was dangerously ill, and Richelieu involved in a struggle with powerful factions. After some delay, the Huguenots actually took up arms anew, and their valiant and veteran leaders appeared once more in the field.

Had Buckingham followed up the war with more energy and been better supported, he must have succeeded; but king Charles I admits in all his letters, that this was not the case. Things were so conducted that the English were soon no match for Cardinal Richelieu, whose genius unfolded its resources with redoubled vigor in moments of difficulty, and who had never shown himself more resolute, firm and indefatigable, than in the present exigency. Buckingham saved himself by a retreat. His enterprise, which might have brought the French government into extraordinary peril, had in fact no other consequence than to let loose the whole power of the country, wielded by the cardinal, with new violence on the Huguenots.

The focus of the Huguenot force was unquestionably La Rochelle. Years before, when Richelieu resided at his see of Luçon, in that neighborhood, he had meditated on the possibility of conquering that place; he now saw himself called upon to conduct such an undertaking, and determined to execute it, cost what it would.

It happened most strangely, that nothing contributed so much to his success as the fanaticism of an English puritan.

Buckingham had at last prepared to relieve La Rochelle; his honor was engaged; his position in England and the world depended upon this enterprise, and doubtless he would have strained

\* We might ask whether Buckingham had not come to the knowledge of this secret design: it is at any rate highly probable, considering how very seldom a secret is kept so entirely, that some portion does not transpire. We certainly know that it immediately came to the ears of the Venetian ambassador, Zorzo Zorzi, who arrived in France at the time those arrangements were in course of conclusion. "Si aggiungeva che le due corone tenevano insieme machinatione e trattati di assalire con pari forza e dispositioni l'isola d'Inghilterra." It seems very improbable that the affair should not have been known in England; the Venetians were on the best understanding with England, and had even fallen under the suspicion of having advised the expedition against the isle of Rhé. (Rel. di Francia, 1628.)

every nerve to accomplish it: this was the moment chosen by a fanatic, goaded by revenge and inflamed by mistaken zeal for religion, to assassinate him.

In great conjunctures, it is necessary that powerful men should make a public undertaking their own personal affair. The siege of La Rochelle was a duel between the two ministers. Richelieu was now the survivor. There was no one in England to occupy Buckingham's place, no one to adopt the defence of his honor; the English fleet appeared in the roads, but struck no decisive blow. It was said that Richelieu knew that this would be the case. He persevered with unshaken firmness, and in October 1628, La Rochelle surrendered.

After the principal fortress had fallen, the neighboring places despaired of being able to hold out—their only solicitude was to make tolerable terms.\*

Thus, out of all these political complexities, which at first appeared favorable to the protestants, sprang in the end decisive victories and enormous advances on the side of catholicism. The northeast of Germany and the southwest of France, which had so long resisted, were both subdued. Nothing seemed now to be necessary but to subject the conquered foe for ever by laws and by institutions of permanent influence.

The assistance which Denmark had afforded to the Germans, and England to the French, proved injurious rather than useful; they had brought upon them a resistless enemy; and these powers were now themselves endangered, or even attacked. The imperial troops penetrated as far as Jutland, and negotiations were actively renewed between France and Spain, with a view to the projected combined attack upon England (A. D. 1628).

\* *Zorzo Zorzi, Relazione di Francia, 1629: "L'acquisto di Rocella ultimato sugli occhi dell' armata Inglese, che professava di sciogliere l'assedio et introdurvi il soccorso, l'impresa contro Roano, capo et anima di questa fazione, i progressi contra gli Ugonotti nella Linguadocca colla ricuperatione di ben 50 piazze hanno sgomentato i cuori e spozzato la fortuna di quel partito, che perdute le forze interne e mancategli le intelligenze straniere si è intieramente rimesso alla volontà e clemenza del re."* He notices that the Spaniards came certainly at a late hour, and then but with fourteen vessels, but that still they did come to take part in the siege of La Rochelle. He ascribes their accession to the "certezza del fine," and to the desire "participar agli onori."

## CHAPTER IV.

## MANTUAN WAR—THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

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 REVOLUTION IN THE STATE OF THINGS.

AT the first glance, the course of human events, the march of the human mind in any direction it has once taken, present an aspect of undeviating progression.

But on a nearer observation, we not unfrequently perceive that the fundamental circumstance which determines the whole progress of things, is but slight and feeble—often little more than personal sympathy or antipathy, which it would not be difficult to disturb.

If we inquire what were the main causes of the recent amazing successes of the catholic restoration, we find that they were not so much the armies of Tilly and Wallenstein, or the military superiority of Richelieu over the Huguenots, as the renewed alliance between France and Spain, without which neither nation would have been able to accomplish anything of moment.

From the year 1626 protestantism no longer made any independent resistance, and was only emboldened to attempt it again by the disunion of the catholic powers; their reconciliation therefore caused its downfall.

But it required no extraordinary sagacity to perceive how slight a cause would suffice to disturb their union.

Within the pale of catholicism even, two distinct and opposite impulses had arisen by an equal and inevitable necessity—the one religious, the other political.

The former demanded union, propagation of the faith, and disregard of all other considerations; the latter incessantly stimulated the rivalry of the great powers for precedence in dignity and authority. It could not be said that the balance of power in Europe had been disturbed by the course of events. The balance of power in those times depended on the hostile interests of France and Austrian-Spain, and recent occurrences had greatly increased the strength of France and had placed her more nearly on an equality with her rival.

But nations are excited to action no less by the anticipation of future dangers, than by the pressure of present evils; and it now seemed as if the natural course of things was pregnant with general insecurity and confusion.

The north of Germany, the ancient seat of protestantism was overrun by Wallenstein's troops; and this opened the possibility of restoring the imperial sovereignty over the whole of Germany, (which, with the exception of a short period in the life of Charles V, had for centuries been a mere shadow,) to real power and substantial importance. If the catholic restoration went on in the way it had begun, this result was inevitable.

The king of France, on the other hand, had no equivalent to expect;—when once he had subdued the Huguenots, he had nothing more to gain. But the Italians had the greatest cause for anxiety; the renovation of a powerful imperial government which had such manifold claims in Italy, and was so immediately connected with the hated power of Spain, was in their eyes perilous and insupportable.

The question once more arose, whether the exertions in the cause of catholicism would be continued without regard to this state of things, and would again carry all before them? or whether political considerations would preponderate, and would put a stop to these exertions?

Whilst the torrent of the catholic restoration swept with full force over France and Germany, an event occurred in Italy, the result of which was to decide this question.

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### § 1. MANTUAN SUCCESSION.

At the close of the year 1627, died Vincenzo II, Duke of Mantua, of the house of Gonzaga, without issue. His nearest agnate was Carlo Gonzaga, Duc de Nevers.

The succession was in itself subject to no difficulties, since no doubt existed as to the rights of the agnate. But it involved a political change of great importance.

Charles de Nevers was born in France, and was of course regarded as a Frenchman; and it was thought that the Spaniards would not suffer a Frenchman to acquire power in the north of Italy, which they had always striven with especial jealousy to guard from all French influence.

If, after the lapse of so many ages, we endeavor to obtain an accurate understanding of this affair, we find that neither the court of Spain nor that of Austria had at first any thought of excluding him from the succession. He was related to the imperial house, since the empress was a Mantuan princess, and always warmly attached to his interests. "At first," says Khevenhiller, who was

employed in Mantuan affairs, "nothing hostile to his interests was required of him; on the contrary, they deliberated how to conciliate his devotion to the imperial house."\* Olivarez, too, expressly affirms the same thing; he relates that when the news arrived of the dangerous illness of Don Vincenzo, it was determined that a courier should be immediately despatched to the Duke de Nevers, to offer him the protection of Spain in a pacific occupation of Mantua and Montferrat.† It is indeed possible that conditions would have been imposed on him, and guarantees demanded, but there was no thought of depriving him of his rights.

The mode in which this natural course of things was arrested, is very remarkable.

The Italians did not give the Spaniards credit for so much justice as would have been evinced by this line of conduct. They had never believed all the former assurances of Spain, that she would respect Gonzaga's rights and make no resistance to his succession.‡ The Spanish governors in Italy had brought upon themselves the suspicion of grasping at boundless power, even by unjust and unlawful means; nor were people now to be persuaded that they would not try to raise some member of the house of Gonzaga more devoted to their interests, to the dukedom of Mantua.

We will, however, admit that the wish of the Italians to see a prince naturally allied to France, and independent of Spain, on the throne of Mantua, had a great deal to do with this opinion. They would not believe that Spain would relinquish a thing which would have been welcome to themselves, precisely in proportion as it was injurious to Spanish interests. They persuaded the rightful heir to think as they did, and he accordingly deemed it best to enter upon possession in whatever way he could. The political was now like the animal body. The internal disease only waited for some occasion—for some wounded part—to break out.

Even before the decease of Vincenzo, the young Gonzaga Nevers, duc de Rethel arrived in the profoundest secrecy in Mantua, where a Mantuan minister, named Siriggio, attached to the anti-Spanish party, had prepared everything for his reception. The old duke

\* *Annales Ferdinandei*, xi, p. 30.

† Francesco degli Albizi, negoziato di Monsr Cesare Monte: "S. M.," says Olivarez, "in sentire la grave indisposizione del duca Vincenzo ordinò che si dispacciasse corriere in Francia al medesimo Nivers promettendogli la protezione sua acciò egli potesse pacificamente ottenere il possesso di Mantova e del Montferrato: ma appena consegnati gli ordini, si era con altro corriere venuto d'Italia intesa la morte di Vincenzo, il matrimonio di Retel senza participatione del re," etc.

‡ "Nè si deve dar credenza," says Mulla, the Venetian ambassador at Mantua in 1615, "a quello che si è lasciato intender più volte il marchese di Inoiosa, già governor di Milano, che Spagnoli non porterebbono, quando venisse il caso, mai altri allo stato di Mantua che il duca di Nivers:"—why not however? We have only the fact: the governor affirms it, the Italians do not believe it; nevertheless, there is no doubt about the matter.

made no difficulty of acknowledging the rights of his cousin. There was still existing a female descendant of the direct and native line—grand-daughter of Philip II of Spain by his youngest daughter, who had married into the house of Savoy—and it appeared most important that the young duke should marry her.\* Accidental circumstances retarded their union, and it was not till after the death of Vincenzo that the young princess was fetched by night from the convent in which she had been educated, and conducted to the palace where the marriage was immediately solemnised. Not till then was the death of the prince made public, and Rethel was saluted as Duke of Mantua, and received the homage of his subjects. An envoy from Milan was kept at a distance till all was completed, and then—not without a sort of mockery—made acquainted with the whole transaction.

The news of the marriage and accession of the young duke reached Vienna and Madrid simultaneously with that of Vincenzo's death.

It must be acknowledged that it was well calculated to irritate and incense such puissant princes, who delighted to assume a character of sacred majesty. Their near kinswoman had been married without their consent, or even knowledge—nay, with a kind of force; and possession taken of a considerable fief without the smallest deference for the feudal lords!

The measures taken by the two courts were, however, different.

Olivarez, proud as a Spaniard, prouder as minister of so mighty a king, and filled with the most arrogant sense of his own importance, was little disposed to make any advances to the duke; he determined, if he could do no more, at least, to use his own expression, to mortify him.† His demeanor was indeed openly hostile; nor could the important city of Montferrat, regarded as the outwork of Milan, be entrusted to him after such evidence of his dispositions. The Duke of Guastalla laid claim to Mantua; the Duke of Savoy to Montferrat, and the Spaniards now entered into an alliance with both these princes; both parties took up arms; the Duke of Savoy marched upon Montferrat from the one side, don Gonzalez de Corduba, governor of Milan, from the other. The French had already retreated to Casale, which don Gonzalez hastened to besiege. He was confident of speedily reducing it—the more so, as he reckoned on co-operation within.

\* Nani, *Storia Veneta*, 1, 7, p. 350, and Siri, *Memorie recondite*, vi, 309, both state this fact; the latter takes it from a letter of Sabran to the French court.

† Nicoletti, *Vita di papa Urbano*, from a despatch of the nuncio Pamfilio: "Dichiaravasi il conte duca che per lo meno voleva mortificare il duca di Nivers per lo poco rispetto portato al re nella conclusione del matrimonio senza parteciparlo: ma a qual segno potesse giungere la mortificazione, non poteva il nuntio farne congettura, e tanto più che le ragioni che avevano mosso il papa a concedere la dispensa, erano acerbamente impugnate dal medesi mo conte duca."

The emperor acted with less precipitation. He was persuaded, he said, that God would defend him, since he trod the paths of justice. He disapproved the proceedings of the Spaniards, and caused his disapprobation to be formally notified to don Gonzalez. On the other hand he was determined to exercise his functions as supreme judge without the smallest reserve. He uttered sentence of sequestration against Mantua, till he should have decided to which of the several pretenders the succession belonged. As the new duke of Mantua, who had now arrived in person, would not submit, the severest mandates were issued against him.\* But whatever might be the difference in the origin and spirit of these measures, they conspired to produce the same effect. Nevers was not less formidably menaced by the legal claims of the German line of the house of Austria, than by the open hostilities of the Spanish; in thinking to elude the danger, he had drawn it down upon his head.

At first his prospects were very bad. Some of the cities of Italy it is true, regarded his cause as their own, and left no means untried to keep him steady to his determination of resistance; but they had not strength to give him any effectual succor.

Richelieu had also promised that he would not suffer him to fall if he would only hold out till France could come to his aid. But the question was, when that would be.

The situation of Mantua was rendered much more critical by the siege of La Rochelle, before the fall of which Richelieu could not move a step. He did not dare again to engage in hostilities with Spain, so long as they might give rise to another dangerous insurrection of the Huguenots.

But his previous experience also compelled him to attend to other considerations. On no account dared he quarrel with the rigid catholic party in his own country. He dared not venture to break with the pope, nor even to adopt a line of policy displeasing to him.

Here too the inclinations of the pope were once more of the last

\* The views of the imperial court may be gathered from the report of Pallotta, 10th of June, 1628, an extract of which is given by Nicoletti: "Il nunzio ogni di più accorgevasi, che era malissima l'impressione contro il duca di Nivers, che avesse disprezzato il re di Spagna e molto più l'imperatore conchiudendo matrimonio senza sua partecipazione col possesso dello stato senza investitura, anzi senza indulto imperiale, che fosse nemico della casa d'Austria, che avesse intelligenza e disegno co' Francesi di dare loro mano nell' invasione dello stato di Milano; e che non di meno S. M<sup>ta</sup> Ces<sup>a</sup> avesse grandissima inclinazione alla pace, e con questo fine avesse fatto il decreto del sequestro per levare l'armi dalle mani di Spagnuoli e di Savojardi stanti le ragioni che pretendevano Guastalla, Savoia, Lorena e Spagna negli stati di Mantova e Monferrato: che dappoi il duca avesse di nuovo offeso l'imperatore col disprezzo de' commissarj non dando loro la mano dritta e non gli ammettendo in Mantova e sopra tutto col appellazione e protesta che l'imperatore fosse caduto dalla ragione e superiorità di detti feudi."



importance. His position, and the nature of his office, required him to use every effort for the maintenance of the peace of the catholic world; as an Italian prince he had an incontestable influence on his neighbors, while the measures, even of France, must as we have seen, be determined by those he might think fit to pursue. Every thing depended upon whether he would avert the outbreak of a quarrel, or would himself become a party to it.

In the former political involvements, Urban VIII had found his line of policy already marked out, his course prescribed. On this occasion his own character and sentiments first came to view more completely, and at the same time with more authoritative influence on the affairs of the world.

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§ 2. URBAN VIII.

Among the foreigners who acquired considerable wealth by the commerce of Ancona, during the prosperity it enjoyed in the 16th century, the Florentine house of Barberini distinguished itself by capacity for and success in business. A scion of this house, Maffeo, born in the year 1568, at Florence, was taken after the early death of his father, to Rome, where an uncle of his had raised himself to a certain station in the curia. Maffeo also entered upon the same career; in which he was not only supported by the opulence of his family, but distinguished by his own rare talents. At every step of his rise, his fellow-laborers recognised his superiority; but he was chiefly led to entertain loftier views by his success in conciliating the full confidence and regard of the court of France, during a nuntiatura which he held in that country. After the death of Gregory XV, the French party immediately fixed their eyes on Maffeo as his successor.

The character of this conclave differed from the former ones in consequence of the shortness of the late pope's reign. Although he had nominated a considerable number of cardinals, yet the creatures of his predecessor were not less numerous; and the two nephews, of the last pope and of his predecessor, stood opposed with nearly equal forces. It appears that Maffeo Barberini gave each of them to understand that he was the enemy of the other; and it is asserted that he was in consequence supported by each, out of hatred to the other. But he doubtless acquired still greater influence by appearing as the constant assessor of the jurisdictional claims of the Roman curia, and thus gaining the good-will of the majority of the cardinals. In short, by the aid at once of his own merit and of the support of others, Maffeo Barberini triumphed over all obstacles, and at the early age of fifty-five rose to the dignity of the papacy.

The court very soon perceived a wide difference between him

and his predecessor. Clement VIII was generally found busied in the study of St. Bernard, Paul V in that of Justinian of Venice; but the table of Urban VIII was covered with the newest poems, or with plans of fortifications.

It may generally be observed, that the period in a man's life in which his character takes a decided bent, is that of the first bloom of manhood; it is then that he begins to take an independent share in literature or public affairs. The youth of Paul V, born in 1552; that of Gregory XV, born in 1554, belonged to an epoch in which the principles of the catholic restoration strode onwards with full and uninterrupted career; and by these principles their minds were completely subjugated and fashioned. The first active years of the life of Urban VIII, born in 1568, fell, on the contrary, in the times of the opposition of the papal government to Spain, and the re-establishment of catholicism as the dominant religion of France.— We find that his inclinations now followed the bent thus impressed upon them.

Urban VIII regarded himself mainly in the light of a temporal prince.

His favorite notion was, that the States of the Church must be secured by fortifications, and become formidable by their own arms. When the marble monuments of his predecessors were pointed out to him, he said he would erect one for himself of iron. On the Bolognese frontier he built Castel-Franco, also called Fort Urbano; although its military aim was so little clear and obvious, that the Bolognese suspected it was built rather to overawe than to protect them. In Rome (in the year 1625) he fortified Castel St. Angelo with new breast-works, and immediately stored it with munitions of war and provisions, as if the enemy had been at the gates; he constructed the high walls which inclose the papal gardens on Monte Cavallo, without heeding the destruction of the magnificent remains of antiquity in the Colonna gardens. A manufactory of arms was established at Tivoli;\* the vaults under the Vatican library were used as an arsenal; soldiers swarmed in the streets, and the centre of the supreme spiritual power of Christendom, the peaceful

\* A Contarini, Rel<sup>ne</sup> di 1635: "Quanto alle armi, i papi n' erano per l'addietro totalmente sprovveduti, perchè confidavano più nell' obligarsi i principi con le gratie che nelle difese temporali. Hora si è mutato registro, et il papa presente in particolare vi sta applicatissimo. A Tivoli egli ha condotto un tal Ripa Bresciano, suddito di V. Ser<sup>a</sup>, il quale poi di tempo in tempo è andato sviando molti operai della terra di Gardon. Quivi costui fa lavorare gran quantità d' arme, prima facendo condurre il ferro grezzo dal Bresciano et hora lavorandone qualche portione ancora di certe miniere ritrovate nell' Umbria: di che tutto diedi avviso con mie lettere a suo tempo, che m'imagino passassero senza riflessione. Di queste armi ha il papa sotto la libreria del Vaticano accomodato un'arsenale, dove con buon ordine stanno riposti moschetti, picche, carabine e pistole per armare trentamila fanti e cinquemila cavalli oltre buon numero che dalla medesima fucina di Tivoli si è mandato a Ferrara e Castelfranco in queste ultime occorrenze." See App. No. 115.

inclosures of the Eternal City, resounded with the din of arms.— It was, he said, indispensable too to a well-ordered state to have a free port, and accordingly Civita Vecchia was, at great cost, adapted to that end. But the results were more answerable to the situation of things than to the views of the pope. The Barbary corsairs sold at Civita Vecchia the plunder they had taken from Christian merchants and travellers. Such was the result of the exertions of the sovereign pastor of Christendom.

In all these things pope Urban acted with unlimited and autocratic power; at least in the first years of his reign, he even surpassed his predecessors in the absoluteness of his sway.

If it was proposed to him to take counsel of the college, he replied, that he understood more than all the cardinals put together. Consistories were but rarely held, and even then, few had courage to express their opinions freely. The congregations assembled in the accustomed manner, but no important question was laid before them, and their decisions were little heeded.\* Nor did Urban form any regular *consulta* for the administration of the civil government such as had been established by his predecessors. His nephew, Francesco Barberino, was perfectly right in refusing, during the first ten years of the pontificate, to take the responsibility of any measure that had been adopted, let its nature be what it might.

The foreign ambassadors were distressed at the impossibility of transacting business with the pope. At the audiences he talked more than anybody,† lectured, and continued with one the conversation he had begun with another. All present must listen to him, admire him, and address him with an air of the greatest reverence, even when he refused their requests. Other popes often gave unfavorable answers to petitions, but from some principle, either religious or political; in Urban this was evidently the result of humor and caprice.

People never knew whether to expect a yes or a no from him. The shrewd and acute Venetians found out that he loved contradiction, and that he had an almost involuntary proneness towards the opposite of what was proposed to him; when, therefore, they had a point to carry, they resorted to the expedient of starting objections to it

\* “Le congregazioni servono,” says Aluise Contarini, “per coprire talvolta qualche errore.”

† Pietro Contarini, Rel<sup>no</sup> di 1627. “Abbona con grande facondia nelli discorsi, è copioso nelli suoi ragionamenti, di cose varie argomenta, e tratta nelli negotj con tutte le ragioni che intende e sa, a segno che le audienze si rendono altrettanto e più lunghe di quelle de’ precessori suoi: e nelle congregazioni dove interviene segue pur il medesimo con grande disavantaggio di chi tratta seco, mentre togliendo egli la maggior parte del tempo poco ne lascia agli altri; et ho udito io dire ad un card<sup>no</sup> che andava non per ricever l’audienza ma per darla al papa, poichè era serto che la S<sup>a</sup> S. più avrebbe voluto discorrere che ascoltarlo; e molte volte è accaduto che alcuni entrati per esporre le proprie loro istanze, postosi egli nei discorsi, se ne sono usciti senza poter de’ loro interessi dirle cosa alcuna.” See App. No. 111.

themselves. The pope, in seeking about for arguments to confute them, fell himself upon propositions which no persuasions in the world would ever have induced him to listen to.

This is a sort of temper which we sometimes find in subordinate stations, and was not unfrequent at that time among Spaniards and Italians. Such men regard a public post as a tribute due to their personal merits; and consequently, in the administration of their office, they attend far more to their personal feelings and impulses, than to the exigencies of the case. The conduct is not unlike that of an author, who, filled with the consciousness of his talent, does not confine himself to the subject before him, but gives free course to the sports of his fancy.

Urban belonged in fact to this class of authors. The poems of his which are extant give evidence of wit and talent; but how strangely are sacred subjects handled in them! The songs and apophthegms of both the Old and the New Testament are forced into Horatian metres; the song of praise of the aged Simeon into two Sapphic strophes! No trace, of course, remains of the peculiar characteristics of the text; the matter is compelled to assume a form utterly discordant with it, merely in compliance with the whim of the author.

But these talents, the brilliancy with which they invested the person of the pope, nay, even the athletic health he enjoyed, all tended to increase that self-complacency, and to raise those personal pretensions with which his lofty station was of itself sufficient to inspire him.\*

It appears to me that no pope ever raised such arrogant claims to personal respect. An objection drawn from the old papal constitutions was once made to some argument of his; he replied, "that the judgment of a living pope was worth more than the maxims of a hundred dead ones."

He abrogated the resolution of the Roman people never again to erect a statue to a living pope, by saying, "that such a resolution could not apply to such a pope as he was."

The conduct of one of his nuncios in a difficult affair being once commended to him, he replied, "that the nuncio had acted upon his instructions."

Such a man was Urban; so filled with the idea of being a mighty prince; so attached to France, both in consequence of his former occupations and of the support he had received from that country; so self-willed, energetic, and full of his own importance; such was the man upon whom at this moment the conduct of the highest spiritual power of catholic Christendom had devolved.

\* This had been remarked from the beginning. *Relatione de' quattro ambasciatori*, 1624: "Ama le proprie opinioni e si lascia usinare dal suo genio, a che conseguita una salda tenacità dei proprj pensieri:— è sempre intento a quelle cose che possono ringrandire il concetto della sua persona." See App. No. 104.

His decisions, and the attitude which he might assume in the centre of the catholic powers, were of infinite consequence to the progress or the interruption of the universal restoration which now occupied mankind.

Frequently, however, people had thought they remarked in the pontiff an antipathy to Spanish Austria.\*

No later than the year 1625, cardinal Borgia complained of his harshness and severity; he said "that the king of Spain could not obtain the smallest concession: everything was refused him."

Cardinal Borgia maintained that pope Urban VIII did not willingly terminate the affair of the Valtelline; that the king had offered to abandon the contested passes, and that the pope never chose to take any notice of the offer.

Nor indeed is it to be denied that Urban was in part the cause of the failure of the project of an alliance between the houses of Austria and England. When executing the dispensation which had been prepared by his predecessor, he added to the existing conditions, the stipulation that there should be in every county of England public churches erected for catholic worship; a demand which the majority of an excited protestant population rendered it absolutely impossible to comply with, and which the pope himself subsequently abandoned on occasion of the French marriage. In truth, he seemed to see with repugnance the augmentation of power which Spain would have acquired by the connection with England. The nuncio, at that time resident at Brussels, carried on secret negotiations with a view to a marriage of the electoral prince palatine, not with an Austrian but with a Bavarian princess.†

Nor had the pope a less material share in the complicated affairs of the Mantuan succession. The secret marriage of the young princess with Rethel, on which every thing turned, could not have been effected without a papal dispensation. This pope Urban granted, without having so much as asked her nearest relations, the emperor or the king; and granted it, too, exactly at the critical moment.

These circumstances were quite sufficient to show the sentiments of the pope. Like the other Italian powers, his first wish was to see a prince independent of Spain on the throne of Mantua.

Nor did he wait for any attack from Richelieu. As his application to the imperial court produced no effect; as, on the contrary, the proceedings of that court were more and more hostile, and the siege of Casale continued, the pope now turned to France.

\* Marquemont (*Lettres in Aubery, Mémoires de Richelieu, i, p. 65*) notices this from the very beginning. It will not be very difficult, he says, to manage the pope: his inclinations are on the side of the king and France; from prudence, however, he will try to satisfy the other sovereigns. The pope became immediately aware of the aversion of the Spaniards.

† The emissary of the nuncio was a capuchin, Francesco della Rota. *Russdorf, Negotiations, i, 205*, dwells with great minuteness upon his transactions.

He sent the most earnest entreaties that the king would bring an army into the field, even before La Rochelle should be taken; he urged that an enterprise in the cause of Mantua was not less pleasing in the sight of God, than the siege of that grand citadel of the Huguenots; if the king would only appear in Lyons, and declare himself for the freedom of Italy, he, the pope, also would immediately bring an army into the field, and would unite his forces with those of the king.”\*

Richelieu had therefore at present nothing to fear from this side, if he should see fit to resume that opposition to Spain which had proved abortive three years before. But he determined to proceed with perfect security; he was not in the same haste as the pope, nor would he be in any degree diverted from the siege, success in which at that moment enchained his ambition.

But he appeared only the more resolute as soon as La Rochelle had fallen. “Monsignore,” said he to the papal nuncio, whom he instantly sent for, “now we will not lose another moment; the king will enter upon Italian affairs with all his might.”†

That enmity to Spain and Austria which had so often agitated Europe, thus burst forth with greater force than ever. The jealousy of Italy once more stimulated the ambition of France. The state of things appeared so urgent, that Louis XIII would not wait the return of spring; in the middle of January 1629, he quitted Paris, and took the road towards the Alps. In vain did the Duke of Savoy, who, as we have said, adhered to the side of Spain, offer resistance; his passes, which he caused to be barricaded, were stormed at the first assault, and Susa taken; no later than March he was forced to make terms, and the Spaniards found themselves compelled to raise the siege of Casale.‡

The two leading powers of catholic Christendom were thus once more arrayed in arms against each other, and Richelieu resumed his most daring schemes against the joint power of Spain and Austria.

But if we institute a comparison between the times, we shall find that he now stood upon a far more solid and tenable ground, than at the period of his projects with regard to the Grisons and the Palatinate. Then, the Huguenots might have seized the moment to renew intestine wars. Now, they were not indeed completely subjugated, but since they had lost La Rochelle, they could no longer inspire alarm or solicitude; they sustained an uninterrupted series of losses and defeats, nor were they strong enough even to make a diversion. It was perhaps still more important, that Richelieu now had the pope on his side. In his former enterprise he

\* Extracts from the despatches of Bethune, of the 23d Sept. and the 8th Oct. 1628, in Siri, *Memorie*, vi, p. 478.

† *Dispaccio Bagni*, 2 Nov. 1628.

‡ *Recueil de diverses relations des guerres d'Italie*, 1629—31. Bourg en Bresse, 1632.

endangered even his position in France, by running counter to the policy of Rome; whereas the present was instigated by Rome itself, for the interests of the Roman temporal sovereignty. Richelieu deemed it generally expedient to attach himself as closely as possible to the papacy; thus, in the contest between Roman and Gallican doctrines, he adhered to the Roman, and renounced the Gallican.

The momentous consequences of the hostility of Urban VIII to the house of Austria now became evident.

With the development of religious opinions and the progress of the catholic restoration, were implicated political changes, the principle of which became more and more powerful and active, and now opposed a formidable resistance to the ecclesiastical principle.

The pope entered the lists against that very power which had evinced the greatest zeal in the re-establishment of catholicism.

The question was, what attitude this power (and the emperor Ferdinand more especially, in whose hands the work of that re-establishment chiefly rested) would assume in presence of so potent and so menacing an opposition?

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### § 3. THE POWER OF FERDINAND II IN THE YEAR 1629.

The emperor appeared as if nothing had happened.

It is true, that under the existing circumstances he could promise himself no favor from the pope. He experienced resistance to his will in the most trifling things; for instance, in an affair relating to the abbey of St. Maximian; nay, even in the most pious proposals—among which was his earnest desire to have St. Stephen and St. Wenceslaus received into the Roman calendar on account of the great veneration paid to the one in Hungary and to the other in Bohemia. All his requests were refused. But notwithstanding these discouragements, he issued the edict of restitution on the sixth of March, 1629. It may be regarded as the final sentence in a great suit which had been going on for more than a century. The protestants were condemned without appeal, and judgment given absolutely in favor of the catholics. "Nothing remains for us," says the emperor, "but to give our support and assistance to the injured party, and to command our commissioners to reclaim from their present unauthorised possessors, all archbishoprics, bishoprics, prelatures, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical property, confiscated since the treaty of Passau." The commissions instantly made their appearance, and a special one for each circle of the empire entered upon its functions, which were executed in the most resolute and arbitrary manner.

One would have thought that the pope would at all events be appeased by these manifestations of zeal for the church, and would

be moved to some favor and kindness. Pope Urban received them as the simple fulfilment of a duty. The emperor begged for the privilege of nominating at least the first occupants of the ecclesiastical offices recovered by means of the edict of restitution; but the pope refused him even this, alleging that he could not violate the concordats, which were observed even in France.\* There is a sort of bitter irony in this refusal, for the French concordat secured to the king the very right solicited in vain by the emperor. The emperor wished to have power to transform the restored monasteries into Jesuits' colleges: the pope answered that the monasteries must be accounted for directly to the bishops.

Meanwhile the emperor, who looked upon himself as the great champion of the catholic church, pursued his own course, regardless of the displeasure of the pope.

He brought into the field three armies at once.

The first came in aid of the Poles against the Swedes, and succeeded in restoring, to some extent, the fortunes of the former. But this was not the only object; this campaign was designed at the same time to restore Prussia to the empire and the Teutonic order, from which it had been wrested.†

Another army marched upon the Netherlands, to co-operate with the Spaniards in the reduction of those provinces. The troops poured themselves across the plain of Utrecht towards Amsterdam, and it was only the accident of a surprise they encountered at Wesel, which prevented great results from this combination.

Meanwhile a third army assembled at Memmingen and Lindau, destined to proceed into Italy and to decide the Mantuan question by the sword. The Swiss could not be prevailed on to allow the troops a passage; it was therefore forced: at the same moment Luciensteig, Chur and all the Grison passes to the lake of Como were occupied, and the army, to the number of 35,000 men, descended the valleys of the Adda and the Oglio.

The Duke of Mantua was once more summoned to submit. He replied that he was under the protection of the king of France, and that any demands or conditions must be addressed to that monarch. While the Germans moved upon Mantua and the Spaniards upon Montferrat, the French likewise appeared a second time in the field. This time, too, they obtained some successes; they took Saluzzo and Pinerolo, but they accomplished nothing decisive of

\* Lettera di segreteria di stato al nuntio Pallotta li 28 Aprile, 1629. The pope destined his nuncio at Cologne, Pier Luigi Caraffa, for Lower Saxony, "con titolo per la restituzione de' beni ecclesiastici, e deliberò di dargli anche la facoltà a parte se fosse stato bisogno di usarle nelle controversie fra ecclesiastici ed ecclesiastici."

† Mémoires et négociations de Rusdorf, ii, 724: "Comiti Negromontano (Schwarzenberg) Viennæ nuper claris verbis a consiliariis et ministris Cæsaris dictum fuit, imperatorem scilicet sibi et imperio subjecturum quidquid milite suo in Borussia occuparit et ceperit."



the matter at issue; nor were they even able to bend the Duke of Savoy again to their will.

The Spaniards laid siege to Casale; the Germans, after a short truce, to Mantua,\* and had a decided superiority.

It was no wonder if this state of things suggested recollections of the ancient supremacy of the emperor, or that these were currently expressed in Vienna. "We will show the Italians," said they, "that there is still an emperor, and that he will call them to account."

Venice had more especially drawn upon herself the hatred of the house of Austria. It was judged at Vienna, that when once Mantua had surrendered, the terra-firma of Venice could no longer resist. In a few months it must fall into the hands of Austria, who would then demand the restitution of the imperial fiefs. The Spanish ambassador went still further. He compared the Spanish-Austrian power with that of Rome, and the Venetian with that of Carthage. "Aut Roma," exclaimed he, "aut Carthago delenda est."

Here, too, the temporal rights of the empire, as against the papacy, were called to mind.

Ferdinand II desired to be crowned, and requested that the pope would meet him for that purpose at Bologna or Ferrara: the pope did not venture either to promise or to refuse absolutely, and sought to extricate himself from his difficulty by a mental reservation.†—The feudal rights of the empire over Urbino and Montefeltro next came under discussion, and the papal nuncio was unceremoniously told, that Wallenstein would inform himself more accurately about them when he came to Italy. This was, in fact, Wallenstein's intention. He had originally been opposed to an Italian war; but now that he saw, as he declared, that the pope and his allies wanted to crush the house of Austria, he was for it.‡ He hinted that it was a hundred years since Rome had been sacked, and that it must be much richer now than then.

\* The 11th book of the *Istoria di Pietro Giov. Capriata* investigates the particular importance of each of these events.

† "Se bene Urbano una volta uscì coll' ambasciatore Savelli che bisognando si saria trasferito a Bologna o Ferrara, non intese però dire in corresponsività di quello che espresse il principe di Eckenberg."

‡ A letter by Pallotta on the 10th of August, 1628, shows what was the general opinion of the pope at Vienna: "E stato qui rappresentato da' maligni, che son quelli che vogliono la guerra, che lo stato di Milano sta in grandissimo pericolo, essendo cosa sicura che papa Urbano havendo vastissimi pensieri sia di cattivo animo verso la casa d'Austria, che perciò si habbia da temere di S. S.<sup>a</sup> non meno che di Veneziani e di Francesi havendo gli stati così vicini al ducato di Milano e potendo in un tratto mettere potente esercito in campagna: e di più gli stessi maligni hanno rappresentato per cosa già stabilita che S. S.<sup>a</sup> vuole in ogni modo far fare re de' Romani il re di Francia, ed in confermazione di ciò hanno allegato che essendo la S.<sup>a</sup> S. nuncio in Francia dicesse alla regina che s'egli arrivava ad esser papa, voleva procurare di fare re de' Romani il suo figliuolo, il quale ancora era fanciullo."

Neither was France to be spared. The emperor thought to recover the three alienated bishoprics by force of arms. His plan was to invade France with Cossack troops from Poland; and the quarrels of Louis XIII with his brother and his mother seemed to offer a tempting opportunity.

The house of Austria thus occupied a position which enabled it boldly to pursue its designs against the protestants, and at the same time to exercise a potent check on the catholic opposition and on the pope himself.

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§ 4. NEGOTIATIONS WITH SWEDEN.—ELECTORAL DIET OF RATISBON.

In former ages, whenever a conjuncture like that which we have just described had been foreseen or feared, even in a distant futurity, every power in Europe possessing the least remaining independence had combined. It was now actually present. The catholic opposition looked around for help beyond the pale of catholicism; not, as before, from jealousy, but for defence and salvation. But to whom could this party turn? England had ample employment at home, in the quarrels between the king and the parliament, and moreover was engaged in fresh negotiations with Spain. The Netherlands were overrun by the enemy; the German protestants either beaten or overawed by the imperial troops, and the king of Denmark compelled to accede to a disadvantageous peace. There remained only the king of Sweden.

While the protestants were defeated on every hand, Gustavus Adolphus alone had been victorious. He had conquered Riga, the whole of Livonia as far as Dünamünde, and, as the Poles expressed it, "as much of Lithuania as he had pleased;" in 1626 he appeared in Prussia, chiefly, as he said, to inspect the state of the clergy in the diocese of Ermeland; he had taken the two chief seats of restored catholicism in that country, Frauenburg and Braunsberg, and had thus opened a new and strong asylum to oppressed protestantism. All eyes were turned upon him. "Above all men," writes Rusdorf, as early as the year 1624, "I revere and admire this victorious hero; I honor him as the sole prop of our cause, as the terror of our common foes; my prayers accompany the career of his fame, which soars far above the reach of envy."\* Gustavus Adolphus had indeed suffered some loss in the battle of Stumm, where he himself was in imminent danger of being taken prisoner; but the chivalrous valor with which he cut his way

\* Rusdorf, Mémoires, ii, 2: "Ejus gloriam invidiæ metas eluctatam, excelsam infracti animi magnitudinem, et virtutis magis ac magis per merita enitescens et assurgentis invictum robur cum stupore adoro et supplicii voto prosequor."

through the enemy, cast an additional lustre over his reputation, and he kept the field in spite of this reverse.

To this heroic prince the French now addressed themselves. They first negotiated a truce between him and the Poles, and it is very possible that the views of the emperor upon Prussia, to which we have alluded, conduced to inspire the magnates, if not the king, of Poland, with an inclination for peace.\* They thus made some advance towards the attainment of their chief aim—that of drawing the king of Sweden to Germany; and in case they succeeded, the only reservation they contemplated was, to introduce into the treaty some stipulations in favor of catholicism. With this condition they declared themselves ready to aid the king, who was to bring a considerable army into the field, with answerable supplies in money. After some hesitation, king Gustavus consented to their proposals. In his instructions he avoids all allusion to religion; alleging only as the objects of the alliance, the restoration of the ancient rights of the estates of Germany, the removal of the imperial troops, and the security of commerce and of the sea.† A compact was drawn out, in which the king engaged to tolerate the catholic mode of worship wherever he found it, and in the affairs of religion to abide by the laws of the empire (to use the expression employed). This was necessary also on account of the pope, to whom it was immediately announced. The ratification of the treaty was indeed retarded by some formalities, but in the summer of 1630 it was regarded as definitive.‡ The papal nuncio in France maintained that Venice had pledged herself to pay a third of the subsidies.§ I have not been able to make out what foundation there is for this assertion, but it is certainly rendered probable by the general state of affairs.

But could it be hoped that Gustavus Adolphus would be able single-handed to break the might of the imperial allied armies, and to conquer them in the field? Nobody believed it possible. It appeared, therefore, extremely desirable to excite a movement in Germany itself, calculated to favor his undertaking.

For this end the protestants might doubtless be reckoned upon.

\* Rusdorf, l. i, 724; “*Poloniæ proceres, si unquam, vel nunc maxime pacem desiderabunt.*”

† “*Tenor mandatorum quæ S. R. Maj. Sueciæ elementer vult ut consiliarius ejus . . . . Dn. Cainerarius observare debeat, Upsaliæ, 18 Dec. 1629.*” Mosers patriotisches Archiv., vol. vi, p. 133.

‡ Bagni, 18 Giugno, 1630. He gives in the following form, with slight variations, the article which also appears in the treaty of the 6th Jan. 1631: “*Si rex aliquos progressus faciet, in captis aut deditis locis, quantum ad ea quæ religionem spectant, observabit leges imperii.*” He also shows what construction was put upon it. “*Le quali leggi,*” he adds, “*dicevano dovere intendersi della religione cattolica e della confessione Augustana.*” Thus Calvinism would have remained excluded.

§ Bagni, 16 Luglio, 1630. “*Sopragiunsero,*” it is said in the extract, “*nuove lettere del Bagni coll’ avviso che alla prefata confederazione fra il re di Francia e lo Succo erasi aggiunta la republica di Venetia, la quale obligavasi a contribuire per la terza parte.*”

Whatever might be the policy suggested to individual princes by personal considerations or by fear, yet that fermentation which penetrates to the very core of social life, and which is the harbinger of mighty convulsions, had seized upon all minds. As a proof of this I will mention only one thought which was rife at that time. When attempts were made in some places to carry into effect the edict of restitution, and the Jesuits intimated their intention of not even recognising the treaty of Augsburg, the protestants gave out that before this could come to pass, the German empire and nation should be utterly shattered and overthrown: "rather would they cast away all law and order, and restore Germany once more to the solitude and the wildness of her ancient forests."

But this was not all. Discontents and divisions appeared on the catholic side also.

It is impossible to describe the agitation occasioned by the design of the Jesuits to take possession of the lands of the restored monasteries. The Jesuits were said to have declared that there were no benedictines remaining; that they had all fallen off from the discipline of their order, and were not competent to resume possession of the property they had lost. They contested even their claims on the score of service: they would not hear of conversions having been wrought by them; what appeared such, they said, were only the work of force.\* Thus even before any restoration of the church lands had taken place, they excited discord and contention between the orders for the right of possession, and between the emperor and the pope for the right of collation.

To these religious differences were now added secular ones of a yet more extensive nature. The imperial troops were an insupportable burthen to the country; they exhausted its resources, and those of its inhabitants; and the princes had no better treatment at the hands of the general, than the citizen or the peasant at those of the soldier. Wallenstein held the most insolent language. The old allies of the emperor, the heads of the league, above all Maximilian of Bavaria, were dissatisfied with the present and anxious about the future.

\* The violent controversial writings, attacks and replies produced by this affair, give us insight into the subject of dispute, but none into the truth of the facts. "E verissimo," says the papal nuncio in a letter written in cipher, "che i padri Gesuiti hanno procurato e procurano col favore dell' imperatore, che non può esser maggiore, di non solo soprastare agli altri religioso, ma di escluderli dove essi v'hanno alcun interesse o politico o spirituale." I find, nevertheless, that the emperor, however great at that time his devotion to the Jesuits, was inclined in the year 1629 to make entire restitution of their possessions to the older orders. This is stated by Pier Luigi Caraffa, nuncio at Cologne. But the Jesuits had already gained their point at Rome, where in July, 1629, a decree was issued, "che alcuna parte (dei beni recuperati) potesse convertirsi in erezioni di seminarj, di alumnati, di scuole e di collegj tantò de' padri Gesuiti, quali in gran parte furono motori dell' editto di Cesare, come di altri religiosi." The schools of the Jesuits would thus have spread over all the north of Germany.

In this situation of things it happened that Ferdinand assembled the catholic electors at Ratisbon in the summer of 1630, with a view to procure the election of his son as king of the Romans. On such an occasion it inevitably followed, that all other public affairs came under discussion.

The emperor plainly saw that he must concede something. His private intention was to give way on some points of German affairs; he showed himself disposed to prolong the suspension of the edict of restitution as it regarded the territories of Brandenburg and the electorate of Saxony; to come to some definitive accommodation concerning the palatinate and Mecklenburg, to appease and conciliate Sweden (for which purpose negotiations were already opened), and in the meantime to turn all his forces upon Italy, in order to bring the Mantuan war to a termination, and to extort from the pope a recognition of his ecclesiastical claims.\*

He probably believed that since he had to deal with German princes, he should obtain most by conciliation and concession in German affairs. But the position of things was not so simple.

The spirit of the Italic-French opposition had already insinuated itself amongst the catholic electors, and its leaders sought to turn the discontents prevailing among the latter to their own ends.

First appeared the papal nuncio Rocci in Ratisbon, and as an inevitable consequence of his character and function, used every means to thwart the execution of the Italian and anti-papal schemes.

The pope had charged him to make it his first care to be upon a good understanding with the elector of Bavaria; in a short time he announced that this understanding was maintained in the profoundest secrecy;† he produced a declaration of the catholic electors, that they would preserve a strict union with him in all ecclesiastical affairs, and especially would maintain inviolate the jurisdiction and dignity of the papal see. But to give a decisive turn to affairs, father Joseph, the confidant of Richelieu came to his aid. On no occasion was the consummate cunning of that capuchin, more busy, more successful, or more obvious to all acquainted with the transactions, than on this. His companion in Ratisbon, Monsier de Leon, who lent his name to this embassy, is reported to have said, that

\* Dispaccio Pallotta, 2 Ag. 1630, gives the following amongst the points which were to be taken into consideration: 1º. "Se si doveva sospendere o tirare avanti l'editto della ricuperazione de'beni eccl<sup>si</sup>; 2º. se havendosi da procedere avanti, si avesse da sospendere quanto a quelli che erano negli stati dell' elettori di Sassonia e di Brandeburgo: ed *inclinavasi a sospenderlo*; 3º. quanto ai benefici e beui eccl<sup>si</sup> che si erano ricuperati, pretendevasi che alli imperatori spettasse la nomina. . . . . 6º. trattavasi di restituire il ducato di Mechelburgh agli antichi padroni, siccome il palatinato almeno inferiore al palatino con perpetuo pregiudizio della religione cattolica come era seguito con Danimarca."

† Dispaccio Rocci, 9 Sett. 1630: "E questa corrispondenza riuscì molto fruttuosa, perchè Baviera di buon cuore operò che in quel convento non si trattò delle operationi sopra mentovate."

father Joseph had no soul, but in its stead shallows and quicksands, into which every one must fall who had any dealings with him.

By the instrumentality of such mediators the Italic-French opposition quickly won over the emperor's German confederates. Nothing was done for the reconciliation of the empire with Sweden, or for the pacification of the protestants; nor had the pope ever given his consent to the suspension of the edict of restitution. On the other hand, the electors pressed for the restoration of peace in Italy; they demanded the dismissal of the imperial commander-in-chief, who had assumed the bearing of an absolute dictator; and so mighty was this influence, so adroitly was it exercised, that the puissant emperor, at the zenith of his power, yielded without resistance and without conditions.

While these negotiations were carrying on in Ratisbon, his troops had conquered Mantua; he might regard himself as master of Italy, when at this moment, he consented to cede Mantua to the Duke of Nevers, in exchange for the empty formality of an apology. But the other demands made upon him afforded perhaps yet more striking evidence of the relative address of the parties. The German princes, France, and the pope, were all equally overawed by the general, on whose personal qualities the whole fortune of the imperial arms depended. It is no cause of wonder if they hated him and desired to be rid of him. The emperor, for peace' sake, gave him up.

At the very moment when he might have obtained the sovereignty of Italy, he let it slip through his hands. At the very moment when the most formidable, most warlike enemy attacked him in Germany, he dismissed the captain who alone was capable of defending him. Never did policy and diplomacy obtain a more solid or a more brilliant triumph.

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#### § 5. SWEDISH WAR—SITUATION AND POLICY OF THE POPE.

This was the true commencement of the war. It cannot be denied that Gustavus Adolphus opened it under the most favorable circumstances. For the imperial army drawn together by the name of Wallenstein was personally devoted and bound to that great commander. The emperor had disbanded a part of it, and had subjected the contributions levied by the generals, which had hitherto been left to their own discretion, to the arbitration of the circles of the empire,\* and at length, by the act of dismissing his general, he had destroyed his army and robbed it of its moral force. With troops thus disgusted and disheartened, Torquato Conti, an

\* Adlzreitter, iii, xv, 48: "Cæsar statuit ne in posterum stipendia pro tribunorum arbitrio, sed ex circuloꝝ præscripta moderatione penderentur."

Italian who had formerly been in the pope's service, had to make head against the emboldened and zealous enemy. As might have been anticipated, his failure was complete; the imperial army appeared no longer the same; nothing was seen but indecision, terror, and disaster; Gustavus Adolphus completely routed it and took up a strong position on the lower Oder.

At first it was thought in southern Germany that this was of little importance to the rest of the empire; and Tilly meanwhile continued his operations on the Elbe with perfect coolness. The conquest he at length achieved of Magdeburg appeared to the pope a great victory and inspired the highest hopes. A commissary was actually appointed at Tilly's suggestion, to arrange the affairs of the archbishopric according to the laws of the catholic church.

But it was this very measure which determined the protestant princes who had hitherto been wavering, to join Gustavus Adolphus, and, while Tilly sought to prevent them, to declare an enmity to the league which rendered it impossible any longer to discriminate between the leaguers and the imperialists. The battle of Leipzig followed. Tilly was completely routed, and the protestant armies overran the territories of the leagued princes, as well as those of the emperor. Würzburg and Bamberg fell into the king's hands; the protestants of the far north encountered on the banks of the Rhine the ancient champions of Roman catholicism, the troops of Spain; their skulls lie mingled at Oppenheim. Mayence was conquered; all the oppressed princes joined the king, and the expelled count palatine appeared in his camp.

Thus was the necessary result of an enterprise, which had been excited and approved by the catholic opposition from political views, advantageous to protestantism. The party that had been utterly overpowered found itself once more victorious. It is true, the king extended his protection to the catholics generally, as he was bound to do by the terms of his alliance; but he at the same time declared that he was come to rescue his fellow-believers from the violence offered to their consciences;\* he took the Lutheran ministers who lived under catholic governments under his special protection—as for instance those of Erfurt; he also every where proclaimed the Augsburg confession; the ejected pastors returned to the Palatinate, and the Lutheran doctrine of worship once more traversed the empire under the banners of the victorious army.

Such were the strange and perplexed results of the policy of Urban VIII. In so far as the king attacked and overcame the Austrian power, he was the natural ally of the pope, and this was immediately evident in the affairs of Italy; for disheartened by the disasters in Germany, the emperor acquiesced in more unfavorable terms in the affair of Mantua, in the year 1631, than had been pro-

\* Letter from the king to the town of Schweinfurt, given in Chemnitz, Schwedischer Krieg, part i, p. 231.

posed to him the year before at Ratisbon. Nay, there even subsisted indirect, if not direct, ties between the papal see and the protestant powers which were once more engaged in a successful struggle. "I speak with good grounds," says Aluise Contarini, who had been first at the French and then at the Roman court, "for I was present at all the negotiations; the pope's nuncios always favored Richelieu's undertakings, both when they had for their object his own safety, and when they aimed at uniting Bavaria and the League with France; with regard to his alliance with Holland and the protestant powers generally, they held their peace, that they might not say they had sanctioned it. Other popes would perhaps have had this connivance upon their conscience, but the nuncios of Urban VIII found this the road to greater consideration and to personal advancement."\*

The emperor made loud and bitter complaints; he said that the Roman court had first persuaded him to publish the edict of restitution and now deserted him in the war which it had occasioned; that the pope had thwarted the election of his son as king of the Romans; that he had encouraged the elector of Bavaria by word and deed to follow a separate policy and to ally himself with France; that it was in vain to apply to Urban for those succors in money and troops which other popes had so often afforded; and that he even refused to pronounce condemnation on the alliance of the French with heretics, or to proclaim this war to be a war of religion.† In the year 1632, we find the imperial ambassadors in Rome reiterating with peculiar emphasis the last charge. The declaration of his holiness, they say, may still produce the greatest effect; it is still not absolutely impossible to drive out the king of Sweden, who has not more than thirty thousand men. The pope replied with frigid pedantry, "With thirty thousand men Alexander conquered the world." He persisted in asserting that it was not a war of religion—that it concerned only affairs of state; and that moreover the papal treasury was exhausted and he could do no more.

The members of the curia, and the inhabitants of Rome were amazed. "Amidst the conflagration of churches and monasteries," said they, "the pope remained stiff and cold as ice. The king of

\* Al. Contarini, *Relatione di Roma*, 1635. See App. No. 115.

† Aluise Contarini: "Gli Alemanni si pretendono delusi dal papa, perchè dopo aver egli reiteramente persuaso l'imperatore di ripetere dagli eretici i beni ecclesiastici d'Alemagna ch' erano in loro mani, origine di tante guerre, resistesse S. S<sup>ta</sup> poi alle reiterate spedizioni di card<sup>ri</sup> e d'amb<sup>ri</sup> nelle assistenze di danaro, nel mandar gente e bandiere con l'esempio de' precessori, nel publicar la guerra di religione, nell' impedire colle scomuniche gli appoggi ai medesimi heretici della Francia: anzi nel medesimo tempo ritardata l'elettione del re de' Romani, confortato il duca di Baviera con la lega cattolica all' unione di Francia, assistendo lo medesimo di danari e di consiglio per sostenersi in corpo separato. Il papa si lagna d'esser tenuto eretico et amatore di buoni progressi de' protestanti, come tal volta in effetto non li ebbe discari."



Sweden had more zeal for his Lutheranism, than the holy father for the only true faith.”

The Spaniards once more proceeded to a protest. Cardinal Borgia now appeared before Urban VIII as Olivarez had done before Sixtus V, to protest solemnly against the conduct of his holiness. A scene ensued even more violent than on that occasion. Whilst the pope broke out into furious anger and interrupted the envoy, the cardinals present took part on one side or the other. The envoy was forced to content himself with giving in a written protest.\*— But this did not satisfy the zealously religious party, and the idea of summoning a council in opposition to the pope was already suggested, especially by cardinal Ludovisio, the nephew and minister of the former pope.†

But what a fire would such a measure have lighted up! Events already took a turn which left no doubt as to their nature, and which would of necessity give another direction to papal policy.

Urban VIII flattered himself for a time that the king would conclude a treaty of neutrality with Bavaria, and would restore the ejected spiritual princes to their dominions. But this attempt at a reconciliation of interests so directly at variance, soon utterly failed. The Swedish troops inundated Bavaria, Tilly fell; Munich was conquered, and Duke Bernard threatened the Tyrol.

These things left no room for doubt as to what the pope and catholicism had to expect from Sweden. How utterly was the situation of things changed in a moment! While perhaps the catholic party had cherished the hope of restoring the protestant endowments in North Germany to catholicism, Gustavus now conceived the plan of transforming the South-German endowments which were in his power, into secular principalities. He already began to talk of his duchy of Franconia, and seemed to intend to fix his royal court at Augsburg.

Two years before the pope had had to fear a descent of the Austrians upon Italy, and had been menaced with an attack on Rome itself. Now, the Swedes appeared on the frontiers of Italy, and under the conduct of a victorious leader whose very title—the king of the Swedes and Goths—suggested to either party a crowd of recollections.‡

\* “Nella quale,” says cardinal Cecchini in his autobiography, “concludeva che tutti li danni che per le presenti turbolenze erano per venire alla christianità, sariano stati attribuiti alla negligenza del papa.” See App. No. 121.

† Al. Contarini speaks of the “orecchio che si prestava in Spagna alle pratiche di Ludovisio per un concilio.”

‡ Al. Contarini asserts nevertheless that, “L’opinione vive tuttavia che a S. S.<sup>a</sup> sia dispiaciuta la morte del re di Suezia e che più goda o per dir meglio manco tema i progressi de’ protestanti che degli Austriaci.”

## § 6. RESTORATION OF THE BALANCE OF THE TWO CONFESSIONS.

I have no intention of tracing the course of that struggle which for sixteen years longer desolated Germany. It is sufficient if we have remarked how that mighty torrent of catholicism which seemed likely to overspread Germany forever, just as it was preparing to sweep away the protestant faith at its very sources, was checked in its career, and triumphantly forced back. It may be observed generally, that catholicism, viewed as one body, was unable to sustain its own victories. Even the head of the church believed himself compelled by political considerations to oppose the very powers which were the foremost champions and propagators of his spiritual authority. Catholics, acting in accordance with the pope, evoked the yet unsubdued forces of protestantism, and prepared the way for their success.

Plans so vast as those conceived by Gustavus Adolphus in the plenitude of his power, could not indeed be executed after the early death of that prince; for the triumphs of protestantism were by no means to be ascribed to its own intrinsic strength. Yet neither was catholicism, even when it had concentrated its forces, when Bavaria once more allied herself to the emperor, and Urban VIII contributed fresh subsidies, sufficiently strong again to overpower protestantism.

This conviction soon obtained, at least in Germany, and indeed gave rise to the treaty of Prague. The emperor suffered his edict of restitution to drop, while the elector of Saxony and the states in alliance with him, gave up the hope of the re-establishment of protestantism in the hereditary dominions of Austria.

The pope, it is true, opposed every measure at variance with the edict of restitution, and in the emperor's spiritual council he had the Jesuits on his side, particularly father Lamormain, who was constantly eulogised on that account, as "a worthy father confessor, a man swayed by no temporal considerations:"\* but the majority were against him; the capuchins Quiroga and Valerian, the cardinals Dietrichstein and Pazmany, among others, maintained that if the catholic faith was upheld in its purity in the hereditary dominions, religious freedom might safely be granted in the empire. The peace of Prague was announced from every pulpit in Vienna; the capuchins boasted of their share in this "honorable and holy work," and instituted special solemnities in its celebration; scarcely indeed could the nuncio prevent the singing of *Te Deum*.†

\* Lettera del card<sup>l</sup> Barberino al nuntio Baglione, 17 Marzo 1635: "Essendo azione da generoso Christiano e degno confessore di un pio imperatore ciò che egli ha fatto rimirando più il cielo che il mondo."

† From the correspondence of Baglioni, as extracted in the 6th vol. of Nicoletti; e. g. 14th of April, 1635. "Disse un giorno il conte di Ognate che asso-

Urban VIII, though in practice he had contributed so much to the defeat of all the projects of catholicism, had yet abandoned no claim in theory, and had thus deprived the papacy of any participation in the vital and active interest of the world. Nothing affords stronger evidence of this than the instruction which he gave his legate Ginetti on his departure for Cologne, in the year 1636, to negotiate a general peace. Precisely on all those points upon which every thing absolutely depended, the hands of the ambassador were tied. For example, one of the most urgent necessities was the re-establishment of the palatinate, yet the legate was enjoined to oppose the restitution of the palatinate to a non-catholic prince.\* What had already appeared inevitable even during the negotiations at Prague, viz. to make some concessions to the protestants in reference to church property, was now become yet more so; nevertheless the legate was admonished "to especial zeal in yielding nothing which might be for the advantage of the protestants in respect of church property." Nor would the pope accede to any treaty of peace with protestant powers. His envoy was not to give his sanction to any project for including the Dutch in the peace; he was to oppose any transfer or cession to Sweden (this related only to some pending discussion about a sea-port); "the divine mercy would find means to remove that nation out of Germany."

The Roman see could no longer entertain any reasonable hope of subjugating the protestants; it is, however, most remarkable and important, that Urban—involuntarily indeed, but by his stubborn pertinacity in urging impracticable claims—himself rendered it impossible to exercise any material influence on the relations of catholic states to Rome.

The pope continued indeed to send his ambassadors to the congress which was met for the negotiation of a peace; Ginetti was succeeded by Macchiavelli, Rosetti, Chigi. Ginetti was accused

lutamente il re di Spagna non havrebbe dato ajuto alcuno all' imperatore se non in caso che seguisse la pace con Sassonia: di che maravigliandosi il nunzio disse che la pietà del re cattolico richiedeva che si cumulassero gli ajuti non seguendo detta pace, la quale doveva piuttosto disturbarli trattandosi con eretici, ed applicare l'animo alla pace universale coi principi cattolici. Fulli risposto che ciò seguirebbe quando la guerra si fosse fatta per la salute delle anime e non per la ricuperazione de' beni ecclesiastici, ed il padre Quiroga soggiunse al nunzio che l'imperatore era stato gabbato da quelli che l'havevano persuaso a fare l'editto della ricuperazione de' beni ecclesiastici, volendo intendere de' Gesuiti, e che tutto erasi fatto per interesse proprio: ma avendo il nunzio risposto che la persuasione era stata interposta con buona intenzione, il padre Quiroga si accese in maniera che proruppe in termini esorbitanti, sicchè al nunzio fu difficile il ripigliarlo perchè maggiormente non eecedesse. Ma Ognate passò più oltre, dicendo che l'imperatore non poteva in conta alcuno ritirarsi dalla pace con Sassonia per la necessità in cui trovavasi, non potendo resistere a tanti nemici, e che non era obbligato a rimettervi l'havere de' suoi stati hereditarj ma solamente quelli del' imperio, che erano tenuissimi, e che non compliva di tirare avanti con pericolo di perdere gli uni e gli altri.

\* Siri: Mercurio, ii, p. 987.

of being frugal to a degree which was prejudicial to his utility; Macchiavelli, of regarding his mission solely as a means of acquiring rank—as giving him a qualification for a higher post; Rosetti was disagreeable to the French;—such are the reasons assigned for the insignificance of their influence.\* The truth is, that the thing itself—the position which the pope had taken up—rendered any effective interference on the part of the nuncios impossible. Chigi was able and popular; yet he effected nothing. A peace was concluded before his eyes of the very nature the pope had denounced and forbidden. The elector-palatine and all the expelled princes were restored; so far from any possibility of thinking of the edict of restitution, many religious endowments were secularised without hesitation, and given up to the protestants. Spain determined at length to recognise the independence of those rebels to pope and king—the Dutch; the Swedes kept a considerable portion of the empire. Even the peace between the emperor and France was not such as the curia could approve, containing, as it did, stipulations concerning Metz, Toul, and Verdun, by which its rights were invaded. The papacy found itself under the melancholy necessity of protesting; it chose at least to give utterance to the principles which it had been unable to enforce. But even this had been foreseen. The spiritual articles of the peace of Westphalia were prefaced by the declaration, that the contracting parties would not regard the opposition of any one soever, whether of temporal or spiritual estate.†

By this peace the grand struggle between catholics and protestants was at length brought to a close, though to a far different one from that which the edict of restitution was intended to effect. Catholicism preserved vast acquisitions, since the year 1624 was regarded as the normal year to which the relative situation of the two parties was to be referred; on the other hand, the protestant party obtained that parity in the diet which was so indispensable to their safety, and had been so long withheld. All the relations of the empire were henceforth governed by this principle.

It is obvious that an end was now for ever put to such schemes as had formerly been undertaken, and had formerly succeeded.

The results of the German contest re-acted immediately on the neighboring countries.

Although the emperor had been able to maintain the ascendancy of catholicism in his hereditary dominions, he was obliged to make concessions to the protestants in Hungary; in the year 1645 he found himself constrained to restore to them no inconsiderable number of churches.

After the vast and sudden elevation of Sweden to the dignity and importance of a great power, Poland could hardly think of renew-

\* Pallavicini: Vita di papa Alessandro VII, MS. See App. No. 130.

† Treaty of peace of Osnabrück. Article V, § 1.

ing her old claims to that country. Wladislaus IV did not imitate the proselyting zeal of his father, and was a gracious king to his dissident subjects.

Even in France, Richelieu favored the Huguenots after they were stripped of their political independence. He rendered, however, a far more important service to the protestant principle by that mortal combat which he continued to wage against the pre-eminently catholic power of Spain; a combat which shook the Spanish monarchy to its very foundations. This discord was the only one which the pope might have allayed without a scruple. But while all others were in fact appeased, this remained still active, and incessantly agitated the bosom of the catholic world.

The Dutch, until the peace of Westphalia, had taken the most successful part in the war against Spain. This was the golden age of the power and the prosperity of Holland. But from the time they aspired to domination in the East, they came into violent collision there with the successful catholic missions.

In England alone, catholicism, or something having an analogy with its outward forms, seemed to find acceptance. We remark envoys from the English court in Rome, and papal agents in England; the queen, of whom a sort of official recognition obtained in Rome,\* exercised an influence over her husband which appeared inevitably to extend to religion also; and in many of its usages and ceremonies the church of England closely approximated to that of Rome. But these symptoms were only the forerunners of the very reverse of what they seemed to promise. It is highly improbable that Charles I ever in his heart dissented from the protestant faith; but even the slight approximations to the catholic ritual in which he indulged, were decisive of his ruin. It seemed as if the violent excitement which had caused such long, universal, and perpetually recurring conflicts in the protestant world at large, was now concentrated in the English puritans. In vain did Ireland strive to withdraw herself from their despotism, and to organise herself as a catholic country; the subjection to which she was reduced was but the more absolute. The aristocracy and the commons of England constituted a power, the rise of which marks the restored prosperity of protestantism in Europe.

By these events eternal barriers were erected against the progress of catholicism, which has now its assigned and definite limits; nor can its most ardent or sanguine partisans entertain any serious thought of that conquest of the world which they once contemplated and projected.

\* Nani: *Relatione di Roma*, 1640. "Con la regina d'Inghilterra passa communicatione de' ministri con officii e donativi di cortesia, e si concede a quella M<sup>ta</sup> nominatione di cardinale a pare degli altri re." Spada: *Relatione della nunziatura di Francia*, 1641: "Il S<sup>r</sup> Conte Rosetti, residente in quel regno, bene corrisponde nell' ossequio gli ordini del S<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> Barberini protettore tutti pieni dell' ardore e zelo di S. Em<sup>ta</sup>."

Indeed the intellectual development of Europe has rendered this impossible.

A current of opinions and of tastes dangerous to the lofty unity claimed by the church, has set in, and bears all before it; the religious element is become powerless; political considerations rule the world.

For it was not by their own arms that the protestants were saved. The main cause of their deliverance was a schism in the bosom of catholicism, which enabled them to re-establish themselves. In the year 1631 we find the two great catholic powers in alliance with the protestants; France undisguisedly, Spain in secret. It is certain that the Spaniards had at that time established an understanding with the French Huguenots.

But the protestants were as little united. Not only did Lutherans and Calvinists attack each other—this had always been the case—but the different sects of Calvinists, although unquestionably contending for a common cause, took opposite sides in this war. The naval power of the Huguenots was broken, solely by the support which their co-religionists and ancient allies were induced to afford to the crown of France.

The head of catholicism himself, the pope of Rome, who had hitherto directed the attacks on the protestants, at length put aside these, the highest interests of the spiritual authority. He took part against those who had labored most zealously for the restoration of catholicism; his conduct was guided by the views and considerations incident to his temporal sovereignty. He returned to that line of policy which had been abandoned ever since the reign of Paul III. We may remember that in the earlier half of the sixteenth century, nothing contributed so much to advance the cause of protestantism as the political efforts of the popes: to these, as far as human views can reach, did protestantism now owe its salvation and its stability.

But this example could not fail to work upon the other powers. German-Austria, which had so long remained unshaken in her orthodoxy, at length embraced the same policy; and the position she assumed subsequently to the peace of Westphalia, rested on her intimate alliance with North Germany, England, and Holland.

If we inquire what were the deeper causes of this phenomenon, we should look for it amiss, solely in the deadening of religious impulses, or the embittering of religious differences. It appears to me that we must seek elsewhere the substance and the significance of the fact.

In the first place, the great spiritual battle had accomplished its work in the minds of men. In earlier times Christianity had been rather an affair of surrender of the heart and understanding, of simple unquestioning acceptance, of faith untouched by a doubt; now it was become a matter of conviction, of conscious compliance. Still more important was it that men had to choose between two different creeds; that they had to reject, abjure, to change. Men

were personally addressed and solicited; their freedom of judgment was invoked. Hence it happened that ideas connected with Christianity penetrated more deeply and more perfectly into every department of life and thought.

To this is to be added another important consideration.

It is indeed true that the prevalence of internal differences disturbed the unity of collective Christendom; but, if we do not deceive ourselves, it is another universal law of human things that this disturbance prepared a higher and a larger development of the human mind.

In the press of the universal struggle, religion was conceived by different nations after the different varieties of its dogmatical forms. The peculiar dogma adopted was incorporated with the feeling of nationality, as a possession of the community—of the state or the people. It was won by the sword, maintained amidst a thousand dangers—it had become part of the life's blood of the nation.

Hence it has come to pass, that the states on either side have grown into great ecclesiastico-political bodies, whose individuality is marked, on the catholic, by the measure of their devotedness to the Roman see, and of the degree of toleration or exclusion of non-catholics; but still more strongly on the protestant, where the departure from the symbolical books adopted as tests, the mixture of the Lutheran and the Calvinistic creeds, the greater or less approximation to an episcopal constitution of the church, form so many striking and obvious distinctions. The first question in every country is, what is its dominant religion? Christianity appears under various forms; but however great be the discrepancies between them, no party can deny to another the possession of the fundamentals of faith. On the contrary these several forms are guaranteed by compacts and by treaties of peace, to which all are parties, and which are, as it were, the fundamental laws of a universal republic.

Never more can the thought of exalting the one or the other confession to universal supremacy find place among men. The only consideration now is, how each state, each people, can best proceed from the basis of its own politico-religious principles, to the development of its intellectual and moral powers.

On this depends the future condition of the world.





BOOK VIII.

1590—1630.



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## INTRODUCTION.

AFTER the attempt made by the popes to regain their dominion over the world, which, triumphant as had been its success for a while, yet ended in defeat and failure, their position, and the interest which their history is calculated to inspire, were essentially altered. The relations of Rome as a political state, its administration, and its internal progress now chiefly claim our attention.

Like travellers who quit some range of lofty mountains commanding a wide and magnificent prospect, to enter a valley which circumscribes their view within its narrow boundaries, we pass from the survey of the great events of the world's history in which the papacy played so important a part, to the observation of the occurrences peculiar to the States of the Church.

The States of the Church first attained to their complete constitution in the times of Urban VIII. At this epoch let us begin their history.

## § 1. THE ESCHEAT OF URBINO.

The duchy of Urbino included seven towns and three hundred castles. It consisted of a fruitful plain, bordered on the one side by the sea, and advantageously placed for commerce, and on the other, crowned by the salubrious and picturesque range of the Apennines.

The dukes of Urbino, like those of Ferrara, had been celebrated for their feats in arms, their patronage of literature, and for the liberal splendor of their court.\* In the year 1570 we find four

\* Bernardo Tasso has addressed a splendid panegyric to them in the 47th book of the *Amadigi*:

“Vedete i quattro a cui il vecchio Apennino  
Ornerà il petto suo di fiori e d' erba.”

court-households established by Guidobaldo II; for his consort, for the prince, and for the princess, besides his own; all of them were brilliant, alike frequented by the nobility of the country, and open to strangers.\* Every foreigner, according to ancient custom, was lodged in the palace. The revenues of the country would not have sufficed for such an expenditure, since even in the most flourishing state of the corn trade in Sinigaglia, they did not amount to more than 100,000 scudi. But the princes were always nominally in the service of some foreign potentate; and the fortunate position of the country in the centre of Italy led the princes of the neighboring states to vie with each other in endeavors to secure its attachment by demonstrations of favor and grants of money. It was a common remark in the country, that the prince brought in more money than he cost.

Here too, as everywhere else, attempts were indeed made to augment the taxes; but the difficulties which arose, especially in Urbino itself, were so great, that, partly from good feeling and partly from necessity, the government contented itself with its customary income. Ancient privileges and statutes likewise remained inviolate. Under the protection of this house San Marino preserved its inoffensive freedom.† Whilst in all the rest of Italy the power of the prince became more absolute and uncontrolled, it remained here confined within its ancient limits.

Hence arose the strong attachment of the inhabitants for their dynasty: they were the more devoted to it, because they knew that a union with the States of the Church would infallibly be attended with the dissolution of all their ancient relations, and the loss of their ancient liberties.

The lineal continuation of the ducal family was therefore an affair of the greatest importance to the country.

Francesco Maria, the prince of Urbino, resided for some time at the court of Philip II,‡ where he formed, it is said, a very serious attachment to a Spanish lady, whom he purposed to marry. But his father Guidobaldo, positively opposed the match; he was resolved

\* *Relazione di Lazzaro Mocenigo ritornato da Guidubaldo duca d'Urbino, 1570: "Vuole alloggiar tutti li personaggi che passano per il suo stato, il numero de' quali alla fine dell' anno si trova esser grandissimo."*

† "Ha humore d'esser republica," says S. of Marino in a "Discorso a N. S. Urbano VIII sopra lo stato d'Urbino." On its transfer to the States of the Church, it acquired fresh privileges.

‡ In the *Amadigi* there is a very pretty description of him while yet a boy:

"Quel piccolo fanciul, che gli occhi alzando  
Par che si specchi nell' avo e nel padre  
E l'alta gloria lor quasi pensando."

Mocenigo describes him at the time of his marriage: "Giostra leggiadramente, studia et è intelligente delle matematiche e delle fortificazioni: tanto gagliardi sono i suoi esercitii—come giuocare alla balla, andare alla caccia a piedi per habituarsi all' incomodo della guerra—e così continui che molti dubitano che gli abbino col tempo a nuocere."

to admit into his house none but a daughter-in-law of equal rank. He compelled his son to return, and to give his hand to Lucrezia d'Este, a princess of the house of Ferrara.

In many respects they appeared to be well matched. The prince was agile and strong, accustomed to athletic sports, and not unlearned, especially in the art of war: the princess was intelligent, majestic, and graceful. The people indulged the hope that this marriage would secure the perpetuation of the reigning family; and the towns rivalled each other in the triumphal arches and splendid presents with which they welcomed the arrival of the princely couple.

But the misfortune was, that the prince had only numbered five-and-twenty years, while the princess had nearly completed forty. The father had overlooked this drawback, in order to color his rejection of the Spanish lady (which however had produced an unfavorable impression at the court of Philip), by so high, so brilliant, and so wealthy an alliance. The marriage turned out, however, worse than he could have imagined. After Guidobaldo's death, Lucrezia was compelled to return to Ferrara, and all hope of posterity was at an end.\*

In a former part of this history we have seen what a decisive influence Lucrezia d'Este exercised upon the fate—the dissolution—of the duchy of Ferrara. We now find her most unhappily implicated in the affairs of Urbino.

As soon as Ferrara had fallen into the hands of the pope, the escheat of Urbino appeared inevitable, and the more so as there were no agnates who could claim the succession. Nevertheless, the face of affairs was once again changed. In February, 1598, Lucrezia died, and Francesco Maria was free to contract a new marriage.

The people of Urbino were soon afterwards overjoyed at the intelligence that the good prince, who had ruled them for so many years with so mild and peaceful a sway, and who was the object of universal love, had hopes, although he was already advanced in life, that his race would not end with himself. The vows of all were offered up for the safe delivery of the new duchess; when the time drew near, the nobles of the land and the magistrates of the cities assembled in Pesaro, where she was residing, and during her labor the square before the palace and the nearest streets were crowded with people. At length the duke showed himself at the window, and cried with a loud voice, "God has vouchsafed to us a boy." The news was received with indescribable joy and exultation. The cities built churches and founded pious endowments in fulfilment of their vows.†

\* Mathio Zane, *Relazione del Duca d' Urbino, 1574*, says that Lucrezia is already a "Signora di bellezza manco che mediocre, ma si tien ben acconcia..... si dispera quasi di poter veder da questo matrimonio figliuoli."

† "La devoluzione a S. chiesa degli stati di Francesco Maria II della Rovere

But how treacherous are the hopes that are set upon men!

The prince was extremely well brought up, and gave evidence of talent, at least of a literary kind. The old duke had the pleasure of marrying him to a princess of Tuscany, after which he withdrew to the quiet retreat of Castel-durante, and made over the government to his son.

But no sooner was the prince his own master, and the master of the country, than he was seized by the intoxication of power. It was just then that the taste for the theatre became strong and prevalent in Italy, and the young prince was the more completely hurried away by it, in consequence of a passion he conceived for an actress. By day he indulged in the Neronian pleasure of driving chariots; in the evening he appeared himself upon the stage, and indulged in a thousand other disgraceful excesses. The respectable citizens looked sorrowfully at each other. They hardly knew whether to lament or to rejoice, when, in the year 1623, the prince, after a night spent in the wildest orgies, was found in the morning dead in his bed.

Hereupon the aged Francesco Maria was compelled once more to resume the government; full of deep grief that he was now the last of the line of Rovere, and that his house verged to its extinction; oppressed and dejected at having to take upon himself the burthen of public business, and to bear up against the bitter injuries and insults of the Roman pontiff.\*

From the first, he saw reason to apprehend that the Barberini would get possession of the surviving daughter of his son, a child of a year old. To secure her for ever from their suit, he betrothed her to a prince of Tuscany, and removed her immediately into the adjacent state.

But this was no sooner concluded than another calamity arose. The emperor laid claim to some parts of the territory of Urbino; while on the other hand Urban VIII demanded a declaration from the duke, that he held all his possessions as a fief of the papal see. Francesco Maria hesitated a long time; this declaration appeared to him against his conscience; at last he consented to make it, but "from that day," says our chronicler, "he was never cheerful more; he felt his soul oppressed by it."

He was soon afterwards obliged to concede that the governors of his fortified towns should swear allegiance to the pope. At length—it was, in fact, the best thing he could do—he surrendered the government of the country entirely to the authorities appointed by the pope.

Weary of life, enfeebled by age, bowed down by sorrow, after he had seen all his confidential friends die around him, the duke

*ultimo duca d'Urbino, descritta dall' ill<sup>mo</sup> Sr Antonio Donati nobile Venetiano.*" (Inff. Politt., which also is already printed.)

\* P. Contarini: "Trovandosi il duca per gli anni e per l' indispositione già adente prostrato et avvilito d' animo."

found his only consolation in the practices of devotion. He died in the year 1631.

Taddeo Barberini instantly hastened to take possession of the country. The allodial inheritance went to Florence; the territory of Urbino was placed on the footing of the other districts of the papal states,\* and soon resounded with the complaints which the government of priests called forth wherever it existed.

We now come to treat of their general administration; and first, of that point of highest importance, on which all the rest depend—finance.

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§ 2. INCREASE OF THE PUBLIC DEBT OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATES.

Although Sixtus V limited the public expenditure and amassed treasure, he at the same time increased the imposts and the revenue, and created a great mass of debts.

It is not every man who has the resolution to practise rigid economy and to accumulate money. The necessities both of church and state became, too, every year more urgent. Occasionally the government had recourse to the reserved treasure; but such rigorous conditions were attached to its application, that it could only be touched on rare emergencies. By a strange provision, it was much easier to raise loans, than to use the money which was lying in the treasury. To the former expedient, therefore, the popes rushed with reckless precipitation.

It is very remarkable to observe the relation which the revenues bore to the total amount of the debt, and the interest on it in different years, of which we possess authentic accounts.

In the year 1587 the revenue amounted to 1,358,456 scudi, and the debts to seven millions and a half sc. About the half of the revenue, 715,913 sc. was assigned to pay the interest of the debt.

In the year 1592 the revenue rose to 1,585,520 sc. the debts to 12,242,620 sc. The increase of the debt was already much greater than that of the revenue; and 1,088,600 sc. i. e. nearly two-thirds of the revenue, was assigned to pay the interest of the debt in the form of vendible places and luoghi di monte.†

This state of things was too embarrassing not to excite great anxiety. The government would willingly have immediately proceeded to a reduction of the rate of interest; the proposal was made, to take

\* In the year 1635, Aluise Contarini finds the inhabitants extremely discontented: "Quei sudditi s'aggravano molto della mutatione, chiamando tirannico il governo de' preti, i quali altro interesse che d'arrichirsi e d'evanzarsi non vi tengono."

† Detailed account of the papal finances in the first year of Clement VIII, without any particular title. Bibl. Barb. No. 1699, on 80 leaves.

a million out of the castle and to pay off the principal of those who might oppose a reduction of the interest. The net income would have been raised by this means very considerably. Nevertheless, the bull of Sixtus V, and the precautions taken lest the treasure should be squandered, prevented that being done; the pope was forced to follow the beaten track.

It might have been conjectured that the acquisition of so productive a territory as the duchy of Ferrara would have afforded the popes some relief; such, however, was not the case.

Even in 1599 the interest swallowed up nearly three-fourths of the net revenue.

In the year 1605, however, at the commencement of the reign of Paul V, the whole amount of the taxes paid into the papal treasury were assigned to the payment of interest with the exception of 70,000 sc.\* Cardinal du Perron states that the pope could not live half the year upon his regular annual income, although the expenditure of the palace was very moderate.

It is therefore obvious that the pope could not avoid getting deeper and deeper into debt. We learn from the most authentic sources, how regularly Paul V proceeded in this course. In November 1607 he raised loans; in January 1608 he did so twice; in March, June and July, 1608, twice; also in September of the same year; and so on during every year of his reign. The loans do not appear to have been very large; but the small expenses, as they arose, were covered by the establishment and sale of new *luoghi di monte*, in greater or smaller numbers. At one time the payment was assigned upon the customs of Ancona, at another upon the dogana of Rome, or of some province; sometimes on an increase of the price of salt, or on the revenues of the post. The effect was a gradually extensive increase of these *luoghi di monte*; for Paul V alone added to the debt by above two millions.†

This however, could not have been done had not peculiar circumstances arisen favorable to the pope's financial schemes.

Power always attracts money; so long, therefore, as the Spanish monarchy was in the ascendant, and possessed a predominant influence over Europe, the Genoese, who were then the richest moneyed men, invested their capital in loans to the king of Spain, and were not prevented from doing so by sundry forcible reductions and seizures of Philip II. They gradually, however, withdrew their money, as the necessity for it decreased, and when the wars and consequent expenditure ceased. They turned their views

\* Per sollevare la camera apostolica, discorso di M. Malvasia, 1606: "Gli interessi che hoggì paga la sede apostolica assorbono quasi tutte l'entrate, di maniera che si vive in continua angustia e difficoltà di provvedere alle spece ordinarie e necessarie, e venendo occasione di qualche spesa straordinaria non ci ó dove voltarsi."

† Nota de' luoghi di monti eretti in tempo del pontificato della felice memoria di Paolo V, 1606—1618.



towards Rome, which had meanwhile assumed so powerful a position, and the treasures of Europe were again poured into that city. Under Paul V, Rome was perhaps the first money-market of Europe. The Roman *luoghi di monte* were sought after with extraordinary eagerness, and their price rose to 150 per cent., as they paid considerable interest and were sufficiently secure: the pope, therefore, was sure of finding purchasers for as many as he could establish.

Thus it happened that the debts went on perpetually increasing. At the commencement of the reign of Urban VIII they amounted to eighteen millions. The revenue also, in consequence of the system in the Roman court, increased in a corresponding ratio, and was reckoned to amount, at the commencement of that pope's reign, to 1,818,104 sc. 96 baj.\* I have not been able accurately to find what amount was devoted to the payment of interest; the greater portion, however, must have been assigned to that purpose. If we examine the different heads of revenue separately, we find that the demands often exceed the revenue. In the year 1592 the *Dogana di Roma* produced 162,450 sc.; in the year 1625, 209,000 sc.: in the former year, however, 16,956 sc. had been paid into the papal exchequer; but in 1625 the assignment of revenue exceeded the actual income by 13,260 sc. The *Salara di Roma* had, during the same period, risen from 27,654 to 40,000 sc.: in 1592, however, a surplus of 7482 sc. had remained; in 1625, on the contrary, there was a deficit of 2321 sc. 98 baj.

It is obvious that little could be effected by mere household economy; still less under a government like that of Urban VIII, who was impelled so often by political jealousy to arm troops and construct fortifications.

Urbino indeed was annexed to the Roman states; but this at first produced but little. After the loss of the allodial lands, the revenue amounted only to 40,000 sc. On the other hand, the forcible seizure of estates and the important concessions necessarily made to the heirs, caused a great outlay.†

Urban VIII had already, in the year 1635, increased the debt to about thirty millions of scudi. In order to raise the necessary means to meet these demands, he had levied ten new taxes, or at any rate had increased old ones. But even these by no means met the exigencies of the case. New combinations of events which we shall better comprehend after a review of other circumstances, caused him to proceed much further in this disastrous course.

\* *Entrata et uscita della sede apostolica del tempo di Urbano VIII.*

† Remark made by Francesco Barberini to the nuncio in Vienna, when the emperor founded claims on that acquisition.

## § 3. FOUNDATION OF NEW FAMILIES.

If we inquire whither all these revenues went, and to what they were applied, it will appear indisputable that they were for the most part rendered subservient to the general cause of the revival of catholicism.

Armies like that which Gregory XIV sent to France, and which his successors were compelled for a time to keep on foot; the active co-operation of Clement VIII in the Turkish war; subsidies like those so often granted to the German league and to the house of Austria by Paul V, doubled by Gregory XV, and transferred, in part at least, by Urban VIII to Maximilian of Bavaria; necessarily cost the Roman see enormous sums.

The exigencies of the States of the Church also frequently demanded extraordinary outlay; such, for instance, as those occasioned by the conquest of Ferrara under Clement VIII; Paul V's projects against Venice, and all the warlike preparations of Urban VIII.

Another source of expense was the magnificent public buildings, either for the embellishment of the city or for the defence of the country, in which every new pope strove to eclipse the memory of his predecessor.

But an institution was gradually formed which contributed not a little to the augmentation of this mass of debts, and which was indeed advantageous neither to Christendom, nor to the country, nor to the city; but exclusively to the several families of the popes.

The custom had universally obtained (and indeed was connected with the relative position of the priesthood to a very extensive organisation of family relations), that the surplus of the revenues of the church should devolve on the kindred of each individual ecclesiastic.

The popes were prohibited by bulls of their predecessors from anting principalities to their connections, as they had at one time attempted to do, but they were not restrained from following the practices common to the whole body to which they belonged; they rather felt it the more incumbent upon them to secure to their kinsmen hereditary dignity, by means of wealth and stable possessions. They were not slow in finding arguments to justify them in this mode of acting. In the first place they were bound by no vow of poverty; and as they inferred that they had a right to regard the surplus of the profits of spiritual offices as their own property, they thought they had a consequent right to make a present of this surplus to their kindred.

But the voice of family and blood, and the natural inclination of man to leave some lasting endowment after his death, were in fact more powerful than any such theoretical views.

The first pontiff who invented the form which the others followed was Sixtus V. He raised a nephew's son to the rank of cardinal, committed to him a share of public business, and gave him an ecclesiastical income of 100,000 sc. The other he married to a lady of the house of Sommaglia, and created him Marquess of Mentana, to which estate were afterwards added the principality of Venafro and the countship of Celano, in the Neapolitan territory. The house of Peretti long maintained a high rank and estate, and we find members of it several times in the college of cardinals.

But the Aldobrandini were far more powerful.\* We saw what an influence Pietro Aldobrandino possessed during the government of his uncle. As early as the year 1599, he had not less than 60,000 sc. a year from church property, and we may imagine how enormously this must afterwards have increased. The inheritance of Lucrezia d'Este was of great advantage to him; not only did he purchase land, but we find that he had money deposited in the bank of Venice. But whatever wealth he might amass, must ultimately fall to the family of his sister and her husband Giovan-Francesco Aldobrandino, who held the offices of castellan of St. Angelo, governor of the Borgo, captain of the pope's guard, and general of the church. So early as the year 1599 he had an income of 60,000 sc. a year, and he often got from the pope sums of ready money; I find an account showing that Clement VIII, in the course of the thirteen years of his reign, gave to his kinsmen above a million in hard money. Their wealth was increased by the good management of Giovan-Francesco; he bought the estates of Ridolfo Pio which had hitherto produced only 3,000 sc. a year, and extracted from them an income of 12,000 sc. The marriage of his daughter Margareta with Rainuccio Farnese was not effected without a great outlay; she brought her husband 400,000 sc. as dowry, besides some other advantages.† This union was not however so happy a one as had been hoped.

The Borghesi followed in the track of the Aldobrandini, but with yet more reckless speed.

Cardinal Scipione Caffarelli Borghese had not less power over Paul V, than Pietro Aldobrandino over Clement VIII. And the riches he amassed was even greater. It was calculated that in the year 1612, the benefices which had been conferred upon him produced an income of 150,000 sc. He tried to disarm the envy necessarily attendant on power and wealth by kindness and by a courteous conciliating manner, but it will excite no wonder that he did not perfectly succeed.

\* Niccolò Contarini, *Storia Veneta*: "Clemente VIII nel conferir li benefici ecclesiastici alli nepoti non hebbe alcun termine, et andò etiandio di gran lunga superiore a Sisto V suo precessore, che spalancò questa porta."

† Contarini: "Il papa mostrando dolore di esser condotto da nepoti da far così contro la propria coscienza, non poteva tanto nasconder nel cupo del cuore che non dirompesse la soprabondanza dell' allegrezza."

The temporal offices were given to Marc-Antonio Borghese, on whom the pope also bestowed the principality of Sulmona in Naples, besides palaces in Rome and the most beautiful villas in the suburbs. He heaped presents upon his nephews. We have a list of them through his whole reign down to the year 1620.— Sometimes they consist of jewels, or silver vessels; splendid furniture was taken immediately from the stores of the palace and sent to the nephews; sometimes carriages were given them, sometimes muskets and falconets; but the principal thing was always the hard money. It appears that up to the year 1620 they had received in all 689,727 sc. 31 baj. in cash; in luoghi di monte, 24,600 sc., according to their nominal value; in places, reckoning them at the sum which they would have fetched by purchase, 268,176 sc., which together amount, as in the case of the Aldobrandini, to near a million.\*

The Borghesi too did not neglect to invest their money in land. They bought eighty estates in the Campagna di Roma; the Roman nobility being tempted by the great prices given them, and by the high interest borne by the luoghi di monte which they bought with the purchase money, to sell all their ancient and hereditary property. The Borghesi also established themselves in many other districts of the States of the Church, which the pope facilitated by granting them peculiar privileges. In some cases they received the right to restore exiles; in others to hold a market; or their vassals were favored by certain immunities; they were exempted from toll, and they obtained a bull in virtue of which their property could never be confiscated. In short the Borghesi became the richest and most powerful family which had yet arisen in Rome.

The system of nepotism was thus so thoroughly organized, that even a short reign provided means for the accumulation of a brilliant fortune.†

Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisio, the nephew of Gregory XV, reigned more absolutely than any of his predecessors. By a singular good fortune, during his administration the two most important places in the curia, the vice-chancellorship and the chamberlainship became vacant and fell into his hands. He acquired an income of above 200,000 sc. from church property. As regards temporal power, the generalship of the church and several other profitable places devolved on the pope's brother, Don Orazio, a senator of Bologna. As the pope gave little promise of a long life, there was the greater urgency to provide for his family. In a very short time

\* Nota di danari, officii e mobili donati da papa Paolo V, a suoi parenti e concessione fattegli. MS.

† Pietro Contarini, Relazione di 1627: "Quello che possiede la casa Peretta, Aldobrandina, Borghese e Ludovisia, li loro principati, le grossissime rendite, tante eminentissime fabbriche, superbissime supellettili con straordinarii ornamenti e delizie non solo superano le condizioni di signori e principi privati, ma s'uguagliano e s'avanzano a quelle dei medesimi re."

they acquired luoghi di monte to the value of 800,000 sc. The duchy of Fiano was bought for them of the Sforze, and the principality of Zagarolo of the Farnesi. The young Nicolo Ludovisio was already entitled to aspire to the most brilliant and wealthy matrimonial alliances, and he accordingly brought into his family Venosa by a first, and Piombono by a second marriage. The favor of the king of Spain contributed greatly to the advancement of his fortune.

Emulating these splendid examples, the Barberini now entered upon the same career. By the side of Urban VIII stood his elder brother Don Carlo, as general of the church; a taciturn, sedate, practised man of business, who did not suffer himself to be dazzled by the dawn of his fortunes, nor seduced into empty arrogance, and who now steadily kept in view the founding of a great family estate.\* “He knows,” says a report of 1625, “that the possession of money distinguishes a man from the mass, and does not think it seemly that he who has once stood in the relation of a kinsman to the pope should appear, after his death, in straitened circumstances.” Don Carlo had three sons, Francesco, Antonio, and Taddeo, who now necessarily attained to high consideration. The two elder entered the service of the church. Francesco, who conciliated universal confidence by his modesty and benevolence, and who knew how to adapt himself to the caprices of his uncle, gained possession of the powers of government, which, although he used them on the whole with moderation, yet in so long a course of years inevitably led to the accumulation of considerable wealth. In the year 1625 he had an income of 40,000 sc., and in the year 1627 nearly 100,000 sc.† It was not entirely with his good-will that Antonio was also created cardinal, and this was done only under the condition that he should take no share in the government. Antonio, although feeble in body, was aspiring, obstinate, and proud; and in order not to be eclipsed in every respect by his brother, he eagerly possessed himself of a multitude of places, which, in the year 1635, gave him an income of 100,000 sc. He united in his own person six commanderies of Malta, which could not be very agreeable to the knights of that order; he also took presents; at the same time he gave away a great deal, and was liberal on system, that he might gain a following among the Roman nobles. Don Taddeo, the second of these brothers, was the one

\* *Relazione de' quattro ambasciatori, 1625.* “Nella sua casa è buon economo et ha mira di far danari, assai sapendo egli molto bene che l'oro accresce la riputazione agli uomini, anzi l'oro gli inalza e gli distingue vantaggiosamente nel cospetto del mondo.”

† *Pietro Contarini, 1627:* “E di ottimi, virtuosi e lodevoli costumi, di soave natura, e con esempio unico non vuole ricever donativi o presente alcuno. Sarà nondimeno vivendo il pontefice al pari d'ogni altro cardinale grande e ricco. Hor deve aver intorno 80,000 sc. d'entrata de benefici eccl<sup>ci</sup>, e con li governi e legationi che tiene deve avvicinarsi a 100<sup>m</sup> sc.”

selected to found a family by the acquisition of heritable property. He was invested with the rank and dignities of the secular nephew, and after his father's death, succeeded to the offices of general of the church, castellan of St. Angelo, and governor of the Borgo; in the year 1635 he was already possessed of so many estates that he too had a yearly income of 100,000 sc.,\* and was continually adding to his property. Don Taddeo lived in a very retired manner, and his household was a model of domestic economy and order. In a short time the incomes of the three brothers were estimated at a gross sum of a half a million of scudi per annum. The most important offices were held by them. Not only was the chamberlainship given to Antonio, but the vice-chancellorship to Francesco, and the prefecture, which became vacant by the death of the Duke of Urbino, to Don Taddeo. It was commonly thought that in the course of this pontificate, the incredible sum of a hundred and five million scudi fell into the hands of the Barberini family.† “The palaces,” continues the author of this account—“for example, the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane, a royal work—the vineyards, the pictures and statues, the wrought silver and gold, the jewels, which came into their possession, are of greater value than can be believed or expressed.” It appears that the immense wealth amassed by his family sometimes startled even the pope himself. In the year 1640 he appointed a commission to examine into the legality of the means by which it was acquired.‡ This commission first enounced the principle that a temporal sovereignty was connected with the papacy, from the surplus revenue or the savings of which the pope was at liberty to enrich his family and dependents. It then deliberated on the nature of this sovereignty, in order to determine how far the pope might go. After mature calculation, the commissioners decided that the pope might, with a safe conscience, found a majorat of 80,000 sc. net income, and also an inheritance for the second son; and that the dowries of the daughters of the house might amount to 180,000 sc. each. And as the Jesuits must needs have a hand in everything, their general Vitelleschi was asked his opinion; he declared these decisions to be moderate and gave them his sanction.

Thus did new families continually rise, from pontificate to ponti-

\* i. e. Such was the amount of the yearly income of his landed property: “Per li novi acquisiti,” says Al. Contarini, “di Palestrina, Monterotondo e Valmontone, fatto vendere a forza dai Colonnese e Sforzeschi per pagare i debitoro.....” The office of a general of the church was worth 20,000 scudi.

† Conclave di Innocenzo X: “Si contano caduti nella Barberina, come risulta da sincera notizia di partite distinte, 105 milioni di contanti.” This sum appears so incredible that it might be taken for an error in writing; it however exactly corresponds in several manuscripts, among which are the Foscarini MS. at Vienna, and my own.

‡ Niccolini treats of this: I have also seen a separate little manuscript: “Motivi a far decidere quid possit papa donare, al 7 di Luglio 1640,” by a member of this commission.

ficatè, to hereditary power; they ascended immediately into the rank of the high aristocracy of the land, which was indeed willingly conceded to them.

It may easily be imagined that they were exposed to many irritations and collisions. The contests between predecessors and successors, which had been previously carried on by the factions of the conclave, were now transferred to the families of the popes. The race newly risen to power was jealously tenacious of its supreme rank, and generally pursued the one which had immediately preceded it with hostility or even with active persecution. Notwithstanding the great share which the Aldobrandini had had in the elevation of Paul V, they were set aside, treated with enmity, and visited with ruinous and dangerous lawsuits by his kindred;\* they called him "the great ungrateful." Just as little favor did the kinsmen of Paul V experience at the hands of the Ludovisi; and lastly, cardinal Ludovisio himself was compelled to leave Rome immediately after the rise of the Barberini. For with an ambition equal to their rapacity, that family used the power which the possession of the papal authority gave them, to overbear the Roman nobles and Italian princes. Hence Urban VIII conferred on his lay nephew the dignity of *prefetto di Roma*, because honorary privileges were attached to it which appeared to secure for ever to his house its precedence over all others.

With this state of things a movement was afterwards connected, which, though not of a nature to affect the condition of the world, formed, as regards the position of the papacy, an important epoch both in the interior of the ecclesiastical states and throughout Italy.

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#### § 4. WAR OF CASTRO.

Whatever might be the pretensions of others, the Farnesi constantly maintained the highest rank among the non-regnant papal families; since they had not only acquired, like the others, large property in land, but had likewise got possession of a principality of no inconsiderable importance; and it had become no easy task for any reigning nephew to keep this house in allegiance and due subjection. When Duke Odoardo Farnese came to Rome in 1639, he was received with every possible mark of honor.† The pope

\* For an instance in the life of Cl. Cecchini, see Appendix, No. 121.

† Deone, *Diario di Roma*, tom. i: "E fatale a sig<sup>ti</sup> Barberini di non trovare corrispondenza ne' beneficiati da loro. Il duca di Parma fu da loro alloggiato, accarezzato, servito di gentil' huomini e carrozze, beneficato con la reductione del monte Farnese con utile di grossa somma del duca e danno grandissimo di molti poveri particolari, corteggiato e pasteggiato da ambi li fratelli card<sup>li</sup> per spatio di più settimane, e regalato di cavalli, quadri e altre galanterie, e si partì da Roma senza pur salutarli."

assigned him a house, and noblemen to serve him, and lent him money; the Barberini made entertainments for him, and gave him pictures and horses, but with all this could not succeed in conciliating him entirely. Odoardo Farnese, a prince of talent, intelligence, and a lofty sense of his own pretensions, possessed in a high degree the ambition of those times, which delighted in the jealous observance of small distinctions. It was impossible to induce him duly to recognise the dignity of a *prefetto* in the person of Taddeo, or to concede to him the rank which was attached to that office. Even when he visited the pope, he appeared impressed to an offensive degree with the dignity of his house, and insolently conscious of his own personal advantages. Misunderstandings arose which it was the more impossible to remove, since they had their source in indelible personal impressions.

It now became a serious question what sort of escort was to be assigned the duke on his departure. Odoardo demanded the same honors which had been paid to the Grand Duke of Tuscany; viz. that the ruling nephew, cardinal Francesco Barberini, should escort him in person. To this the cardinal would only consent, on condition that the duke would first pay him a farewell visit of ceremony at the Vatican, which Odoardo did not consider himself under any obligation to do. Certain difficulties were also thrown in the way of his pecuniary arrangements, so that his self-love having received a double wound, he was violently exasperated. After taking leave of the pope in a few words, and even in those complaining of his nephews, he quitted the city and the palace without so much as saluting cardinal Francesco, whom he hoped to mortify to the quick by this neglect.\*

But the Barberini, who wielded the absolute power of the state, had ample means of revenging themselves.

The monetary system, which then developed itself in the state, also found acceptance and imitation among all the princely houses which composed the aristocracy; they had established *monti*, and the claims of the creditors were charged on the incomes of their estates, in the same manner as those of the papal creditors on the revenues of the state treasury; the *luoghi di monte* passed in like manner from hand to hand. These *monti* would, however, hardly have commanded credit, had they not been placed under the super-

\* Amongst the many controversial writings on this subject, which are extant in MS., I think the following are remarkably dispassionate and credible. "Risposta in forma di lettera al libro di duca di Parma," in the 45th volume of the *Informationi*: "Il duca Odoardo fu dal papa e ringraziollo, soggiunse di non si poter lodare del Sig<sup>r</sup> C<sup>le</sup> Barberino. Dal papa gli fu brevemente risposto che conosceva l' affetto di S. Em<sup>za</sup> verso di lui. Licentiatosi da S. Beat<sup>te</sup> senza far motto al S<sup>r</sup> cardinale se n' andò al suo palazzo, dovendo se voleva esser accompagnato da S. Em<sup>za</sup> rimanere nelle stanze del Vaticano e licentarsi parimente da S. Em<sup>za</sup>, come è usanza de' principi. La mattina finalmente parti senza far altro."



vision of the supreme power; they could not be established or modified without the special approbation of the pope. It was one of the privileges of the reigning house, that by means of this supervision, it obtained a considerable influence over the private affairs of all others; the reductions of the monti to a lower rate of interest were of ordinary occurrence, since they depended on the pleasure and inclination of the reigning family.

The Farnesi also were loaded with considerable debts. The Monte Farnese vecchio originated in the necessities and the expenses of Alessandro Farnese in the Flemish campaigns; a new one had been established; indults of the popes had augmented the mass, and new luoghi at lower interest being founded and the old not abolished, while the different operations were conducted by different commercial houses jealous of each other, every thing had fallen into confusion.\*

To this was now added, that the Barberini fell upon some measures extremely injurious to the duke.

The two monti Farnesi were charged upon the revenues of Castro and Ronciglione. The Siri, farmers of the taxes of Castro, paid the duke 94,000 sc., out of which the interests of the monti could likewise be paid. But it was only in consequence of certain grants made to his house by Paul III, that the income rose so high. To this end Pope Paul had turned the great road from Sutri to Ronciglione, and had granted that district greater freedom in the export of corn than was enjoyed by other provinces. The Barberini now determined to revoke these privileges. They turned the road back again to Sutri; and published a prohibition against exporting corn in Montalto di Maremme, where the wheat of Castro used to be loaded.†

The intended result instantaneously showed itself. The Siri, who had moreover quarrelled with the duke on account of these transactions, and were now sure of protection in the palace, (at the special instigation, as it is affirmed, of certain prelates who had a secret share in their business,) refused to fulfil their contract, and ceased to pay the interest of the monte Farnese. The montists, suddenly deprived of their income, urged their claims, and appealed to the papal government. The duke, who saw himself thus inten-

\* Deone t. 1. "Fu ultimamente l'uno e l'altre stato, cioè Castro e Ronciglione, affittato per 94<sup>m</sup> scudi l'anno a gli Siri. Sopra questa entrata è fondata la dote dell' uno e dell' altro monte Farnese, vecchio cioè e nuovo. Il vecchio fu fatto dal duca Alessandro di 54<sup>m</sup> scudi l'anno, denari tutti spesi in Fiandra: al quale il presente duca Odoardo aggiunse somma per 300<sup>m</sup> scudi in sorte principale a ragione di 4½ per cento: e di più impose alcuni sensi: di modo che poco o nulla rimane per lui, sì che se li leva la tratta del grano, non ci sarà il pago per li creditori del monte, non che de' censuarii."

† For this they appealed to the words of the bull of Paul III, by which only the "facultas frumenta ad quæcunque etiam præfatæ Romanæ ecclesiæ e nobis immediate vel mediate subjecta conducendi," was granted to them. In the meanwhile freedom of exportation had gained ground almost every where.

tionally wronged, scorned to use any means to obtain them satisfaction. But the complaints of the montists were so loud, urgent and general, that the pope thought he had the right, in order to assist so considerable a body of Roman citizens to recover the interest due to them, to get the mortgaged property into his own possession. With this view he sent a small body of troops to Castro. The matter did not proceed without some opposition: "We have been compelled," exclaims he with the highest indignation in his monitorium, "to fire four large cannons, by which one of our enemies was slain."\* On the 13th October, 1641, he took possession of Castro; nor indeed did he intend to stop here. In January, 1642, sentence of excommunication was pronounced against the duke, who would not allow those revenues to be touched; he was declared deprived of all his fiefs, and troops were marched into the field to take from him Parma and Piacenza also. The pope would hear nothing of a pacification, he declared that "between lord and vassal no such proceeding could find place; that he would humble the duke; he had money, courage, and troops, and God and the world were on his side."

The affair hence acquired a more general importance. The Italian states had long been jealous of the reiterated extensions of the States of the Church. They would not suffer them to absorb Parma and Piacenza as they had Urbino and Ferrara; the house of Este had not yet relinquished its claims to Ferrara, nor the Medici certain pretensions to Urbino: they were all offended by the arrogance of Don Taddeo; the Venetians doubly so in consequence of Urban VIII having shortly before caused an inscription in the Sala regia, boasting of their fabulous defence of Alexander III, to be erased, which they regarded as a great insult.† With these particular causes of discontent more general political considerations were also blended.

As the Spanish ascendancy had formerly awakened the apprehensions of the Italians, so now did that of France; the Spanish monarchy experienced in all quarters the greatest reverses, and the Italians feared that a general revolution, even in Italy, might be the consequence, if Urban VIII, whom they regarded as a decided ally of France, gained any accession of power. For these reasons they determined to resist him. Their troops assembled in the Modenese. The Barberini were obliged to abandon the idea of effecting a passage through that territory, while the papal troops opposed to the allies removed their quarters to Ferrara.

\* This took place at a bridge. "Dictus Dominus Marchio, ex quo milites numero 40 circiter, qui in eisdem ponte et vallo ad pugnandum appositi fuerunt, amicabiliter ex eis recedere recusabant, immo hostiliter pontificio exercitui se opponebant fuit coactus pro illorum expugnatione quatuor magnorum tormentorum ictus explodere, quorum formidine hostes perterriti fugam tandem arriguerunt, in qua unus ipsorum interfectus remansit."

† I shall touch upon this subject in the Appendix, No. 117.

On this narrow field was renewed that conflict between French and Spanish interests, which kept Europe in a continual state of agitation. But how weak comparatively were the motives, the efforts, which here engaged in the struggle!

An expedition which the Duke of Parma (who now saw himself, without much exertion on his side, protected and yet unfettered) undertook single-handed, strikingly illustrates the peculiar circumstances in which the adverse parties were then placed. With only three thousand horse, without artillery or infantry, Odoardo forced his way into the States of the Church; neither Fort Urbano, which had been erected at such enormous cost, nor the militia, which never stood firm against regular troops, arrested his course. The Bolognese shut themselves up within their walls, and the duke marched through the country without so much as getting a sight of the papal troops. Imola opened its gates to him; he paid a visit to the papal governor, and admonished the city to remain faithful to the see of Rome. For he affirmed, that it was not against Rome nor even against Urban VIII, but only against his nephews, that he had taken up arms; that he marched under the banner of the Gonfaloniere of the church, on which were displayed the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, and demanded free passage in the name of the church. Faenza had barricaded its gates, but when the governor saw the duke, he caused himself to be let down by a rope from the walls, in order that he might confer with him in person; and the result of the conference was, that the gates were opened. The same happened in Forlì. The inhabitants of all these cities looked peaceably from their windows at the enemy marching through their streets. The duke crossed the mountains to Tuscany, and then from Arazzo re-passed into the States of the Church. Castiglione da Lago and Città del Pieve opened their doors to him; he hurried onwards unchecked, and filled the land with the terror of his name.\* In Rome especially the greatest consternation prevailed; the pope fearing the fate of Clement VII, sought to arm his Romans; but it was necessary first to levy fresh taxes, and to collect contributions from house to house, (which gave rise to loud and bitter complaints) before it was possible to equip even a small troop of horse. Had the duke of Parma made his appearance at that moment, there is no question that two or three cardinals would have been sent to meet him at the Ponte Molle, and that all his demands would have been complied with.

But neither was he a warrior; it is impossible to guess what considerations, what fears withheld him, or induced him to enter into negotiations from which he had nothing to expect. The pope drew breath. With a zeal quickened by danger, he fortified Rome.† He

\* For a detailed narrative of this enterprise, see Siri's *Mercurio*, tom. ii, p. 1289.

† Deone: "Si seguitano le fortificationi non solo di Borgo, ma del rimanente

brought a fresh army into the field, which speedily drove the duke and his straggling, half disciplined troops, out of the territories of the church. When there was nothing more to fear, Urban again imposed the hardest conditions: the foreign ambassadors quitted Rome, and even the inhabitants of unwarlike Italy once more roused themselves to find at home weapons with which to repel their foes.

In May, 1643, the combined Italian armies fell upon the Ferrarese; the Duke of Parma took the fortified towns of Bondeno, Stellata, &c., while the Venetians and Modenese joined their forces, and advanced further into the country. But the pope had, as we have mentioned, strained every nerve to put his dominions in a state of military preparation; he had collected 30,000 foot and 6000 horse; the Venetians hesitated to attack so imposing a force; they retreated, and in a short time we find the ecclesiastical troops advancing into the Modenese and into Polesine di Rovigo.\*

The grand-duke of Tuscany then tried in vain to throw himself upon Perugia; while the pope's foraging parties made incursions even into the Tuscan territory.

What a strange aspect do these movements wear!—on both sides so utterly ineffective and nerveless—when compared with the contemporaneous wars of Germany; with the march of the Swedish army from the Baltic nearly to Vienna, from Moravia to Jutland! And yet the conflict was not even purely Italian, for foreigners served on either side; the majority of the allied troops consisted of Germans, while the ranks of the army of the church were filled with Frenchmen.

But the Italian war had one result in common with the campaigns of the north—it exhausted the country, and brought the papal treasury into the greatest difficulties.†

Urban VIII resorted to a great variety of means to procure the money he wanted. As early as September, 1642, the bull of Sixtus V was submitted to fresh discussion, which terminated in a resolution of the consistory to take 500,000 scudi out of the castle.‡

delle mura di Roma, alle quali sono deputati tre cardinali, Pallotta, Gabrieli et Orsino, che giornalmente cavalcano da una porto all' altra; e si tagliano tutte le vigne che sono appresso le mura per la parte di dentro di Roma, cioè fanno strada tra le mura e le vigne e giardini con danno grandissimo de' padroni di esse: e così verrà anche tocco il bellissimo giardino de' Medici, e perderà la particella che haveva nelle mura di Roma."

\* Frizzi; Memorie per la storia di Ferrara, V, p. 100.

† Riccius: *Rerum Italicarum sui temporis narrationes*, Narr. xix, p. 590: "Ingens opinioneque majus bellum exarsit, sed primo impetu validum, mox senescens, postremo neutrius partis fructu, imo militum rapinis indigenis exitiale, irritis conatibus prorsus inane in mutua studia officiaque abiit."

‡ Deone, 20 Sett. 1642: "Havendo il papa fatto studiare da legisti e theologhi di potere conforme la bolla di Sisto V cessare denari dal tesoro dal castel Sant' Angelo, il lunedì 22 del mese il papa tene consistoro per il medesimo affare.—Fu risoluto di cessare 500<sup>m</sup> scudi d'oro, a 100<sup>m</sup> per volte, e non prima che sia spesi quelli che al presente sono ancora in essere della camera."

This of course could not go far; loans were therefore raised on the remainder of that treasure; *i. e.* it was positively resolved to pay back in future the money which was abstracted from it. We have already seen that personal taxes had been imposed; these were repeatedly levied; the pope made known to the conservatori the sum he stood in need of, upon which the inhabitants, foreigners not excepted, were compelled to contribute their quota. The chief revenues were, however, always derived from the duties. At first they were little felt, being on such articles as, for example, coarse meal for fowls; but heavier soon followed on the most indispensable necessities of life, such as wood for fuel, salt, bread, and wine.\* They now reached their greatest height, amounting in 1644 to 2,200,000 scudi. From what has gone before it will be understood, that the product of every new tax, or of every rise in an old one, was immediately funded, a monte founded upon it, and shares sold. Cardinal Cesi, the former treasurer, calculated that new debts to the amount of 7,200,000 sc. had been contracted in this way, although 60,000 sc. still remained in the treasury. In the year 1645 the whole expenses of the war were reported to the Venetian ambassador as amounting to more than twelve millions.†

The serious consequences likely to result from this state of things were daily more apparent; credit was at length exhausted, and all resources gradually dried up. Nor did the war always go on prosperously. In a skirmish near Lagoscuro, on the 17th March 1644, cardinal Antonio only escaped being taken prisoner by the fleetness of his horse.‡ In short, a daily increasing sense of his own feebleness compelled the pope to think of peace.

The French undertook to mediate. The Spaniards had so little influence at the papal court, and their authority elsewhere was so much weakened, that on this occasion they were entirely excluded.

The pope had formerly often said, that he knew the design of the Venetians was to kill him with vexation, but that they should not succeed; that he should be able to hold out against them: he now, however, found himself compelled to accede to all they demanded; *viz.* to absolve the Duke of Parma from excommunication, and restore him to the possession of Castro. Never would he have believed that matters could come to this pass, and his mortification was proportionately deep and bitter.

\* Deone, 29 Nov. 1642. “Si sono imposte 3 nuove gabelle, una sopra il sale oltre l’altre, la 2<sup>a</sup> sopra le legna, la 3<sup>a</sup> sopra la dogana, la quale in tutte le mercantie che vengono per terra, riscuote 7 per cento, per acqua 10 per cento. Si è cresciuto uno per cento d’avvantaggio, e si aspettano altre 3 gabelle per le necessità correnti, una sopra le case, l’altra sopra li censi, la terza sopra li casali, cioè poderi nella campagna.”

† Relatione de’ IV ambasciatori: “L’erario si trova notabilmente esausto essendoci stato affermato da più C<sup>ti</sup>, aver spesi i Barberini nella guerra passata sopra 12 milioni d’oro.”

‡ Nani; Storia Veneta, lib. xii, p. 710.

He was oppressed by another source of unhappiness. He was again haunted by the idea that he had unduly favored his nephews, and that this would lie heavy on his conscience when called to appear before the face of God. He once more summoned certain divines in whom he had peculiar confidence, (among whom were cardinal Lugo and father Lupis, a Jesuit,) to hold a consultation in his presence. Their decision was, that since the nephews of his holiness had made so many enemies, it was reasonable, and for the honor of the apostolic see, that they should be furnished with means, even after the decease of the pope, to maintain their dignity undiminished in defiance of those enemies.\*

Harassed by these tormenting doubts, and depressed by the bitter feeling of an abortive undertaking, the pope advanced towards the grave. His physician declared, that at the moment he was compelled to sign the peace of Castro, he fell, overcome by distress of mind, into a swoon; and that this was the beginning of the illness which put a period to his life. Imploring heaven to avenge him on the impious princes who had forced him into a war, he expired on the 29th July, 1644.

Scarcely had the papal see been driven from its position of centre of European politics, when it experienced in those of Italy, and even in its own domestic affairs, such a reverse as it had not endured for many years.

Pope Clement had fallen out with the Farnesi, and though he had at length granted them his pardon, he did this solely because he wanted the aid of the Italian princes to avenge him on Spain. But circumstances were now much altered. Urban VIII had exerted his utmost strength against the Duke of Parma; the united forces of Italy had exhausted his, and had forced him to accept a disadvantageous peace. It was impossible to conceal that the papacy was once more decidedly worsted.

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#### § 5. INNOCENT X.

The next conclave was no sooner assembled than the effect of this adverse state of things became obvious.† The nephews of Urban VIII introduced eight and forty cardinals, creatures of their

\* Nicoletti; Vita di papa Urbano, tom. viii.

† The usual violent state of the interregnum was repeated. J. Nicii Erythræi, Epist. LXVIII ad Tyrrenum 3 non. Aug. 1644. "Civitas sine jure est, sine dignitate republica. Tantus in urbe armatorum numerus cernitur quantum me alias vidisse non memini. Nulla domus est paulo locupletior quæ non militum multorum presidio muniatur; ac si in unum omnes eogerentur, magnus ex eis exercitus confici posset. Summa in urbe armorum impunitas, summa licentia: passim cædes hominum fiunt; nil ita frequenter auditur quam, hic vel ille notus homo est interfectus."

uncle; never had so powerful a faction been seen. Nevertheless they soon perceived that they would not be able to carry the election of the man of their choice, Sacchetti; since the result of the scrutinies was daily more and more unfavorable. In order to prevent a professed adversary from acquiring the tiara, Francesco Barberino at length decided for cardinal Pamfili, who was at any rate a creature of Urban VIII, although strongly inclined to the Spanish party, and expressly rejected by the court of France. On the 16th September, 1644, cardinal Pamfili was elected. He took the name of Innocent X, in memory, it is believed, of Innocent VIII, under whom his family came to Rome.

His accession once more changed the policy of the court of Rome.

The allied Italian princes, and especially the Medici, to whom the new pope chiefly owed his elevation, now gained influence over the very power which they had combated; the inscription at Venice, the removal of which we have mentioned, was replaced;\* and in the first promotion scarcely any were included but partisans of Spain. The Spanish party once more revived, and held that of France equally balanced, at least in Rome.

The Barberini were the first to feel this revolution in affairs. It is now impossible to ascertain what portion of the numerous charges brought against them was founded in truth. They were accused of having perverted justice, of having forcibly appropriated benefices; above all, of having embezzled the public money. The pope determined to call the nephews of his predecessor to account for their administration of the public funds during the war of Castro.†

At first the Barberini thought they could shelter themselves under the protection of France; Mazarin, who had risen in the service and by the patronage of their house, gave them unqualified support, they affixed the arms of France to their palaces, and placed themselves formally under her protection. But pope Innocent declared that he was there to do justice, and if Bourbon stood before the gates, he could not desist from the execution of it.

Hereupon Antonio, who was exposed to the greatest danger, fled in October, 1645; a few months later, Francesco and Taddeo, with his children, also quitted Rome.

The pope caused their palaces to be invested, their offices given away, and their luoghi di monte sequestered. These proceedings were approved by the population of Rome. On the 20th February, 1646, a meeting was held at the capitol, the most brilliant within

\* *Relazione de' IV ambasciatori 1645.* "Il presente pontefice nel bel principio del suo governo ha con pubbliche dimostrazioni registrate in marmi detestato le opinioni del predecessore, rendendo il lustro alle glorie degli antenati di VV. EE." We see what a high tone they took.

† *Relazione delle cose correnti 25 Maggio 1646. MS. Chigi.* "I Barberini, come affatto esclusi dal matrimonio del novello pontefice, cominciarono a machinar vastità di pensieri stimati da loro nobili. Il papa continuò ad invigilare con ogni accura tezza, che la discamerata camera fusse da loro sodisfatta."

the memory of man, attended by a multitude of persons distinguished by their rank and title. It was proposed to petition the pope to take off some of the taxes imposed by Urban VIII, at least the most oppressive, that on flour. The partisans of the Barberini, dreading lest, if the tax were taken off, the debt based upon it would be paid out of their property, set themselves against it. Donna Anna Colonna, wife of Taddeo Barberino, caused a sort of manifesto to be read to the meeting, in which she reminded the people of the services rendered to the city by Urban VIII, and of his zeal for the administration of justice, and declared it to be disgraceful to refuse the payment of the lawful imposts of so meritorious a pope. Notwithstanding this the resolution was passed; Innocent X proceeded to act upon it without delay, and, as had been clearly foreseen, the deficit was to be covered by the property of Don Taddeo.\*

Whilst the family of the late pope was thus violently attacked and persecuted, it remained a question—in every pontificate the question of the most vital interest—on what footing that of the new one would establish itself. It is an important incident in the general history of the papacy, that the manner of proceeding in this case materially differed from the course formerly adopted; although the scandal given by the court was now yet greater than before.

Pope Innocent was under obligations to his sister-in-law, Donna Olympia Maidalchina of Viterbo, especially in consequence of the large fortune she had brought into the house of Pamfili. He also regarded it as a high merit on her part, that after the death of his brother she had never chosen to marry again.† This had been productive of advantage to himself, since he had constantly left the economical affairs of the family to her guidance; it was therefore no wonder if she now acquired great influence in the administration of the papacy.

She speedily attained to the highest consideration. To her ambassadors paid their first visit on their arrival; cardinals hung up her portrait in their rooms, as people hang up the portrait of their sovereign; foreign courts tried to win her favor by presents. And as all who sought advancement at the curia addressed themselves to her, it was even asserted that she levied a monthly tax upon the subordinate places which she distributed. Wealth thus poured in upon her; in a short time she established a magnificent house, gave entertainments and plays, travelled and bought landed property.—Her daughters were married into the most noble and wealthy families; the one to a Ludovisio, the other to a Giustiniano. She had at first thought it most expedient that her son, Don Camillo, who was of weak capacity, should become an ecclesiastic, and should

\* For the passage from the *Diario Deone*, see App. No. 122.

† Bussi, *Storia di Viterbo*, p. 331. At first she was held in great esteem.—Donna Olympia, say the Venetian ambassadors of 1645, “è dama di gran prudenza e valore, conosce il posto in cui si trova di cognata del pontefice, gode la stima e l'affettione della S<sup>a</sup> S., ha seco molta autorità.”



occupy, at least in appearance, the post of cardinal-nephew;\* but when an opportunity of forming a brilliant alliance for him too offered, (by the death of the husband of Donna Olympia Aldobrandina, the richest heiress in Rome,) she caused him to renounce the church, and to contract this marriage.

Don Camillo was now in possession of every enjoyment of which he was capable. His wife was not only rich, but in the bloom of youth and full of graces and talents; she supplied his deficiencies by her remarkable qualities. But she too wished to rule. There was not a moment's peace between the step-mother and step-daughter: the household of the pope was filled with the jealousies and bickerings of two women. At first the newly-married couple were obliged to go away, but this they would not long endure; they returned against the pope's will, and the discord now became evident to all the world. For example, Donna Olympia Maidalchini once appeared during the carnival with a magnificent retinue on the Corso, where her son and his wife were standing at a window; as soon as they caught sight of their mother's carriage, they turned away. Every body remarked it—all Rome was talking of it.†—The several parties strove to get possession of the rivals.

Unhappily pope Innocent had a character and disposition which were calculated rather to inflame than to allay dissensions of this kind.

Personally he was a man of qualities by no means ordinary. In his earlier career, in the Rota, as nuncio, and as cardinal, he had shown himself industrious, blameless, and upright; and this reputation he still preserved.

His exertions were the more remarkable, since he had attained the age of seventy-two when he was chosen. "Labor," it was said, "does not tire him, he is as fresh after it as before; he has pleasure in conversing with people, and he allows every body to say all he has to say." His affability formed a strong contrast with the haughty reserve of Urban VIII. He was particularly anxious to preserve the order and peace of Rome. It was his ambition to maintain security of property and of person by day and night, and to permit no oppression of the low by the high, of the weak by the powerful.‡ He compelled the barons to pay their debts. As the Duke of Parma still refused to satisfy his creditors,

\* From the first every one was astonished at it: "Io stimo," says Deone, 19 Nov., 1644, "che sia opera della S<sup>ra</sup> donna Olympia che ha voluto vedere il figlio cardinale e desidera più tosto genero che nora."

† Diario Deone. On another occasion he relates as follows: "Mercordì la tarda (Ag. 1648) la S<sup>ra</sup> Olympia con ambedue le figliuole con molta comitiva passò per lungo il corso: ogn' uno credeva che ella andasse a visitare la nuora, ma passò avanti la casa senza guardarla."

‡ Relazione di Contarini 1648. "Rimira solamente con applicatione alla quiete dello stato ecclesiastico e particolarmente di Roma, acciò goda ciascheduno delle proprie facultà e della libertà del praticare la notte e non rimanga l'inferiore tiranneggiato dal superiore."

and the pope could not show himself in Rome without being assailed by cries, that he should cause justice to be done to the mountists; as moreover it was believed that the bishop of Castro had been put to death at the instigation of the duke's government, decisive steps were at length taken in the matter. The estates of the Farnesi were again exposed to sale; soldiers and sbirri went to Castro to occupy it, in the name and on the behalf of the mountists.\* The duke again resisted, and made another attempt to penetrate into the States of the Church. This time, however, he found no help. Innocent X was not, like his predecessor, feared by the Italian princes; he was rather their ally. Castro was taken, and razed to the ground; the Duke was obliged to abandon that country to the administration of the papal treasury, which bound itself to satisfy his creditors; he likewise submitted to the decision, that he should lose the whole district if he had not liquidated the Monti Farnesi within eight years. The capital amounted to about 1,700,000 sc. and the accumulated interest to 400,000 sc. The duke did not appear in a situation to raise so large a sum, so that the agreement (which was again brought about by Spanish mediation) could only be regarded as containing a forced renunciation, and one for which there was no guarantee.

In all these circumstances Innocent appears energetic, prudent, and resolute; but he had a defect, which made it difficult to deal with him, and embittered his own life; he reposed unshaken confidence in no one; with him, favor and disfavor alternated with the impressions of the moment.

One of the victims of this temper was the datario Cecchini, who after long enjoying the papal favor, all at once saw himself suspected, assailed, reproached, and superseded by his subordinate officer, Mascambruno; the same whose extraordinary forgeries were afterwards brought to light.†

But still more painful intrigues arose in the papal family itself, in which other divisions already existed.

After the marriage of Don Camillo Pamfili, Innocent X had no longer any ecclesiastical nephew left; hitherto an indispensable member of a papal household. Don Camillo Astalli, a distant kinsman of his house, being presented to him, he instantly conceived a peculiar affection for him, and resolved to raise the young man to the rank of cardinal-nephew. He received him into his

\* Diario Deone, 16 Ciugno 1649. "Il papa in questo negotio sta posto totalmente, e mi disse: non possiamo andare per le strade di Roma, che non si venga gridato dietro che facciamo pagare il duca di Parma. Sono sette anni che non paga, e di questa entrata devon viver molti luoghi pii e vedove e pupilli." We see that his motives were by no means contemptible.

† Vita del C<sup>i</sup> Cecchini scritta da lui medesimo. Scrittura contro Mons. Mascambruno, con laquale s'intende che s'instruisca il processo che contro il medesimo si va fabricando; and the more circumstantial statement. Pro R. P. D. Mascambruno, MS.

family, gave him rooms in the palace and a share in affairs. He even caused this elevation to be announced by public solemnities, and salvos from the castle.

Yet its only result was additional misunderstandings.

The other members of the pope's family thought themselves thrown into the back-ground; even the cardinals nominated by Innocent were displeased that a new-comer should be preferred before them;\* but the person to whom Astalli's advancement gave the highest disgust and dissatisfaction was Donna Olympia Maidalchini. She it was who had extolled him to the pope, and had proposed him as cardinal; but she never imagined he would attain to such an eminence.

In the first place she herself was sent away. The secular nephew and his wife, who, as a cotemporary has it, "was as far exalted above ordinary women, as he was below the standard of ordinary men," established themselves in the palace.

But the agreement between the secular nephew, who possessed the claims of blood, and the adopted ecclesiastical nephew, was of short duration. The elder Olympia was recalled to keep order in the house, and soon regained her wonted ascendancy.†

In a room of the Villa Pamfili stand the busts of the pope and his sister-in-law. No one who compares those woman's features, which breathe determination and intelligence, with the mild and inexpressive countenance of the pope, can fail to see that it was not only possible, but inevitable, that he should be ruled by her.

After she was again received into the palace, she too would not endure that the advantages which attended the situation of a nephew, should be shared by another house with her own. As Astalli did not enter into the sort of partnership with her which she wished, she never rested till he was deprived of the pope's favor, driven out of the palace, and exiled; in short, till she once more reigned supreme and without a rival in the house. On the other hand, conciliated by presents, she now entered into a close alliance with the Barberini, who had returned to Rome.

It is not difficult to imagine to what a degree all these changes of favor and disfavor—these incessant quarrels of those by whom he was most immediately and intimately surrounded—must have embittered the last years of the aged pope. Nor can an open rupture stifle the inward yearnings of the heart; it only converts into

\* Diario Deone, 10 Set. 1650. "Discorre la corte che'l papa ha perduto il beneficio conferito a tutte le sue creature, che si tengono offese che papa habbia preferito un giovane senza esperienza a tutti loro, tra quali sono huomini di molto valore, segno che tutti l'ha per diffidenti ovvero inetti alla carica." In a work, "Osservazioni sopra la futura elezione 1652," this subject is also discussed at considerable length. "Io credo che sia solamente un capriccio che all' improvviso gli venne . . . . conoscendo appena Mons. Camillo Astalli."

† Pallavicini, Vita di papa Alessandro VII. "La scaltra vecchia passò con breve mezzo dall' estremo della disgratia all' estremo della gratia."

a source of restlessness and pain those affections which were destined to cheer and to soothe. Besides, the old man began to feel that he was the tool of the lust of power and the rapacity of a woman; he disapproved and would gladly have put an end to her sway, but he had not the requisite strength and determination; nor did he know how to do without her. His pontificate, which otherwise passed without any remarkable calamity, may be numbered among the more fortunate; but it fell into bad repute through these disorders in the family and the palace. Innocent X was by nature capricious, unstable, self-willed, burthensome to himself.\* Even in the last days of his life, we find him occupied with the bereavement or the banishment of his other relations; in this unhappy state of mind he died, 5th January, 1655. The corpse lay for three days, before one of those belonging to him, on whom according to the usage of the court this office devolved, took the smallest care for its interment. Donna Olympia said she was a miserable widow—such a duty was beyond her strength; and no other person thought himself bound by any obligation to the deceased. A canon, who had previously been in the pope's service, but had long ago been dismissed, at length expended half a scudo to procure the last honors to be paid to his former master.

But it must not be imagined that the consequences of these domestic broils were merely personal.

It is obvious, that nepotism, which in former pontificates had exercised so absolute a power in the state, so mighty an influence in the church, after receiving a formidable shock in the latter years of Urban VIII, now hardly gave any manifestation of its existence, and nodded to its fall.

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#### § 6. ALEXANDER VII AND CLEMENT IX.

Accordingly the new conclave at its very opening presented an unwonted spectacle.

Hitherto the kinsmen of the deceased pope had come attended by numerous bands of creatures devoted to their interests, to overawe the election. But Innocent X left no nephew who could unite the suffrages of the cardinals, or bind them into a faction. To Astalli, who had been at the helm but for a short time, and had exercised no leading influence, they did not owe their advancement, and consequently did not feel bound. For the first time for many centuries, therefore, the new cardinals entered the conclave with

\* Pallavicini: "Fra pretiosi arredi oggetto fetente a stomachevole . . . . proruppe a varie dimostrazioni quasi di smanie. . . . Assai temuto, niente amato, non senza qualche gloria e felicità ne' successi esterni ma inglorioso e miserabile per le continue o tragedie o comedie domestiche."

unshackled freedom of choice. It was proposed to them voluntarily to unite under one head; they are said to have replied, that every one of them had a head and feet of his own.

They were for the most part men of distinguished talents and of an independent spirit; but though united, (they were called the *squadrone volante*\*) they were no longer disposed to follow the beck of a nephew, but to obey their own convictions and understanding.

Even on his death-bed, Innocent X exclaimed to Ottobuono, one of this party, "we must endeavor to find an upright man." "If you want an upright man," replied Azzolmo, another of them, "there stands one,"—pointing to Chigi.† Chigi had not only gained the reputation of an able and well-intentioned man, but had peculiarly distinguished himself as the opponent of the abuses of the existing form of government; abuses which had indeed never been more flagrant than of late. But though he had secured friends, he had also powerful enemies, especially amongst the French.

When Mazarin, driven out of France by the troubles of the Fronde, was preparing on the frontiers of Germany to regain possession of his lost power by force of arms, he had not received from Chigi, then nuncio at Cologne, the assistance on which he thought he might calculate; since which time he had cherished a personal hatred to him. Hence the election was not carried without much trouble, and the contest was again a very protracted one; but at length the new members of the college, the *squadronisti*, prevailed. On the 7th April 1655, Fabio Chigi was elected, and took the name of Alexander VII.

The motive, or the opinion, which had first suggested the thought of his elevation, seemed to impose on the new pope the duty of governing in a different spirit from his immediate predecessors; and this duty he appeared resolved to fulfil. For a considerable time he did not suffer his nephews to come to Rome; he made it his boast that he did not remit a penny to them; and his confessor Pallavicini, who was then writing the history of the council of Trent, already inserted into his work a passage in which he predicted for Alexander VII eternal renown, especially on account of this moderation towards his own blood.‡

\* Pallavicini enumerates the following confederates; Imperiale, Omodei, Borromei, Odescalco, Pio, Aquaviva, Ottobuono, Albizi, Gualtieri, Azzolini. The name of Squadrone was brought into vogue by the Spanish ambassador.

† "Se vogliamo un uomo da bene, quegli è desso, et addittò C<sup>o</sup> Chigi, che era indi lontano alquanto nella medesima camera." (Pallavicini.)

‡ "Populus," says he in the Latin biography of Alexander VII, "qui præ multis vectigalibus humeris sibi ferre videbatur recentiores pontificias domos tot opibus onustas, huic Alexandri S<sup>mi</sup> magnanimitati mirifice plaudebat; . . . inexplicabili detrimento erat et sacro imperio distributione minus æqua beneficiorum et perpetuis populi oneribus." Relatione de' IV ambasciatori 1655. "E continenza sin ora eroica quella di che S. S<sup>a</sup> si mostra armata, escludendo dall' adito di

It can, however, never be an easy task to break through a custom which has once gained ground; since the mere fact of its obtaining currency and force proves that it possessed some quality which recommended it, some quality in harmony with the circumstances around it; in every court people are to be found who place these in the strongest and fairest light, and seek to hold fast to the ancient and traditional, be the abuses attending them never so glaring.

One courtier after another gradually insinuated to Alexander VII that it was not decorous for the kinsmen of the pope to remain plain citizens of a town; indeed that it was not possible, for that the inhabitants of Siena would not be restrained from paying princely honors to his family, and that he might thus easily involve the papal see in misunderstandings with Tuscany. Others not only maintained this, but added that the pope would set a still better example by receiving his nephews at his court, but holding them in check, than by keeping them entirely at a distance; but it was undoubtedly Oliva, the rector of the Jesuits' college, who made the greatest impression, by his declaration that the pope was guilty of a sin in not inviting his nephews; for that the foreign ambassadors would never place so much confidence in a mere minister as in a blood-relation of the pope; that thus the holy father would not be able to get such good information, nor consequently to perform the duties of his office so efficiently.\* So many arguments were hardly needed to move the pope to a thing to which he was already inclined; on the 24th of April, 1656, he proposed the question in the consistory, whether it seemed good to his brethren the cardinals that he should employ his kinsmen in the service of the apostolic see. No one dared to make any opposition, and shortly afterwards they arrived.† The pope's brother, Don Mario, was appointed to the most lucrative posts, the inspection of the Annona and the administration of justice in the Borgo; his son Flavio was created cardinal padrone, and in a short time had an ecclesiastical revenue of 100,000 sc. Another brother of the pope, whom he particularly loved, was dead; but his son Agostino was selected to become founder of a family. He was gradually provided with the fairest possessions—the matchless Ariccia, the principality of Farnese, and the palace in the Piazza Colonna; many *luoghi di monte* were be-

Roma il fratello, i nepoti e qualunque si pregia di congiunzione di sangue seco; et è tanto più da ammirarsi questa parsimonia d'affetti verso i suoi congiunti quanto che non è distillata nella mente dalle persuasioni, ma è volontaria e natavi per propria elezione.”

\* Scritture politiche, etc. “Un giorno Oliva prese occasione di dire al padre Luti,” (P. Luti had been brought up with the pope, visited him constantly, and desired the appointment of his nephews,) “che il papa era in obbligo sotto peccato mortale di chiamare a Roma i suoi nepoti;” he then gives the above-mentioned reasons.

† Pallavicini: “In quei primi giorni i partiali d' Alessandro non potean comparir in publico senza soggiacere a mordaci scherni.”

stowed upon him, and he was at length married to a Borghese.\* The pope's favors were extended to his more distant relations, such as the commendatore Bichi, who occasionally appears in the Candian war—and even to the Sienese generally.

Everything thus seemed to have fallen into the old track. But this was by no means the fact.

Flavio Chigi was far from possessing the same authority as Pietro Aldobrandino, or Scipione Caffarelli, or Francesco Barberino; nor did he even aspire to it. Power had no charms for him; he rather envied his secular brother Agostino, to whose lot the substantial enjoyments of life, unencumbered by much toil or trouble, had fallen.

Indeed Alexander VII himself no longer ruled with anything like the autocratic power of his predecessors.

Under Urban VIII, a congregazione di stato was established, in which the most important affairs of state were to be discussed and concluded; yet its real operation was insignificant. Under Innocent X, it acquired considerably more weight. Pancirolo, secretary of this congregation, the first eminent man who held that dignity and laid the foundations of its subsequent consideration, had, up to his death, the largest share in the government of Innocent X; and it was mainly attributed to him, that no nephew could then obtain firm possession of power. Chigi himself held this office for a time. At the moment we are treating of, Rospigliosi obtained it, and had the administration of foreign affairs entirely in his hands. Next to him was cardinal Corrado of Ferrara, who had great weight in matters of ecclesiastical immunity. Monsignore Fugnano had the direction of the monastic orders; and Pallavicini decided theological questions. The congregations, which under the preceding popes were nearly insignificant, rose once more to importance and exercised special functions. Already some might be heard to maintain, that the power of deciding absolutely resided in the pope, only as to spiritual things: in all temporal affairs, as for instance if he wished to declare war, to make peace, to alienate land, to levy a tax, &c. he must take counsel of the cardinals.† In fact, pope Alexander VII, took but little active share in the administration of the state. He went for two months to Castelgandolfo, where business was carefully avoided; when he was in Rome, the afternoons were dedicated to literature; authors resorted to his presence and read their works aloud, and it

\* Vita di Alessandro VII, 1666: "Il principato Farnese, che vale 100<sup>m</sup> scudi, la Riccia, che costa altrettanto, il palazzo in piazza Colonna, che finito arriverà ad altri 100<sup>m</sup> scudi, formano bellissimi stabili per Don Augustino, et aggiuntovi i luoghi di monte et altri officii comprati faranno gli stabili di una sola testa più di mezzo milione, senza le annue rendite di 25<sup>m</sup> scudi che gode il commendator Bichi, e senza ben 100<sup>m</sup> e più sc. d' entrata che ogni anno entrano nella borsa del C' Chigi." These are the sort of calculations that might naturally be made in the talk of the day, and to which no great importance can be attached.

† Giac. Quirini: "I cardinali, particolarmente C' Albicci, pretendevano che il papa potesse disporre d' indulgenze. . . . ma per pace e guerra, alienatione di stati impositione di gabelle dovrebbe ricorrere ai cardinali."

was one of his favorite recreations to suggest amendments. Even in a morning it was difficult to obtain an audience of him for actual business. "I passed forty-two months," says Giacomo Quirini, "at the court of pope Alexander, and I discovered that he had merely the name of a pope, not the substantial power of the papacy. Of those qualities which he had displayed as cardinal, vivacity of spirit, power of discrimination, decision in difficult cases, and facility of expression, not a trace remained; business was put aside, and he thought of nothing but how to live in undisturbed repose of mind."\*

Occasionally Alexander perceived and disapproved the abuses which prevailed in his court and government. When his projects failed, he laid all the blame on the interested selfishness of the cardinals; and even in the delirious wanderings which preceded his death, he was heard to speak of it.

But as this state of things was the natural result of circumstances and of the course of events, it went on.

The cardinals composing the *squadrone*, who had contributed the most to the election of Alexander VII, and had maintained great influence during his reign, even after his death turned the scale in the new conclave. The only difference was, that they were now in a more perfect understanding with France. On the 20th of June 1667, Rospigliosi, who under the late pope held the office of secretary of state, was raised to the papal throne under the name of Clement IX.†

It was agreed by acclamation, that it was impossible to find a better or a kinder man. He was not indeed so remarkable for industry as for good intentions; he was compared to a tree adorned with beautiful branches and luxuriant foliage, and perhaps even with blossoms, but bearing no fruit; all those virtues which consist in an absence of vices, such as purity of manners, modesty, temperance, he possessed in an eminent degree. He was the first pope who really observed moderation in the advancement of his kinsmen. They were not kept at a distance; on the contrary, they were appointed to the usual offices, and even founded a new family; but this was accomplished only in consequence of an opportunity which presented itself of marrying a young Rospigliosi to a rich heiress of the house of Pallavicini of Genoa. The favors and privileges which they received from their uncle were comparatively very moderate: they were not permitted to appropriate the public property, excepting only Luoghi di Monte: nor did they partition out amongst them the business and the powers of the state.

In this consisted the greatest change.

\* "Datosi quel capo alla quiete dell' animo, al solo pensiero di vivere, e con severo divieto ripudiato il negotio."

† Quirini: "Dalle pratiche di volanti, ch' in vero ebbero il merito della presente elezione, successe che Chigi con mal regolato consiglio e fuori di tempo et ordine si dichiarò in sala regia nell' entrare in capella allo scrutinio, che acconsentiva alla nomina di Rospigliosi. . . . Otoboni inanzi dell' adorazione fu dichiarato prodatario, Azzolini segretaria di stato."



Heretofore, at every fresh accession to the papal throne, all, or the greater number, of the public officers, upon whom depended the character and the policy of the papal court, had been changed: Clement IX first abolished this practice; he wished to avoid giving pain to any one, and with the exception of a few of the higher places, he confirmed the appointments of those whom he found in office.\* In these eminent posts he placed cardinals such as Ottobuono and Azzolino, members of the *squadron* which had determined the last elections, and in other respects powerful men. He was very far from persecuting the kindred of his predecessors, in the manner which had been so common in other pontificates; the recommendations of Flavio Chigi had little less weight with him than with Alexander; favors continued to pass through his hands, and all remained in its accustomed state.

We may imagine how mortifying was the disappointment of the pope's countrymen, the inhabitants of Pistoja. They had reckoned on the same favors and advantages which had been showered upon the Siennese; all of them who were in Rome, we are told, began to affect the refined manners and to swear by the honor of a nobleman; bitter, therefore, was their amazement at finding that the places they had fixed their hopes upon, were not so much as vacant, far less distributed amongst themselves.

But Clement IX did not withhold the bounty with which the popes were accustomed to celebrate their accession; he rather carried it to an unusual length, for within the first month of his reign he distributed above 600,000 scudi. These gifts however were for the benefit neither of his countrymen, nor even of his kindred (with whom people failed not to condole on this neglect of their interests†), but were divided among the cardinals and the leading members of the curia generally. This was immediately imputed to some stipulations made in the conclave, but not the least trace of any such is discoverable. It is much more attributable to the universal improvement in public opinion which had taken place during this epoch nearly all over Europe.

There had never been a period more favorable to aristocracy than the middle of the seventeenth century; in which, throughout the whole extent of the Spanish monarchy, power relapsed into the hands of the higher nobility, from whom it had been wrested by the kings of preceding ages; in which the English constitution had assumed, amidst the most tremendous struggles, the aristocratical character which it preserves to this day; in which the parliaments

\* Grimani, Relazione: "I suoi corteggiani sono mal soddisfatti, per non haver volsuto rimuovere alcuno de' ministri et ufficiali di quelli dell' antecedente pontefice, come sempre costumarono di far gli altri pontefici." He was blamed for this, because at his death his nephews would be left without proper supporters. "Quelli che havevano ricevute le cariche di Alessandro VII, benchè non rimossi da Clemente, conserveranno l' obligatione agli eredi di Alessandro."

† "Considerandogli che con tanta profusione d' oro e d' argento una lunga catena per la povertà della loro casa lavoravano." (Quirini.)

of France persuaded themselves that they were able to play the same part as that of England; in which through all the states of Germany the nobility acquired a decided ascendancy, with the exception of here and there the territory of a high-spirited and dauntless prince, who beat down all attempts at the assertion of independence; in which the estates of Sweden aspired to imposing intolerable shackles on the power of the crown, and the nobility of Poland acquired absolute independence.

So also it came to pass in Rome. A numerous, powerful, and wealthy aristocracy surrounded the papal throne; the families already established held in check the rising ones, and the spiritual sovereignty passed from the absolute will and the unhesitating boldness of monarchy, into the sobriety, sedateness, and deliberation which characterise an aristocratical form of government.

Under such circumstances the court assumed an altered character. There ensued a very remarkable pause in that stream of foreigners who thronged to Rome in search of fortune; in that eternal change and succession of new men: a stationary population had arisen, in which the infusion of new elements was far less frequent. Let us now see of what materials it was composed.

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#### § 7. ELEMENTS OF THE ROMAN POPULATION.

Let us begin from the highest classes, of whom we have just been speaking.

The time-honored Roman families, the Savelli, Conti, Orsini, Colonna Gaetani, still flourished. The Savelli still possessed their ancient jurisdiction of the Corte Savella, with the right of delivering one criminal every year from the punishment of death;\* the ladies of that house, according to immemorial usage, either never quitted their palace walls, or only in a closely veiled carriage. The Conti decorated their halls with the portraits of the popes of their line. The Gaetani dwelt with pride on Boniface VIII; they thought, and it was a claim generally admitted, that the spirit of that pope rested upon them. The houses of Colonna and Orsini boasted that for centuries no peace had been concluded between the princes of Christendom, in which they had not been expressly included.† But whatever might have been their former power, they certainly owed their present importance to their connection with the curia and the popes. Although the Orsini were masters of noble possessions, which ought to have brought them in 80,000 scudi a year, they were much impoverished by an improvident liberality, and stood in need of the aid of ecclesiastical places. The

\* Discorso del dominio temporale e spirituale del sommo pontefice, 1664.

† Descrizione delle famiglie nobili Romane, MS. in the library of S<sup>t</sup> Mark, vi, 237 and 234.

Contestabile Don Filippo Colonna had only been enabled to re-establish his pecuniary affairs, by the permission granted him by Urban VIII to lower the rate of interest on his debts, and by the church benefices conferred on four of his sons.\*

For it was a custom of long tradition that the rising families should enter into close relation with those ancient princely houses.

Under Innocent X there existed for a time, as it were, two great clans or factions. With the Pamfili were united the Orsini, Cesari, Borghesi, Aldobrandini, Ludovisi, Giustiniani; opposed to them were the Colonnese and Barberini. By the reconciliation of Donna Olympia with the Barberini, the union became general, and included all the families of distinction.

Even in this class we now remark an alteration. In former times the reigning families had always played the great parts, and had thrown their predecessors into the shade by the acquisition of greater wealth. But this was now no longer possible; in the first place, because the elder houses were become too rich by intermarriages or by good management; and in the second, because the papal treasury was gradually exhausted. The Chigi could not hope to surpass their predecessors; the Rospigliosi were far from even aspiring to do so; it was enough if they could succeed in being received into their ranks.

Every state of society is represented, or if we may use the expression, reflected, in some intellectual product, some custom, or form of manners; the most remarkable product of this Roman society and its intercourse was the ceremonial of the court. Never was there a time in which ceremony was more rigorously observed than in that we are treating of; it was in harmony with the aristocratical tendencies which universally prevailed; the elaborate perfection to which it was brought in Rome, was perhaps the result of the claim set up by that court to take precedence of all others, and the consequent endeavor to express that claim in certain externals.† The ambassadors of France and Spain had long made Rome the scene of their contests for precedence, added to which innumerable disputes about rank arose in the Roman court itself; between the ambassadors and the higher officials, e. g. the governatore; between the cardinals who had a seat in the rota, and the others; between a vast many other bodies of government officers, and between the several great families—for example, the Colonna and Orsini. It

\* Almaden, *Relatione di Roma*: “Il primogenito è Don Federico, principe di Botero; il secondo Don Girolamo cardinale, cuore del padre e meritamente per esser signore di tutta bontà; il terzo Don Carlo, il quale dopo diversi soldì di Fiandra e di Germania si fece monaco ed abate Casinense: il quarto Don Marc Antonio, accasato in Sicilia: il quinto Don Prospero, commendatore di S. Giovanni: il sesto Don Pietro, abate secolare stroppio della persona, ma altrettanto fatica d’ingegno.”

† The French ambassador Bethune among others, complains in 1627, (23d Feb.) of these attempts. Siri, *Memorie rec. vi*, p. 262.

was in vain that pope Sixtus had decided that the eldest of either house should always have precedence; if this happened to be a Colonna, the Orsini did not appear; if it was an Orsino, the Colonna absented themselves; and even to these illustrious races the Conti and the Savelli gave way with great reluctance, and only under incessant protests. The distinctions were most accurately determined; for instance, when the pope's kinsmen entered the papal apartments, both wings of the folding doors were thrown open; other barons or cardinals were fain to pass through one. A strange mark of reverence was introduced; a man stopped his carriage when he met the carriage of a superior or a patron. It was said that this honor was first paid to cardinal Alessandro Farnese by marchese Mettei; that the cardinal then stopped too, and that they exchanged a few words.\* Others soon followed the example.—The ambassadors received this token of respect from their countrymen, and, inconvenient as it was, it became a universal custom, a universal duty. It is to the most insignificant things that vanity attaches itself the most pertinaciously; they afford an excuse for not permitting the smallest omission in dependents or equals.

Let us go a step lower in the scale of society.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, people reckoned about fifty noble families three hundred years old; five-and-thirty, two hundred; sixteen, one hundred. None were allowed a more ancient descent, and they were generally traced to an obscure and mean origin.† A great part of them were originally settlers in the Campagna. Unhappily, however, at the time when the *luoghi di monte* bore a high interest, they suffered themselves to be induced (as we have already mentioned) to sell a great portion of their estates to the papal families, and to invest the purchase-money in the papal monti. At first they appeared to derive considerable advantage from the change. The pope's kinsmen gave high prices for the land—often above its value; and the interest of the *luoghi di monte*, which was received without trouble, was higher than the profits arising from the most laborious culture of the land. But they soon had cause to feel that they had exchanged immoveable property for fluctuating funds. Alexander VII was driven to a reduction of the monti, by which credit was shaken and the value of the *luoghi* sank immensely. There was not a family which did not lose by this reduction.

Numerous other new families arose by the side of the old ones. The conduct of the pope was imitated by the cardinals and prelates of the curia—each according to the measure of his wealth and

\* In the Barberini Library I saw a special treatise on this subject: “Circa il fermar le carrozze per complimento e come s' introdusse in uso.”

† Almaden: “La maggior parte delle famiglie oggi stimate a Roma nobili vengono da basso principio, come da notaro, speciale che sarebbe da sopportare, ma dell' arte puzzolente della concia di corame. Io benchè sappia particolarmente l'origine, non però lo scrivo per non offèndere alcuno.”

power. They too neglected not to apply the surplus of their ecclesiastical incomes to enrich their kindred and to found new families. Others rose to eminence by judicial offices, or by the business of the dataria, in connection with which they acted as money-changers. At the time we treat of there were reckoned fifteen Florentine, eleven Genoese, nine Portuguese, and four French families who had raised themselves to greater or less opulence according to their good fortune or their talents; some of them, whose reputation no longer depended on the affairs of the day, were omnipotent by their wealth; such as, in the reign of Urban VIII, the Guicciardini and the Doni, with whom the Giustiniani, Primi, and Pallavicini connected themselves.\* And even without business of this kind families of distinction were continually resorting to Rome, not only from Urbino, Rieti, and Bologna, but even from Parma and Florence. Many were attracted by the establishment of the monti and of the saleable offices: the former were for a long time a sort of property greatly in request, especially the *vacabili*, which were a sort of life-annuity, and therefore gave 10½ per cent. interest, and were not only transferable by will, but, if all testamentary dispositions were neglected, descended by inheritance; the curia sanctioning this without difficulty. The saleable places descended in like manner. They ought, on the death of the holder, to have reverted to the treasury, and for that reason the income they gave, as compared with the capital originally, sunk, was so large; at the same time it was in fact simply interest, since the holder had no official duties whatsoever; though even these, where they existed, could be transmitted without much difficulty. Many an office was never vacant for a century.

The union of the public functionaries and montisti into *collegia* gave them a certain corporate character and importance, and although by degrees their rights were much infringed, they still maintained a very independent position. The aristocratic principle, so singularly blended with the system of credit and national debt, which pervaded the whole state, was also very advantageous to these bodies. Strangers indeed frequently found them overbearing.

The lower classes attached themselves more closely and in greater numbers to those families which already possessed so much capital, had risen so rapidly, were daily acquiring greater stability, and profited so largely by the revenues of the church.

A census of the population of Rome is extant, and by comparing one year with another, we arrive at a most remarkable result as to its formation. It cannot be said that the increase had been, generally speaking, exceedingly rapid: in the year 1600, we find there were about 110,000 inhabitants; fifty-six years after that, somewhat

\* Almaden: "Non passano ancora la seconda generazione di cittadinanza Romana, . . . son venute da Firenze e Genova coll' occasione del danaro . . . molte volte mojono nelle fascie."

more than 120,000;—an increase which is by no means extraordinary: but another circumstance strikes us as being well worthy of observation. In former times the population of Rome had been very fluctuating; thus in the reign of Paul V, from 80,000 inhabitants it had decreased to 50,000, and, after the lapse of thirty or forty years, the numbers increased again to above 100,000. This was occasioned by the circumstance that the court was chiefly composed of single men who had no permanent residence there. But towards the end of the 16th century, and still more during the first half of the 17th, the population consisted of resident families. In the year 1600, there were in Rome,

Date.	Inhabitants.	Families.
1600	109,729	20,019
1614	115,643	21,422
1619	106,050	24,380
1628	115,374	24,429
1644	110,608	27,279
1653	118,882	29,081
1656	120,596	30,103*

We see that in some years the gross number of inhabitants shows a decrease, while the number of families exhibits a regular increase. During the last fifty-six years, above 10,000 families had been added to the number; which is the more remarkable, since the total increase of the population is only the same. The crowd of single men who were constantly coming and going diminished, while the mass of the population became stationary. It has retained the same proportions ever since, subject only to slight variations, resulting from epidemics and from the natural tendency of population to fill up a void.

After the return of the popes from Avignon, and the cessation of the schism, the city, which seemed likely to dwindle into a mere village, formed itself round the curia. It was only from the time that the papal families rose to power and wealth, intestine troubles and external wars ceased, and the incomes drawn from the revenues of church and state afforded a means of acquiring wealth without labor, that a numerous and opulent population became permanently fixed in Rome. Its prosperity depended entirely on the importance of the church and the court, which were the sources of wealth, both in the shape of direct donations and of other less immediate advantages. All were indeed upstarts, like the papal families themselves.

Hitherto, the number of those already naturalised in Rome had been continually recruited by new comers, who thronged thither,

\* The documents from which these numbers are taken exist in manuscript in the Barberini Library. A later one, from 1702 till 1816, is in Cancellieri, del tarantismo di Roma, p. 73.

especially from the native town of each succeeding pope; a practice which ceased when the court assumed the new form we have just been describing. The capital of the catholic world had owed its growth and splendor to the vast and universal influence which the see of Rome had acquired by the catholic restoration; this was the period of the foundation of the Roman families which flourish at the present day: but from the time the extension of the spiritual dominion was arrested, the population no longer increased. It owed its existence entirely to that epoch.

Even the modern part of the city, which captivates the attention of travellers, and of which we will now take a brief survey, mainly belongs to the same period—that of the catholic restoration.

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§ 8. PUBLIC BUILDINGS ERECTED BY THE POPES.

We have shown what vast architectural schemes were executed by Sixtus V, and by what views for the church and for religion these were prompted.

Clement VIII followed in his footsteps. Some of the most beautiful chapels in the churches of St. John and St. Peter owe their erection to him. He founded the new palace in the Vatican, and to this day the pope and the secretary of state live in the apartments which he built.

But it was Paul V above all who strove to compete with Sixtus. "Throughout the whole city," says a contemporaneous life of him, "he levelled hills, opened extensive views where there had been only dark corners and winding streets; made large squares, and decorated them nobly with new buildings: he supplied the city with water, not trickling through a scanty pipe, but gushing out in a stream. The magnificence of his palaces was rivalled by the variety of the gardens he laid out. In the interior of his private chapels everything glitters with gold and silver; they are not so much adorned as filled with precious stones. The public chapels rear their heads like basilica, the basilica like temples, the temples like marble mountains."\*

We see that his works were not admired for their beauty and symmetry, but for their splendor and colossal size; and such were indeed their characteristics.

He erected opposite to the Sixtine chapel in S<sup>ta</sup> Maria Maggiore, one far more gorgeous, entirely of precious marbles. He carried the stream of water which bears his name, Aqua Paolina, to the Janiculus—a distance of five-and-thirty miles. Opposite to the fountain and the Moses of Sixtus V, but at a distance, this stream, five times as powerful as the Aqua Felice, divides into four copious

\* Vita Pauli V compendiose scripta. MS. Barb.

branches. From this far-famed hill, the scene of Porsenna's attack, now covered with vineyards and orchards and ruins, the traveller looks across the city and the country to the distant mountains, over which the evening hangs its many-colored mist, like a transparent veil. The solitude is sublimely broken by the noise of the gushing waters. One of the most striking features of Rome is the abundance of water, the multitude of fountains, and this charm it chiefly owes to the Aqua Paolina. It supplies the matchless fountains of the Piazza di San Pietro; it is conducted under the Ponte Sisto, to the city proper, and feeds the fountains in the Farnese palace and many others.

As Sixtus V reared the cupola of St. Peter's, so Paul V undertook the general completion of the church,\* and this he executed on a standard of magnitude suggested by the spirit of his age. Now-a-days we regret that the original plan of Bramante and Michael Angelo was not followed; but the work of Paul V entirely satisfied the taste of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. And indeed though no one can think that façade beautiful, there is a general air of cheerfulness, convenience, and grandeur; while the colossal size of the building, the piazza, the obelisk, and the whole surrounding place, create that impression of the gigantic which it was the aim of the artists to produce, and which is equally irresistible and indelible.

Short as was the reign of the Ludovisi, they founded an imperishable monument in the church of St. Ignazio, and their villa in the city. Niccolo Ludovisi at one time possessed six palaces, all of which he embellished, or at least kept in repair.

The memory of Urban VIII is perpetuated, not only by several churches, as S<sup>ta</sup> Bibiana, San Quirico, San Sebastiano on the Palatine, but, in conformity with his tastes, still more by palaces and fortifications. After he had surrounded St. Angelo with ditches and breastworks, and thoroughly fortified it, (as he boasts on one of the coins of his reign,) he continued the wall according to the plan of cardinal Maculano, who was an accomplished architect, round the Vatican and the Belvedere garden, to the Porta Cavalleggieri; here it was met by other fortifications, which were to inclose the Lungara, the Trastevere, and the Janiculus, and to extend to the priory on the Aventino; Porta Portuensa was chiefly erected by Urban VIII. It was not till he was thus surrounded, and had carefully restored the bridge leading from the papal residence to the castle, that he felt himself secure.†

\* *Magnificentia Pauli V seu publicæ utilitatis et splendoris opera a Paulo vel in urbe vel alibi instituta.* MS. "Unius Pauli jussu impensisque instructa ejus templi pars cum reliquis ab omnibus retro pontificibus exstructis partibus merito conferri potest."

† Cancellieri, *del tarantismo di Roma*, p. 55, printed the passages which belong here from the *Diario* of Giacinto Gigli, which unfortunately was stolen from me in Rome, and is the greatest loss my collection ever sustained.



Pope Innocent X also added greatly to the public buildings of Rome. Of this we see proofs at the Capitol, the two sides of which he endeavored to assimilate; in the church of the Lateran, where he had the merit of proceeding with a more careful regard to the ancient forms than any of his predecessors; but more especially on the Piazza Navona. It was remarked, that when he passed over the Piazza di San Pietro, he never turned his eyes from the fountain erected there by Paul V.\* Fain would he have vied with that pope, and have adorned his own favorite piazza with a still more beautiful fountain; and to this object Bernini applied all his art. An obelisk was brought from the Circus of Caracalla, and upon it were fixed the arms of the Pamfili. Houses were pulled down in order to give the Piazza a new aspect; Sant' Agnete was thoroughly renovated, while at a short distance arose the palazzo Pamfili, richly adorned with statues, pictures, and interior embellishments. The vigna on the other side the Vatican, belonging to his family, he converted into one of the most beautiful villas, containing everything that can render a country life delightful.

In Alexander VII, we observe the modern taste for uniformity. He demolished a vast number of houses for the sake of making streets in right lines; the palazzo Salviati was pulled down to form the Piazza del Collegio Romano, and the Piazza Colonna, where stood the palace of his own family, was transformed by his order. He restored the Sapienza and the Propaganda. But his most illustrious monument was unquestionably the colonnades with which he inclosed the upper part of the Piazza di San Pietro; a colossal work consisting of 284 pillars and 88 pilasters. Whatever objections may have been made to it, both at the time of its erection and afterwards,† it is not to be denied that it is conceived in the spirit of the main building to which it is attached, and that it contributes to produce that compound impression of the immeasurable and the cheerful which is the characteristic of the place.

Such was the gradual growth of that city to which countless foreigners from every nation and clime have since flocked as pilgrims to the shrine of art, whose richest treasures were accumulated within these master-pieces of architecture. Valuable and copious libraries were formed; not only the Vatican, the convents of the Augustins and Dominicans, the houses of the Jesuits and of the

\* Diario Deone, 4 Luglio, 1648. He remarks: "La quale (la fontana di papa Paolo, for at that time there was but one,) difficilmente potrà superare nè in bellezza nè in quantità d'acque."

† Sagredo: "I colonnati che si vanno intorno alla piazza erigendo, di quatro ordini di questi restar cinta dovendo tutti in forma ovata, i quali formeranno tre portici coperti con tre magnifici ingressi, e sopra da un corridore che sarà d'altro ordine di picciole colonne e di statue adornato, il papa pretende che servir debbano per ricevere della pioggia e del sole alle carrozze." The expenses already amounted to 900,000 sc., which were taken from the funds of the Fabrica di S. Pietro.

fathers of the oratory, were furnished with them, but even the palaces of the nobles; they rivalled each other in the number of the printed books and the rarity of the manuscripts, which they collected. Not that there was any very strenuous application to science; men studied indeed, but in an easy, leisurely manner, and less with a view to discover anything new, than to acquire and to reproduce what was already known. Of all the academies which yearly sprang up, a very few devoted themselves to some branch of natural science—to botany for instance; though even these produced no original discoveries or permanent results.\* But all the others, the *Umoristi*, the *Regolati*,† the *Tenebrosi*, the *Fantastici*, the *Unisoni*, or whatever other strange names they chose to assume, occupied themselves only with poetry and rhetoric, or with exercises of intellectual skill, which were confined within a narrow circle of thoughts, and yet occupied and consumed many minds capable of higher things. The palaces were not only stored with books, but adorned with works of art, ancient and modern, and with antiquities of various kinds, statues, reliefs, and inscriptions. In the times now before us, those of the *Cesi*, *Giustiniani*, *Strozzi*, *Massimi*, and the gardens of the *Mattei*, were the most celebrated; while collections, like that of *Kircher* at the *Jesuits' college*, excited no less the admiration of cotemporaries. Yet it was rather curiosity and antiquarian pedantry which gave rise to these collections, than any sense of the beauty of form, or any profound understanding of art. It is remarkable that, at the bottom, people still entertained the same notions and feelings on the subject, as *Sixtus V.* They were very far from treating the remains of antiquity with that reverential attention, that watchful care, with which they were afterwards regarded. What could be expected from an age in which one of the privileges granted to the *Borghesi* was, that they should not be liable to punishment for any kind of demolition? It is difficult to believe the destruction perpetrated in the seventeenth century. The *Thermæ of Constantine*, for example, had remained in a very tolerable state of preservation through the vicissitudes of so many ages, and it might have been presumed, would have been protected from spoliation by the claim of their builder to the title of head of the Christian church; yet under *Paul V* they were levelled with the ground, and transformed into a palace and garden in the taste of that time, which were afterwards exchanged for the *Villa Mondragone* in *Frascati*. Even the temple of *Peace*, which was also in good preservation, found no mercy at *Paul's* hands. He conceived the strange idea of casting an immense brazen statue of the *Virgin Mary* with the infant *Christ* in her arms, and this was to be placed

\* I allude to the *Lincei*, founded by *Federigo Cesi* in 1603, which accomplished little besides the Italian version of the *Natural History of Mexico* by *Hernandez*. *Tiraboschi*, *Storia della letteratura Italiana*, viii, p. 195.

† See the accounts of *Erythræus*, which are exceedingly well put together in *Fischer's Vita Erythræi*, p. l. li.

at such a height that the whole city would lie beneath the eye of its patroness. Nothing was required but one column of extraordinary height; this he found at length in the Temple of Peace: without taking any heed that it was there in its place, but that when isolated it would be rather strange and striking than beautiful or appropriate, he removed it, and surmounted it with that colossal statue which we now behold.

Even if all the charges brought against the Barberini be not true, it is undeniable that their proceedings were generally characterised by an utter insensibility to the sublime beauties of ancient art. The project was actually entertained under Urban VIII of demolishing that sole genuine, uninjured and incomparable monument of the republic, the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, in order to use the travertine of which it was built for the Fontana di Trevi. Bernini, the most celebrated sculptor and architect of that time, to whom the construction of the fountain was committed, made this proposal, and the pope issued a brief granting him permission to execute it. The work of destruction had already begun, when the Roman people, who loved their antiquities, perceived what was going forward, and made resistance. For the second time they rescued this their oldest possession from destruction; the workmen were obliged to desist for fear of a tumult.\*

But this project was only one indication of the general spirit of the age. The epoch of the catholic restoration displayed its peculiar character in the ideas, tastes, and pursuits which it generated; even in art and literature it grasped at universal dominion; it was incapable either of understanding or appreciating anything foreign or dissimilar to itself, and was bent on destroying whatever it could not subdue to its own purposes.

Spite of this bigotry of taste, however, Rome continued to be a metropolis of civilisation, unrivalled in minute and various erudition, and in the practice of art, such as it was understood and relished by that age. In music it was still original and productive; the concerted style of the cantata then arose by the side of the church style, and enchanted all travellers. "A man must be ill endowed by nature," exclaims Spon, who visited Rome in 1674, "who does not find satisfaction and delight in every branch of learning and art."† He enumerates the facilities enjoyed for the cultivation of all these branches; the libraries, in which the student had access to the rarest works; the churches and palaces, where the most exquisite voices were daily to be heard; the multitude of collections of pictures and statues, ancient and modern; the noble buildings of every age; entire villas covered with bas-reliefs and inscriptions, of which he had himself copied a thousand never copied before; the presence of so many strangers of every country and tongue;

\* Deone relates this circumstantially.

† Spon et Wheler, *Voyage d'Italie et de Grèce*, i, p. 39.

the enjoyment of nature in the enchanting gardens; and lastly, adds he, "any man who loves the practices of devotion, may find employment for his whole life among the churches, relics, and processions."

Elsewhere, no doubt, the spirit of man was astir with a grander and more vigorous movement; but the completeness and roundness of the Roman world, its inclosure within itself, the abundance of its wealth, the serene enjoyment resulting from the feeling of security and satisfaction kept alive in a pious mind by the incessant contemplation of the objects of its reverence, still exercised a mighty attraction, various as these causes, and as the minds upon which they acted.

Let us pause to consider the most striking example ever presented to the world of the force of this attraction, and to observe how it re-acted on the court of Rome.

#### § 9. DIGRESSION CONCERNING QUEEN CHRISTINA OF SWEDEN.

We have had frequent occasion to turn our attention to Sweden.

The country in which Lutheranism first changed the whole political constitution; in which the anti-reformation found both representatives and opponents amongst the highest persons in so singular a manner; the country which had struck the grand and final blow in the struggle that divided and occupied the world; this was the very country in which catholicism, under the new form it had assumed, achieved its most unlooked-for conquest. It won over to itself queen Christina of Sweden, the daughter of the arch-champion of protestantism. How this happened, is a question well worthy of inquiry for its own sake, and peculiarly so with a view to the subject of the present work.

Let us first consider the situation which the youthful queen occupied in her own country on her accession to the throne.

After the death of Gustavus Adolphus, it was a question for a moment agitated in Sweden, (as it had been in 1619 in Austria, in 1640 in Portugal, and in many other countries at that time,) whether the nation should not emancipate itself from the kingly power and constitute itself as a republic.\*

This scheme was indeed rejected; the daughter of the deceased king received the accustomed homage; but as she was a child of six years old, and as there was no one of the royal line who could seize the reins of government, the supreme power naturally fell

\* *La vie de la Reine Christine faite par elle-même, in Arckenholtz's Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Christine, tom. iii, p. 41: "On m'a voulu persuader qu'on mit en délibération en certaines assemblées particulières s'il falloit se mettre en liberté, n'ayant qu'un enfant en tête, dont il étoit aisé de se défaire, et de s'ériger en république."* Compare the note by Arckenholtz.

into the hands of a few. The anti-monarchical tendencies of that time found an applauding echo in Sweden; even the conduct of the long parliament in England excited sympathy, and still more the movements of the Fronde in France, inasmuch as they were more decidedly aristocratic. "I distinctly perceive," said Christina herself in the senate, "that people wish that Sweden were an elective monarchy or an aristocracy."\*

But this young princess was little disposed to allow the regal power to decline in her hands; she girded herself up to be a queen, in the fullest sense of the word. From the moment that she entered upon the government, in the year 1644, she devoted herself to business with admirable zeal. She was never known to miss a meeting of the senate, and we find her attending the sittings, even when suffering under fever or obliged to be let blood. She prepared herself carefully by reading through state papers many sheets in length, and making the contents her own; at night before going to rest, in a morning early at waking, she meditated on the points demanding consideration.† She had the art of stating questions with great ability and clearness, and of concealing her own inclinations; after hearing every member she pronounced her opinion, which always appeared well founded, and was almost invariably adopted. The foreign ambassadors were astonished at the power she had acquired over the senate,‡ though it was insufficient to satisfy her own love of dominion. In an event of such universal and historical importance as the conclusion of the peace of Westphalia, she had a large personal share. The officers of the army, even one of her delegates to congress, were not in favor of it; and there were in Sweden people who did not approve the concessions which had been made to the catholics, especially in the hereditary dominions of Austria: but Christina did not choose to make any more appeals to fortune; never had Sweden been so glorious, or so powerful; and the queen's ambition was satisfied by the con-

\* A remarkable proof of these aristocratical tendencies is the judgment passed by the majority of the estates and "good patriots" of the year 1644, which has lately been published. (S. Geiger *Schwedische Geschichte*, iii, 357.) For the five highest offices of state, the estates were to propose three candidates, out of which one was to be elected. No one could be appointed Grand Marshal, except one of the three proposed by the House of Knights itself. People demanded a "Consistorium politico-ecclesiasticum," with a president and assessors freely chosen by the estates, &c.

† Paolo Casati al papa Alessandro VII sopra la regina di Succie, MS.; "Ella m' ha più d'una volta assicurato di non aver mai portato avanti alcun negotio grave a cui non uvesse quasi due anni prima pensato, e che molte hore della mattina, dopo che s'era svegliata da quel poco sonno che era solita di prendere, impiegava nel considerare i negotii e conseguenze loro benchè lontane."

‡ *Mémoires de ce qui est passé en Suede tirez des depesches de M. Chanul.* i, p. 245 (1648 Fevr.): "Il est incroyable comment elle est puissante dans son conseil, car elle ajout à la qualité de reine, la grace, le credit, les bienfaits et la force de persuader."

sciousness that she was the bulwark of the established state of things—that it was she who maintained the peace of Christendom.

But not only did Christina vigorously repress all attempts on the part of the aristocracy to obtain the supreme power; she would not even suffer them to flatter themselves with any hopes of attaining their object in future. Young as she was, she very soon brought forward a proposition for the appointment of her cousin, the count palatine Charles Gustavus, as her successor—a station which she believed to be far above that prince's highest aspirations. She carried through this measure single-handed; against the will of the senate, which would not even take it into consideration; against the will of the estates, which only consented to it out of deference to her; in short, it was entirely her thought, and she executed it in spite of all difficulties and all opposition. The succession was irrevocably settled.\*

It is doubly remarkable that ardor for business was accompanied in the youthful queen with a passion for study. Even in her childish years she had no greater pleasure than her lessons. One cause of this studious disposition was perhaps the melancholy of her mother, who gave herself up entirely to grief for the loss of her husband. Christina daily looked forward with impatience to the hour which was to liberate her from the gloomy chambers of mourning. But she was also gifted by nature with extraordinary talents, especially for languages; she relates that she learned most of those she knew without a teacher;† which is the more remarkable, since in some of them she attained to all the facility and mastery of a native. As she grew up, her enthusiastic taste for literature increased. It was the epoch in which learning gradually shook off the fetters of theological controversy; in which reputations rose above the narrow judgments of a party, and claimed universal recognition. Christina was ambitious of drawing around her celebrated men, and of profiting by their instructions. First came a few German philologists and historians; for example Freinsheim, at whose request she remitted to his native city, Ulm, the greater part of the contributions imposed on it for the support of the war;‡ then followed Netherlanders; Isaac Vossius brought into vogue the study of Greek, in which language Christina soon mastered the most celebrated writers, and even made herself acquainted with the fathers of the church. Nicolaus Heinsius esteems it the first felicity of his life to have been born in the same age as the queen;

\* Règne de Christine jusqu'à sa résignation, Arckenholtz, iii, 162, Notes.

† La vie de Christine écr. p. e. m. p. 53: "Je savois à l'âge de quatorze ans toutes les langues, toutes les sciences et tous les exercices dont ont vouloit m'instruire. Mais depuis j'en ai appris bien d'autres sans le secours d'aucun maître: et il est certain que je n'en eus jamais ni pour apprendre la langue Allemande, la Francoise, l'Italienne, ni l'Espagnole."

‡ Harangue panégyrique de Freinshemius à Christine, 1647, Arckenholtz, ii, second Appendix, p. 104.

the second, to have been known to her; the third and most conspicuous, and that which he desires to proclaim to posterity, that he was not entirely displeasing to her. She employed him chiefly to procure for her precious manuscripts and rare books from Italy, a commission which he executed with fidelity and success. The Italians began to complain, that ships were laden with the spoils of their libraries, and that all the appliances of learning were carried off to the extreme north.\* In the year 1650 Salmasius appeared at the court of Stockholm. The queen had sent him word that if he did not come to her, she would be forced to go to him; he resided in her palace for a year. Lastly Des Cartes also was induced to visit her; every morning at five he attended her in her library, and it is affirmed that to his astonishment he heard his own ideas expounded, and deduced from Plato, by his youthful and royal pupil. It is not to be denied that in her conferences with learned men, no less than in her discussions with the senate, she displayed a most felicitous memory, a quick apprehension, and acute penetration. Her intelligence and her talents are highly remarkable, exclaims Naudæus with astonishment, "she has seen everything, read everything, she knows everything."†

Christina was indeed a wonderful product of nature and fortune. A young and noble lady, she was utterly free from personal vanity. She took no pains to conceal that she had one shoulder higher than the other: though she had been told that her greatest beauty consisted in her luxuriant fair hair, she did not even pay the commonest attention to it: she was wholly a stranger to all the petty cares of life; so indifferent to the table, that she was never heard to find fault with any kind of food; so temperate, that she drank nothing but water. She never could understand or learn any sort of womanly works; on the other hand, she delighted to be told that at her birth she was taken for a boy; that when a little infant, instead of betraying terror at the firing of guns, she clapped her hands and behaved like a true soldier's child. She was a most intrepid rider; putting one foot in the stirrup, she vaulted into the saddle and went off at speed; she shot with unerring aim; she studied Tacitus and Plato, and sometimes entered with more profound sagacity into the genius of those authors than philologists by profession; young as she was, she was capable of forming an independent and discriminating judgment on state affairs, and of maintaining it triumphantly amongst senators grown gray in commerce with the world. She threw into her labor the fresh and buoyant spirit which accompanies native perspicacity of mind; above all, she was

\* See Grauert, *Queen Christina and her Court*, pp. 379, 407.

† Naudé à Gassendi, 19 Oct., 1652: "La reine de la quelle je puis dire sans flatterie qu'elle tient mieux sa partie es conférences qu'elle tient assez souvent avec messieurs Bochart, Bourdelot, du Fresne et moi, qu'aucun de la compagnie, et si je vous dis que son esprit est tout à fait extraordinaire, je ne mentirai point, car elle a tout vu, elle a tout lu, elle sait tout."

penetrated with a sense of the high mission to which she was called by her birth; of the necessity of governing by herself. Never did she refer an ambassador to her minister: she would not suffer a subject of hers to wear a foreign order; she could not endure, she said, that one of her flock should bear the mark of another's hand. She knew how to assume a port and countenance before which the generals who made Germany tremble, were dumb; had a new war broken out, she would assuredly have put herself at the head of her troops.

With a character and tastes of so lofty and heroic a stamp, it may easily be imagined that the mere thought of marrying—of giving a man rights over her person—was utterly intolerable to her; any obligation of that kind which she might be supposed to lie under to her country, she believed she had fully exempted herself from by fixing the succession; immediately after her coronation she declared that she would rather die than marry.\*

But could such a position as hers be maintained? There was something in it overstrained and forced—deficient in the equipoise of a healthy state of being, in the serenity of a natural existence content within itself. It was not inclination for business which precipitated her into it with such ardor; she was urged on by ambition and by a sense of her sovereign power and dignity—but she found no pleasure in it. Nor did she love her country; neither its customs nor its pleasures, neither its ecclesiastical, nor its temporal constitution, nor its past history and glory, which she could not understand or feel: the state ceremonies, the long speeches to which she was condemned to listen, the official occasions on which she had personal duties to perform, were utterly odious to her; the circle of cultivation and learning within which her countrymen remained stationary, seemed to her contemptibly narrow. Had she not possessed the throne of Sweden from childhood, it might perhaps have appeared an object of desire to her; but as she had been a queen as long as she could remember, all those longings and aspirations of the mind of man which stamp the character of his future destiny, had taken a direction averted from her own country. Fantastic views and a love of the extraordinary began to obtain dominion over her; she recognised none of the ordinary restraints, nor did she think of opposing the strength and dignity of a moral symmetry suited to her position, to passing and accidental impressions; in short, she was high-minded, intrepid, magnanimous, full of elasticity and energy of spirit; but extravagant, violent, studiously unfeminine, in no respect amiable, unfilial even, and not only to her mother—she spared not even the sacred memory of her

\* “*Je me serois,*” says she in her own history, p. 57, “*sans doute mariée si je n’eusse reconnue en moi la force de me passer des plaisirs de l’amour;*” and one may the more readily believe this assertion, as this work is a sort of confession.



father, when an opportunity offered of saying a sarcastic thing. Sometimes indeed it appears as if she knew not what she said.\* Exalted as was her station, such a character and demeanor could not fail to react upon herself, and to render it impossible for her to feel contented, attached to her home and country, or happy.

This unsatisfied and restless spirit frequently takes possession of the mind most strongly with regard to religion. Its workings in the heart of Christina were manifested in the following manner.

The memory of the queen dwelt with peculiar delight on her teacher, Dr. Johann Matthiæ, whose simple, pure, and gentle spirit gained her earliest affections; who was her earliest confidant even in all her childish affairs.† Immediately after it had become manifest that no one of the existing ecclesiastical bodies would overpower the other, the expediency of a union of them was recognised by some few right-thinking men. Matthiæ was one of those who cherished this wish, and published a book in which he agitated the question of the union of the two protestant churches. The queen was strongly inclined to his opinion; she conceived the project of founding a theological academy, which should devote itself to the work of reconciling the two confessions. But the fiery zeal of certain inflexible Lutherans immediately rose up in arms against this project. A superintendent of Calmar attacked Matthiæ's book with fury, and the estates took part against it. The bishops admonished the queen's council to watch over the interests of the established religion of the country, and the high chancellor went to the queen and made such vehement representations to her, that tears of vexation came into her eyes.‡

She now probably thought she perceived that it was not a perfectly disinterested zeal which set her Lutheran subjects in motion. She thought they wanted to cheat her with that peculiar idea of the divine Being which they placed before her, only that they might make her the tool of their own purposes. Their representations of God seemed to her unworthy of the divine nature.§

The tedious sermons which she had long heard with so much weariness, and which she was compelled by the ordinances of the kingdom to listen to, now became insufferable to her. She often betrayed her impatience; she shifted her chair, and played with her little dog; but these signs of restlessness only served to strengthen

\* Nothing else can be inferred from her conversation with her mother given in Chanut iii, p. 365, May 1654.

† "Très capable," says she in her Autobiography, p. 51, "de bien instruire un enfant tel que j'étois, ayant une honnêteté, une discrétion et une douceur qui le faisoient aimer et estimer."

‡ Letter from Axel Oxenstierna, 2 May 1647, Arckenholtz, iv, App. n. 21, and particularly one from count Brahe, Arckenh. iv, p. 229.—Matthiæ's work is the "Idea boni ordinis in ecclesia Christi."

§ "Je crus," says she, in a note given by Galdenblad, "que les hommes vous faisoient parler à leur mode et qu'ils me vouloient tromper et me faire peur pour me gouverner à la leur." Arckenholtz, tom. iii, p, 209.

the inexorable determination of the preacher to keep her the longer.

The temper of mind which such conduct on the part of the ministers of religion was calculated to generate, and which gradually alienated her from the religion of her country, was confirmed by the presence of learned foreigners. Some were catholics; others, for example, Isaac Vossius, gave occasion to suspect them of infidelity; Bourdelot, who had the greatest credit with her, having carried her successfully through a dangerous illness, and who was a man exactly fitted for a court—full of knowledge and of powers of entertainment and devoid of pedantry—jested at everything—the pretensions of the learned and the sanctity of established creeds—and passed for a complete anti-supernaturalist.

The young princess gradually fell into a state of insoluble doubt. It appeared to her that every positive religion was an invention of man; that every argument told against the one as much as against the other; that in fact it was indifferent which a man embraced.

Yet she did not fall into absolute irreligion; she retained certain unshaken convictions: in her royal solitude of a throne she had found it impossible to dispense with thoughts of God; she even imagined that her station placed her one step nearer to His presence. “Thou knowest,” exclaims she, “how often in a language unknown to vulgar souls, I have prayed to Thee for grace to enlighten me, and vowed to belong wholly to Thee, though I should sacrifice life and happiness.” She connected this with her other peculiar ideas. “I renounced all other love,” says she, “and devoted myself to this alone.”

But would God have left man without the true religion? An expression of Cicero’s that the true religion could be but one, and that all the others must be false, made the greatest impression on her mind.\*

The only question was, which was the true one.

It is no part of our present purpose to investigate arguments or to sift evidence. Christina repeatedly said that she found no essential errors of doctrine in protestantism. But as her aversion to that form of Christianity arose from an original and ultimate feeling, which had only been rendered more intense by circumstances, so likewise, with an inclination as little to be explained or reasoned upon, she gave herself up with full and entire sympathy to catholicism.

She was nine years old when she first heard any distinct account of the peculiar doctrines of the catholic church; when she was told that it held celibacy to be meritorious, “Ah,” exclaimed she, “how admirable that is! that is the religion I shall embrace.” This called forth a serious rebuke, but she only persisted the more obstinately in her determination.

\* Pallavicini, Vita Alexandri VII, v. Appendix.

With this were associated other impressions of a congenial nature. "When one is a catholic," said she, "one has the consolation of believing what so many noble spirits have believed for sixteen centuries; of belonging to a religion that has been attested by millions of miracles, by millions of martyrs; above all," added she, "a religion that has produced so many illustrious virgins who have overcome the weaknesses of their sex, and consecrated themselves to God."

The constitution of Sweden is based upon protestantism; the glory, the power, the European position of that country are inextricably bound up with it, and it was thus imposed on Christina as a sort of necessity: disgusted by a thousand accidental circumstances, feeling that it touched no chord of her mind or heart, she broke loose from it with all the wilfulness of her character and station; the opposite system, of which she had but a dim and vague knowledge, attracted her; the infallible authority conferred on the pope, she regarded as an institution in accordance with the benevolence of the Deity, and every day became more decidedly inclined to it; it seemed as if she felt that need of self-devotion which is inseparable from the nature of woman appeased by this surrender of her reason; as if faith in her, like love in others of her sex, was born of that secret and vague emotion which hides itself from the world's censure, and grows stronger the more profound its concealment, and in which the heart of woman, resigned and resolved to sacrifice everything to it, delights for its own sake.

It is at least certain that Christina, in the advances she made to the court of Rome, showed all that love of mystery, and practised those arts, which are usually prompted by love or by ambition; she engaged in an intrigue to become a catholic. In this she showed herself a true woman.

The first to whom she revealed her inclinations was a Jesuit, Antonio Macedo, confessor of the Portuguese ambassador Pinto Pereira.\* Pereira spoke only Portuguese, and employed his confessor as interpreter. The queen derived a strange pleasure at the audiences which she gave to the ambassador, in carrying on a religious controversy with his interpreter, while Pereira imagined he was discussing state affairs; and thus, in the presence of a third person who understood nothing that passed, disclosing to Macedo her most secret thoughts and boldest speculations.†

All on a sudden Macedo disappeared from Stockholm. The queen

\* It has sometimes been said that a certain Gottfried Franken began her conversion. But according to the account of this in Arckenholtz, i, 465, it was first proposed to send Franken to Stockholm after Salmasius had returned thence in 1651. Macedo was already there in 1650, therefore his claims are indisputable.

† Pallavicini: "Arctius idcirco sermones et colloquia miscuit, non tunc solum quum ad eam Macedus ab legato mittebatur, sed etiam ipso præsente, qui nihil intelligens animadvertibat tamen longiores inter eos esse sermones quam res ferrent ab se interpreti propositæ et sibi ab interprete relatæ."

pretended to have search made for him, and to send people in pursuit of him; while she herself had despatched him to Rome to communicate her intentions to the general of the Jesuits, and to entreat him to send to her two or three members of his order in whom he could confide.

In February 1652, they arrived in Stockholm. They were two young men who gave themselves out as travelling Italian nobles, and were thereupon introduced to her table. She instantly suspected who they were, and as they walked into the dining-room immediately before her, she asked one of them in a low voice whether by chance he had any letters for her; he answered, without turning round, that he had; she enjoined him to silence by one hurried word; immediately after dinner she sent her most confidential servant Johann Holm, to fetch letters, and the following morning the fathers themselves were conducted in the profoundest secrecy to the palace.\*

Emissaries from Rome now entered the royal abode of Gustavus Adolphus, to confer with his daughter concerning her conversion to that faith of which he was the most formidable antagonist. The peculiar charm of this transaction to Christina was, that no one had the slightest suspicion of it.

The two Jesuits at first intended to adhere to the rules of the catechism, but they soon saw that such means were wholly inapplicable here. The queen proposed far different questions from any for which they were prepared—Whether there was any ultimate distinction between good and evil, or whether everything resolved itself into the utility or mischievousness of an action? how the doubts which may suggest themselves on the subject of an overruling providence were to be removed? whether the soul of man is really immortal? whether it be not most expedient for every man to follow the religion of his country externally, and to live after the laws of reason?—such were the problems which they were required to solve. They do not tell us what were their answers; they say that during this conversation, thoughts passed through their minds such as they had never been conscious of before, and had instantly vanished; that the queen was under the immediate operation of the Holy Ghost. The truth is, she was under the influence of a strong bias which gave completeness to every argument and strength to every conviction. They recurred most frequently to the principle mentioned above—that the world could not be without the true religion; and to this proposition was appended a second—that among all that existed the catholic was the most in accordance with reason. “Our main endeavor was,” say the Jesuits, “to prove that the articles of our holy religion are above reason, but in no respect contrary to reason.” The chief difficulties were, the invocation of saints and the worship of images and relics. “But her

\* *Relatione di Paolo Casati al papa Alessandro VII.* See extract in the Appendix.

majesty apprehended," continue they, "with penetrating mind the whole force of the arguments we adduced; otherwise we should have needed a long time for our discussion." She also spoke to them of the difficulties which would present themselves, even if she were determined on avowing her conversion, as to the mode of accomplishing it. Sometimes these appeared to her insuperable; one day when she had another interview with the Jesuits, she declared to them, that they had better return home, that the matter was utterly impracticable, and that she thought she should never be able to become a sincere and earnest catholic. The good fathers were amazed; they urged every argument and consideration that could confirm her in her intentions; placed God and eternity before her, and pronounced her doubts an assault of Satan. It is perfectly characteristic of her that she was more determined upon her conversion at that very moment than at any of their previous conferences. "What would you say," exclaimed she suddenly, "if I were nearer becoming a catholic than you think?" "I cannot describe the feeling," says the Jesuit from whom we have the report of this transaction, "which we experienced; we felt as if raised from the dead. The queen inquired whether the pope could not grant permission to receive the Lord's supper once a year according to the Lutheran rite. We answered that he could not. "Then," said she, "there is no help, I must resign the crown."

This indeed was the point to which her thoughts daily tended more and more.

The affairs of her kingdom did not always go on smoothly. As opposed to the powerful aristocracy which held compactly together, the queen, with her immediate attendants collected from various lands, with the heir to the throne whom she had imposed upon the country, and the count Magnus de la Gardie, on whom she bestowed her confidence, but whom the old Swedish nobles never would recognise as their equal in birth, formed a party which was regarded as foreign. Her boundless liberality had exhausted the finances, and the moment seemed impending in which all the resources of the country would be at an end. As early as October 1651 she announced to the estates her intention of abdicating. This was instantly after she had despatched Antonio Macedo to Rome. She however suffered herself to be persuaded to change her determination. The high chancellor entreated her not to be influenced by the financial difficulties; he assured her that means would be found to maintain undiminished the splendor and dignity of the crown.\* She clearly perceived too that her abdication would not appear to the world so heroic as she had at first believed. When, shortly after, prince Frederic of Hesse was meditating a similar step, she expressly dissuaded him from it; not exactly on religious grounds, but she begged him to remember that a man who changes his reli-

\* Pufendorf *Rerum Suecicarum Lib.* 22, p. 477.

gion is hated by the party he leaves, and despised by that he joins.\* Gradually, however, these reflections ceased to have any effect on her own mind. It was in vain that she tried, by repeated nominations, to make herself a party in the national council, which she increased from twenty-eight to thirty-nine members; the consideration enjoyed by the house of Oxenstierna, which for a time had been obscured, was revived by family alliances, by the force of habit, and by the talents which seemed hereditary in that race; on several important questions, for example the arrangement with Brandenburg, the queen was in a minority. Count Magnus de la Gardie too lost her favor. Money began really to fail, and was often insufficient for the daily expenses of the household.† She now began to consider whether it would not be better to stipulate for a yearly pension, and, escaping all the exhortations and arguments of fanatical preachers, who could discover nothing in the state of her mind or in her conduct but a romantic wonder—an apostacy from the religion and the manners of the country—go to live after her heart's desire in a foreign land. Business had already become disgusting to her, and she never saw her secretary enter the room without an oppression on her spirits. The only society in which she took any pleasure was that of Don Antonio Pimentel, the Spanish ambassador, who was the companion of all her social pleasures and amusements, and was admitted to the meetings of the order of the Amaranth which she founded, and the members of which were obliged to take a sort of vow of celibacy. Don Antonio was aware of her leanings towards catholicism, and communicated them to his master, who promised to receive the queen into his dominions, and to prepare the pope for her conversion.‡ Meanwhile the Jesuits with whom she had conferred had returned to Rome, and had taken some preliminary steps.

She was now no longer to be deterred from her purposes by any arguments or considerations. Her letter to the French ambassador Chanut, shows how little she reckoned on the approbation of the world; but this, as she declared, gave her no uneasiness: she should be happy, strong in herself, without fear before God or man, and from the haven in which she had taken refuge should contemplate the miseries of those who were still tossed about by the storms of

\* *Lettere de Christine au prince Frédéric Landgrave de Hesse, Arckenholtz, i, p. 218.* “Pouvez-vous ignorer combien ceux qui changent sont haïi de ceux des sentiments desquels ils s'éloignent, et ne saurez-vous pas par tant d'illustres exemples qu'ils sont méprisés de ceux auprès desquels ils se rangent.”

† “Motivi onde se crede la regina di Suezia aver presa la risoluzione di rinonciare la corona.” *Arckenholtz, ii, App. n° 47, probably by Raimondo Montecuculi.*

‡ *Palavicini, Vita Alexandri VII.* “*Aulæ Hispanicæ administri, cum primum rem proposuit Malines [who was sent thither] omnino voluissent ab regina regnum retineri, ob emolumenta quæ tum in religionem, tum in regem catholicum redundassent, sed cognito id fieri non posse nisi læsâ religione, placuit regi patronum esse facti tam generosi.*”

life. Her only solicitude was to secure her pension in such a manner that she could never be deprived of it.

On the 24th June 1654, the ceremony of abdication was performed. Notwithstanding all the discontents which the government of the queen had occasioned, yet high and low were deeply affected at this solemn and final renunciation of her country, by the last scion of the illustrious race of Vasa. The aged count Brahe refused to take back the crown which three years before he had placed upon her brow; he held the bond between prince and subject to be indissoluble, and consequently this transaction illegal.\* The queen was obliged to take off the crown from her own head; it was only from her hand that he would receive it. Stripped of all the regal insignia, attired in a simple white dress, the queen then received the farewell homage of her estates. After the others, appeared the speaker or marshal of the boors; "a plain country fellow in his clouted shoon and all other habits answerable." After a homely and affectionate expostulation with the queen, "he took her by the hand," says Whitelocke, "and shaked it heartily, and kissed it two or three times; then turning his back to her, he pulled out of his pocket a foul handkerchief, and wiped the tears from his eyes, and in the same posture as he came up, he returned back to his place again."†

Meanwhile all her thoughts and schemes were directed to other lands; she did not choose to remain a moment longer in a country in which she had surrendered the sovereign power to another. She had already sent away her valuables; and whilst the fleet which was to convey her to Wismar was getting ready, she seized the first favorable moment to escape in disguise, from the oppressive supervision which her former subjects exercised over her, and to reach Hamburg accompanied only by a few confidential servants.

She now began her travels through Europe.

No sooner had she reached Brussels than she privately made profession of the catholic faith, which she publicly repeated in Innsbruck; attracted by the promise of the pope's benediction, she hastened onwards to Italy, and left her crown and sceptre as a votive offering on the shrine of Our Lady of Loreto. The Venetian ambassadors were astonished at the preparations which had been made in all the cities of the Roman territory to give her a magnificent reception. Pope Alexander, whose vanity was gratified that so illustrious a conversion had occurred in his pontificate, exhausted the apostolic treasury to celebrate the event with due

\* "He who could give her majesty such advice was no honest man: for he was an enemy to God, to the common right of nations, and to the oath by which she was bound to the kingdom of Sweden and her subjects." Life of count Peter Brahe in Schlözer's Swedish Biography, ii, p. 409.

† Whitelocke's Journal, vol. ii, p. 166.

solemnity; Christina entered Rome not as a penitent, but in triumph.\*

The first years of her private life were passed in great measure in travelling. We meet with her in Germany, several times in France, and once in Sweden, for she was not so wholly estranged from political life and events as she had at first intended: on one occasion she set on foot serious negotiations (and not without a certain prospect of success) to gain possession of the crown of Poland, where at least she might have continued a catholic. At another, she drew on herself the suspicion of designing to attack Naples in the French interest; while the necessity of taking measures to secure the payment of her pension, which was often very uncertain, seldom allowed her to enjoy perfect tranquillity. Very serious consequences also resulted from the claim she set up, to enjoy, in her uncrowned retirement, the absolute independence of a crowned head. Who could justify the cruel sentence which she passed, in her own cause, on Monaldeschi, a member of her household, the executioners of which were the accusers and personal enemies of the victim? She gave him only an hour to prepare for death.† The treachery which the unfortunate man was said to be guilty of towards her, she regarded as high treason, and she held it to be beneath her dignity to summon him before any tribunal, be it where or what it might. "To acknowledge no one above us," exclaimed she, "is of more value than to rule over the whole earth."

She despised even public opinion. That execution had excited particular horror in Rome, where the quarrels of her household were better known to the public than to herself; nevertheless she hastened back thither. And indeed where could she have lived but in Rome? With any secular power whose pretensions would have been of a similar character to her own, she would have fallen into incessant collision and dispute. Even with the popes—even with Alexander VII, whose name (Alessandra) she took in addition to her own on her conversion—she often got into bitter altercations.

Gradually, however, her manners became milder, and her state of mind more tranquil; she prevailed upon herself to have some regard to the opinions of others, and felt that though the spiritual power allowed a wide field to aristocratical privileges and personal independence, her residence under its protection imposed upon her

\* *Relatione de' IV ambasciatori*: "Il sospetto che prese papa Innocentio che il ricevimento dovesse costarli caro ritardò il suo arrivo in Roma: e contento quel buon pontefice del risparmio del danaro lasciò la gloria intiera al suo successore d'accomplire a questa memoranda funtione. Intorno a ciò ritrovammo al nostro giungere in Roma occupate le maggiori applicationi della corte, et al ritorno ci si fece vedere tutto lo stato della chiesa involto in facende et a gara l'una città dell'altra chi sapeva fare maggiore ostentatione di pomposi accoglimenti."

† *Pallavicini, Appendix.*



the necessity of a certain degree of self-restraint and observance; she took more and more interest in the splendor, the business, the life, of the curia, and gradually became a real and integral member of it. She increased the collections she had brought with her from Sweden, and with so much munificence, knowledge, and success, that she surpassed the native families, and raised this sort of pursuit from the domain of mere curiosity, to a higher significance for learning and art. Men like Spanheim and Havercamp thought it an object worthy of their labor to illustrate her coins and medals; while Sante Bartolo devoted his practised hand to her gems and intaglios. The Correggios of her collection have ever been the best ornament of every picture gallery into which the vicissitudes of time have transferred them.\* The manuscripts of her library have contributed no little to maintain the reputation of that of the Vatican, into which they were afterwards incorporated.

In scientific pursuits, too, she took a lively interest. It is greatly to her honor that she received to the best of her ability the exiled Borelli, who was compelled in his old age to teach for a subsistence, and printed at her own expense his celebrated and yet unsurpassed work on the mechanics of animal movement, which has had so great an influence on the progress of physiological science. It may indeed, I think, be safely asserted, that she herself, in the maturity of her intellect and knowledge, exercised a strong and permanent influence on her age, and especially on Italian literature. It is well known in what labyrinths of excessive ornament, conceit and triviality, Italian poetry and eloquence were then lost. Queen Christina was a person of too much taste and sense to be caught by such a fashion; it was indeed disgusting to her. In the year 1680 she established an academy for the discussion of political and literary subjects in her house, the principal statute of which is, that the inflated manner of the time, overloaded with metaphors, is carefully to be avoided, and the dictates of sound reason and the models of the Augustan and Medicean ages alone to be followed † When we light upon the productions of this academy in the Albani library at Rome, the impression they make is most singular;—essays by Italian abbati, corrected by the hand of a northern queen:

\* The “Venus teaching Cupid to read,” now in the National Gallery of London, was in the collection of Queen Christina.—TRANSLATOR.

† *Costituzioni dell' accademia reale*, Arckenholtz, iv, p. 28, § 28. “In quest' accademia si studj la purità, la gravità e la maestà della lingua Toscana: s'imitino per quanto si può i maestri della vera eloquenza de' secoli d' Augusto e di Leone X....e però si dia bando allo stile moderno turgido ed ampolloso, ai traslati, metafore, figure,” &c. Another paragraph (11) forbids all panegyrics on the queen, which at that time was very necessary. The fourth volume of Nicoletti's *Life of Urban VIII* contains a description of this academy, the chief purport of which is, that its principal members were Angelo della Noce, Giuseppe Suarez, Giov. Francesco Albani (afterwards pope), Stefano Gradi, Ottavio Falconieri, Stefano Pignatelli, who had all lived in the same house with cardinal Francesco Barberino.

but this strange combination is not without its significancy. Her academy sent forth such men as Alessandro Guidi, who had formerly written in the style then in use, but since he had been in the society of the queen, resolutely emancipated himself from its trammels, and even formed a sort of league with some of his friends for its destruction; the Arcadia, an academy to which is ascribed the merit of accomplishing this labor, was an offspring of the society which assembled round queen Christina. It is not to be denied that the queen preserved a noble independence of mind in the midst of the various and powerful influences by which she was surrounded. The demand which is commonly made upon converts (or the duty which they impose upon themselves), of an ostentatious piety, she was by no means disposed to comply with. Catholic as she was, frequently as she repeated her persuasion of the infallibility of the pope, and of the necessity of believing all that he and the church prescribed, she had yet an utter hatred of bigots, and an abhorrence of the direction of confessors, who then exercised an absolute tyranny over every part of existence. She did not suffer herself to be debarred from the enjoyments of the carnival, of concerts or plays, or whatever other amusements Rome afforded; above all, from the internal movement of an intellectual and animated society. She loved satire, as she confesses, and took pleasure in the sallies of Pasquino. We find her too always involved in the intrigues of the court, the divisions of the papal houses, and the factions of the cardinals. She adhered to the faction of the Squadronisti, of which her friend Azzolini was the head; a man whom others as well as Christina esteemed the ablest member of the curia; but whom she declared to be a divine and incomparable man—the only one whom she thought superior to the venerable chancellor Axel Oxenstierna. She wished to erect a monument to him in her memoirs. Unfortunately but a small part of them has been made public; but even this reveals an earnestness, a truth in her dealings with herself, a freedom and firmness of mind, before which calumny is dumb. No less remarkable are the maxims and detached thoughts which are the product of her leisure hours.\* We detect in them, not only great knowledge of the world, an insight into the workings of the passions such as experience alone can give, and the most acute and subtle remarks upon them; but also a decided inclination of the mind towards the essential; an intense and living conviction of the power of self-direction, and of the nobility of the human mind; a just appreciation of earthly things, which are estimated neither too meanly nor too highly; a soul that seeks only to satisfy God and itself. The great intellectual movement

\* They are contained in two publications rather differing from each other: "Ouvrage de loisir de Christine reine de Suède," in the Appendix of the second, and "Sentiments et dits mémorables de Christine," in that of the fourth volume of Arckenholtz.

which manifested itself in every department of human activity towards the end of the seventeenth century, and which opened a new era, worked out its accomplishment also in the person of this princess. And there is no doubt that a residence in a centre of European civilisation, and the leisure of private life were, if not absolutely necessary, yet extremely favorable to that accomplishment. This indeed was the place, this the intellectual atmosphere, which she passionately loved; nor did she think it possible to live if she did not breathe the air of Rome.

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#### § 10. ADMINISTRATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

It would have been difficult at that time to find a spot in the whole world so conspicuous for its social refinement, its various exertions for the advancement of literature and art, its abundance of intellectual enjoyments, and, finally, for an existence filled with interests so eminently calculated to excite the sympathy and to draw forth the powers of the mind, as was the court of Rome. The pressure of the authority of the government was little felt; power and splendor were substantially in the hands of the principal families; the holy see was no longer able to enforce even its spiritual claims in their full rigor; so much was its influence diminished by the opposition it encountered from public opinion! This was rather an age of enjoyment; the advantages of rank, fortune, or fame, to which new men and families had risen in the course of time, and the intellectual pursuits which were become prevalent, combined to give to society a sum of pleasures in which the material and the mental were luxuriously and harmoniously balanced.

The question now was, how Church and State were to be ruled by the see of Rome with its actual powers.

For it was evident that the court, or rather the prelature, which properly included those only who were acting and efficient members of the curia, had the government in their own hands.

As early as the pontificate of Alexander VII the institution of the prelature had assumed its modern form. In order to be eligible to the office of referendario di segnatura, which was the step indispensable to all future promotion, it was necessary to be doctor of laws, to have studied three years under an advocate, to be of a certain age, in possession of a certain fortune, and of irreproachable reputation. The age had formerly been fixed at twenty-five, the income at 1000 scudi. Alexander made an alteration of a somewhat aristocratical character, fixing the age at twenty-one, but requiring an assured income of 1500 scudi; whoever possessed these requisites was invested by the prefetto di segnatura with the office of referendario, and appointed to plead two causes before the as-

sembly of the *segnatura*.\* This was his first step, and one which qualified him for all other offices. From the government of a town or of a province, the successful candidate rose to a *nuntiatura*, to a vice-legation, or was promoted to a seat in the *rota*, or in the congregations; whence he rose to the rank of cardinal or legate. The union of spiritual and temporal power existed, even in the administration of the highest offices. On the arrival of the legate in any town, some of the spiritual honors and prerogatives of the bishop ceased; the legate bestowed the benediction upon the people, in like manner as the pope. The members of the *curia* were constantly alternating between ecclesiastical and secular offices.

Let us first direct our attention towards the administration of the state.

Everything depended upon the wants of the government, the demands made upon the people, and the state of the finances.

We have seen what a ruinous impulse was given to the loan system of Urban VIII, more particularly by the war of Castro; but the loans had nevertheless been effectuated, the *luoghi di monte* were at a premium, and the popes followed the beaten track without restraint or hesitation.

In the year 1644, Innocent X found the interest paid to the *luoghi di monte* to amount to the sum of 182,103 $\frac{3}{4}$ , and left it in 1655 amounting to 264,129 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; so that the capital, which is thus indicated, had risen from eighteen to more than twenty-six millions. Although he had discharged some debts of another kind with this sum, and had paid off the principal of several loans, there was yet a large increase of the public debt, which was reckoned, after his decease, at the sum of forty-eight million scudi. He had had the good fortune to derive a surplus revenue from the taxes imposed by Urban VIII, upon which he founded the new *monti*.

Upon the accession of Alexander VII, it was evident that an increase of taxation was not feasible; the practice of raising new loans had now become so habitual, that it could no longer be dispensed with. Alexander resolved to seek a new resource in a reduction of the rate of interest.

There were about 150 *monti vacabili* which bore the rate of 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest; these he determined to pay off. Although they were paid off at the market price, the transaction was attended with great advantage, since the exchequer was the gainer, on the whole, of about 4 per cent.; and hence, even if the *vacabili* were paid off by raising fresh loans, the interest on these in future would be 6 instead of 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

Pope Alexander now determined to reduce all the non-*vacabili* which gave more than 4 per cent. to that rate of interest.† But

\* *Discorso del dominio temporale e spirituale del S. Pontefice Romano.* 1664, MS.

† Pallavicini, *Vita di Alessandro VII*: "Perciocchè in nessun altro paese

he had another great advantage, since he did not concern himself about the market price, which was 116 per cent., but merely paid back one hundred to the luogo, and no more, according to the strict letter of his engagement. All these sums paid for interest were assigned, as we have seen, upon the product of taxes, and it was perhaps his original intention to repeal the most oppressive; but as the old system was maintained, this was impracticable; a diminution of the price of salt was soon followed by an increase of the tax on flour, and the whole of what was thus gained was swallowed up by the expenses of government or by nepotism. If we put together the savings made by the reductions of interest, they would amount to about 140,000 scudi; the reapplication of which sum as interest would involve an increase of the debt to the amount of about three millions.

Clement IX also, could carry on the government only by means of new loans. But he soon saw himself reduced to such straits that at length he seized upon the money produced by the dataria, which had, until now, never been touched, and upon which depended the daily maintenance of the papal court. With this he founded new luoghi di monte, the interest paid to which, amounted to 13,200 sc. In the year 1670 the papal debts probably amounted to nearly fifty-two million scudi.

Hence it followed, that even with the best intentions, it was impossible to make any other than imperceptible and transient reductions of those burdens which were extremely oppressive to an unproductive and uncommercial country.

Another complaint was, that foreigners got possession of the monti, and received the interest without contributing their share to the taxes. It was reckoned that 600,000 scudi yearly found their way to Genoa; the country thus stood in the relation of debtor to foreigners, which could not be favorable to the expansion of its powers.

Another result, the operation of which went still deeper, was consequent upon this system. How could it be otherwise than that the holders of the annuities, the moneyed men, should obtain great influence in the state and its administration?

The great commercial houses acquired an immediate share in the business of government. A commercial house through which the money was received and paid out, was always associated to the tesoriere. The public treasure was in fact always in the hands

*d' Italia la rendita del danaro aveasi tanto pingue e tanto sicura, pian piano era succeduto che quei luoghi del primitivo lor prezzo di 100 fossero cresciuti nella piazza al valor di 116. Hor la camera valendosi del suo diritto, come avrebbe potuto qualsivoglio privato, rendeva il prezzo originario di 100, non permettendo la vastità della somma [he calculates twenty-six millions] nè persuadendo la qualità de' padroni, in gran parte ricchi e forastieri, che ad aggravio de' poveri, alle cui spalle stanno tutti i pubblici pesi, il pontefice usasse più la liberalità usata da lui nell' estintione d' monti vacabili."*

of merchants, who also farmed the revenue, and were the treasurers of the provinces, and possessed the means of purchasing the numerous saleable offices. Besides, it required considerable pecuniary means to obtain promotion in the curia. In the year 1665 we meet with Florentines and Genoese in the most important offices of government. The spirit of the court assumed so mercantile a complexion, that gradually promotion depended less upon merit than upon money. "A merchant with his purse in his hand," exclaims Grimani, "has, in the end, always the preference. The court is filled with hirelings, whose sole object is gain, who feel as traders, not as statesmen, and entertain the most grovelling thoughts."\*

This had the stronger and the more disastrous effect, as there no longer existed any independent feeling in the land. Bologna alone at times made some effective opposition to the court, so that there was once a thought in Rome of erecting a citadel there. Other cities also occasionally resisted particular measures of the government; for example, the inhabitants of Fermo would not permit the corn, which they thought necessary for their own consumption, to be carried out of their territory;† and the Perugians refused to pay up their arrears of taxes. The commissaries general of the court however, easily put down these disturbances, and introduced a still more rigorous system of government; and by degrees the management of the property of the communes was placed at the disposal of the court.

The institution of the *annona* displays a remarkable example of the progressive steps of this system.

As it was a common principle in the political economy of the 16th century, to place obstacles in the way of the export of the necessaries of life, the popes took measures to that end, and more especially with a view to prevent any rise in the price of bread.—Nevertheless the *prefetto dell' annona*, to whose charge this branch of the executive fell, had originally very limited powers, which Gregory XIII was the first to extend. Without the permission of the *prefetto*, the corn which was grown could neither be exported out of the country, nor even from one division of a province to another. But the permission was only granted when corn was to be bought on the 1st of March below a certain price, which was

\* Antonio Grimani: "Per la vendita della maggior parte degli officii più considerabili si viene a riempire la corte d'uomini mercenarj e mercanti, restanti indietro quelli che potrebbero posseder tali officii per merito e per virtù, male veramente notabile che smacca il credito concepito della grandezza della corte Romana, non avendo detti mercenarj d' officii involto l' animo che in cose mecaniche e basse e più tosto mercantili che politiche."

† Memoriale presentato alla S<sup>ia</sup> di N. S<sup>ie</sup> papa Innocentio dalli deputati della città di Fermo per il tumulto ivi seguito alli 6 di Luglio 1648, MS. See *Bisaccioni Historia delle guerre civili*, p. 271, where Fermo appears by the side of England, France, Poland, and Naples.

fixed by Clement VIII at 6 scudi, and by Paul V at 5½ scudi, per rubbio. There was a fixed tariff for bread according to the variations in the price of corn.\*

It was now found, however, that the wants of Rome became more urgent from year to year. The population of the city increased, while the cultivation of the campagna fell into decay. The ruin of the campagna took place chiefly in the first half of the sixteenth century, and, if I do not err, is to be traced to two causes; first, to the sale of the smaller estates to the great families (of which mention has been made)—this land requiring the most careful cultivation, which only small proprietors applying their whole income to that end, are accustomed to bestow; and secondly, to the increasing unhealthiness of the air. Gregory XIII had endeavored to extend the cultivation of corn; Sixtus V to destroy the lurking-places of the banditti: the former had thus cleared the lower country towards the sea of trees and underwood; the latter had stripped the hills of their forests.† Neither the one nor the other was of any service; while the *aria cattiva* extended its influence, and mainly contributed to depopulate the campagna, and consequently to cause an annual diminution of its produce.

This disproportion between supply and demand, induced pope Urban VIII to establish a more active system of inspection, and to extend the powers of the *prefetto*. By one of his constitutions he absolutely prohibited all exportation of corn, cattle, or oil, not only from the whole state, but also from one province to another, and empowered the *prefetto* to fix the price of corn at Campofiore according to the produce of each harvest, and to prescribe to the bakers the weight of the bread in proportion.

This rendered the *prefetto* all-powerful, and he did not neglect to use the authority thus vested in him, for his own and his friends' advantage. He acquired a complete monopoly of corn, oil and meat, and of all the prime necessaries of life. That the cheapness of these articles was much promoted by this arrangement, we shall not take upon us to say; the privilege of exportation was granted to favorites, while the people felt only the shackles and vexations imposed on purchase and sale. It was immediately remarked that the land fell more and more out of cultivation.‡

It is from this period that we may date the beginning of those lamentations over the universal decay of the States of the Church, which have never since ceased. "During our journey from one

\* A long list of papal mandates on these subjects is to be found in a work of Nicole Maria Nicolaj, *Memorie*, vol. ii. *Leggi et osservazioni sulle campagne e sull' annone di Roma*, 1803.

† *Relazione dello stato di Roma presente*, or *Almaden*, v. Appendix, No. 123.

‡ Pietro Contarini, 1627: "Il pontefice avendo levato le tratte concesse a diversi da suoi precessori . . . . hora vendendole ne cava bona somma di danaro: non vole i prezzi troppo vili nè grano forestiero: l'arte del campo viene ad abbandonarsi per il poco o niun guadagno che ne traggono."

place to another," say the Venetian ambassadors, in the year 1621, in whose report I find the first record of them, "we perceived great poverty among the peasantry and the common people; and little comfort, not to say great privations, existing among all other classes. This is the result of the form of government, and more especially of the insignificant amount of their commerce. The palaces and nobility of Bologna and Ferrara invest those towns with a certain splendor; Ancona has some small trade with Ragusa and Turkey, but all the other cities have fallen into utter decay." About the year 1650 the opinion universally gained ground that an ecclesiastical government was fatal to the interests of the public.\* The inhabitants already began to make bitter complaints. "The imposts of the Barberini," exclaims a contemporary biographer, "have exhausted the country, the rapacity of Donna Olimpia the court; the virtues of Alexander VII led men to expect an improvement in public affairs; but all Siena has poured itself over the territory of the church, and is draining it of its last resources."† Meantime the country experienced no diminution of the exactions upon it.

A cardinal once compared a country subject to such a government to a horse which, tired out by its journey, has been goaded to fresh efforts, and goes on till at length it sinks completely exhausted to the ground. This moment of complete exhaustion now appeared to have arrived.

The worst spirit which can take possession of the servants of a government had developed itself; each individual looked upon the commonwealth mainly as subservient to his personal aggrandizement or personal cupidity.

The torrent of corruption rushed with frightful force and rapidity over the whole country.

At the court of Innocent X, Donna Olimpia gave away offices, under condition of receiving a monthly consideration. Nor was she alone in this practice; her example was imitated by Donna Clementia, the sister-in-law of the datarius Cecchino. The festival of Christmas was the great harvest of presents. The first cause of Don Camillo Astalli's downfall was his refusal to share with Donna Olimpia his Christmas gains, as he had led her to expect; a refusal which excited her most violent resentment. The infamous forgeries which Mascambruno was bribed to commit, are well known. He annexed false summaries to the decreta which he laid before the pope; and as Innocent read only the summaries, he affixed his signature to

\* *Diario Deone*, tom. iv. 1649, 21 Ag.: "E dovere di favorir la chiesa: però veggiamo che tutto quello che passa a lei, è in pregiudicio del publico, come che le terre sue subito sono dishabitate e le possessioni mal coltivate, si vede in Ferrara, in Urbino, in Nepe, in Nettuno et in tutte le piazze che sono passate nel dominio della chiesa."

† *Vita di Alessandro VII*: "Spolpato e quasi in teschio ridotto dalle gabelle Barberine lo stato ecclesiastico e smunta la corte dall'ingordigia di Olimpia confidavano generoso ristoro della bontà d' Alessandro."



things of which he had not the smallest suspicion, and which covered the court of Rome with disgrace.\* It is impossible to see without pain and disgust, the wealth of Don Mario, the brother of Alexander VII, attributed to the fact that the jurisdiction of the Borgo was in his hands.

For, unfortunately, the administration of justice was infected with the plague-spot which had corrupted the whole body politic of Rome. We possess a catalogue of the abuses which had found their way into the court of the rota, delivered in to pope Alexander by a man who had practised in that court for twenty-eight years of his life.† He reckons that there was not a single *auditore di rota* who did not receive presents at Christmas to the amount of 500 sc. Those who could not gain access to the person of the *auditore* himself, found means to use the interest of his relations, his assistants, or his servants.

Not less fatal to the course of justice was the private influence exercised by the court and the great. The very judges sometimes excused themselves to the parties interested, for the unjust sentences they pronounced, on the plea that justice was controlled by force.

It is evident that the administration of the law must have been utterly perverted and corrupt; the vacations lasted four months, and during the remainder of the year the members of the court, led a life of dissipation and excitement. Decisions were indecently delayed; and yet, at last, exhibited every mark of precipitation.— It would have been entirely useless to resort to appeals; the matter would indeed then have been submitted to other members of the court, but they would have been equally obnoxious to the same influences; besides which, their judgment was very much biassed by that which had been previously given.

These evils extended from the highest court of law to all the inferior ones, and to the civil and judicial administration of the provinces.‡ Cardinal Sacchetti represents them in the most impressive manner to pope Alexander, in a report which is still extant. The oppression of the poor, who had none to help them, by the rich; the perversion of justice through the influence of cardinals, princes, and officers of the palace; the delay of business which might be despatched in two or three days, for years and years; the

\* Pallavicini seeks to excuse it on the ground that the transactions of the *dataria* were written “di carattere francese, come è restato in uso della *dataria* dappoi che la sedia fu in Avignone,” and which the pope did not like reading.

† “Disordini che occorrono nel supremo tribunale della rota nella corte Romana e gli ordini con i quali si potrebbe riformare, scrittura fatta da un avvocata da presentarsi alla S<sup>ia</sup> di N. S<sup>re</sup> Alessandro VII.” MS. Rang. at Vienna. No. 23.

‡ Disordini: “Con le male decisioni di questo tribunale supremo (della rota) si corrompe la giustizia a tutti gli altri minori, almeno dello stato ecclesiastico, vedendosi da giudici dare sentenze con decisioni sì fatte.”

outrages to which any one appealing from an inferior to a higher court was certain to expose himself; the forfeitures and executions by means of which the taxes were levied; cruelties tending only to render the sovereign odious and to enrich his servants. "Afflictions, holy father," he exclaims, "which exceed the afflictions of the Israelites in Egypt! People, not conquered by the sword, but subject to the see of Rome either by the gift of princes or by voluntary submission, are treated with greater barbarity than slaves in Syria or Africa; who can witness this without tears!"\* Such was the condition of the States of the Church as early as the middle of the sixteenth century.

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It is impossible to imagine that the administration of the church could remain free from abuses of a similar nature; since it depended on the court just as much as the civil administration, and was equally imbued with its spirit.

It is indeed true that considerable limitations were imposed on the curia in ecclesiastical affairs. In France most important privileges were enjoyed by the crown: in Germany the chapters maintained their independence. In Italy and Spain, on the contrary, the power of Rome was more unlimited, and in fact it used its lucrative privileges without scruple or measure.

In Spain the court of Rome possessed the right of nomination to all the smaller benefices; in Italy even to all the highest dignities and richest livings. It is scarcely credible what sums accrued to the dataria from Spain, arising out of installations, spolia, and the revenues which fell due from vacant livings. The curia, however, regarded as a whole, derived even greater advantages from its relations with Italy; the richest bishoprics and abbeys, priories, commanderies, and other benefices went immediately to enrich its members.

This state of things, bad as it appears, was far from being the worst.

The most pernicious abuses were superadded to privileges already too extensive. I will only mention one, which indeed was perhaps the most flagrant. The practice was introduced, and in the middle of the seventeenth century universally obtained, of charging a pension in favor of some one of the members of the curia, upon every benefice which was given away.

\* Lettre du cardinal Sacchetti écrite peu avant sa mort au pape Alexandre VII, en 1663, copie tirée des Manuscritti della regina di Svezia, Arkenholtz Mémoires, tom. iv, App, N<sup>o</sup> xxxii, a remarkably instructive work confirmed by many others, e. g. a Scrittura sopra il governo di Roma, of the same date (Bibl. Alt.) "I popoli, non avendo più argento ne rame ne biancherie ne matarazze per sodisfare alla indiscretione de' commissarj, converrà che si venderanno schiavi per pagare i pesi camerali." Appendix, No. 145.

In Spain this practice was expressly forbidden; as the benefices themselves were only bestowed upon natives, such pensions could likewise only be granted to them. But a method was devised at Rome for evading these Regulations. The pension was made out in the name of a born or naturalised Spaniard, who bound himself by a civil contract, to cause an annual payment to be made of a certain sum into one of the mercantile houses of Rome, to the account of the real receiver of the pension. In Italy it was not even necessary to take these precautions; the bishoprics were often burthened in an insufferable manner. Monsignore de Angelis, bishop of Urbino, complained in 1663, that all that remained to him from that bishopric was 60 sc. per annum, and that he had already given in his resignation, which, however, the court refused to receive. For years none could be found to accept the sees of Ancona and Pesaro under the severe conditions which were imposed. In the year 1667, there were in Naples twenty-eight bishops and archbishops who were deprived of their sees, because they did not pay the pensions charged upon them. From the bishoprics this abuse descended immediately to the provincial cures. The incumbent of the richest benefice often received but a very slender income, while the poor parish priests occasionally had even their fees charged with pensions.\* Many were so thoroughly dissatisfied that they gave up their cures, but fresh candidates always presented themselves; indeed they outbade each other in the pensions which they offered to the curia.

What must have been the morality or the patriotism of men who could steadily pursue a system which could only lead to the ruin of the parochial clergy, and the utter neglect of the common people!

The protestant church had judged far better in having, from the very beginning, abolished all superfluities, and submitted to the government of law and order.

It must be admitted that the wealth of the catholic church, and the worldly rank which was conferred by ecclesiastical dignities, induced the higher aristocracy to enter it. Pope Alexander's maxim was to give church preferment to men of birth by preference. He entertained the singular opinion, that since it was agreeable to the kings of the earth to be surrounded by servants of

\* The malicious Basadonna says, " Bisogna conchiudere che ogni beneficio capace di pensione rimanga caricato come l'asino di Apulejo, che non potendo più sostenere il peso meditava di gettarsi in terra, quando il vedor caduto il compagno e tosto de' vetturini scorticato hebbe per bene di sopportare l'insopportabil soma." All his contemporaries agree in this description of the evil. The abuse again crept in of making over churches to others with the reservation of a part of the income.—Deone, Diario 7 Genn. 1645, after giving an account of the archbishopric of Bologna, which cardinal Colonna made over to Albergati, continues thus: " con questo esempio si è aperta la porta d'ammettere le risegne: e così stamane si è pubblicata la risegna della chiesa di Ravenna fatta dal card<sup>i</sup> Capponi nella persona di mons<sup>r</sup> Tungianni suo nipote con riserva di pensione a suo favore e dopo la morte sua d' una buona parte al card<sup>i</sup> Pamfilio."

illustrious descent, it must also be pleasing to God to have his services performed by persons of an exalted station. Such however were not the means by which the church had gained her ascendancy in former ages, nor were they even those by which it had been restored in later times. The convents and congregations, which had contributed so much to the revival of catholicism, were now suffered to fall into contempt. The pope's kinsmen liked none who were bound by conventual rules, because such could not be constantly paying their court to them. In all competitions the secular clergy now invariably obtained the preference, even when inferior in merit or in learning. "Men seem to think," says Grimani, "that a bishopric or the purple would be degraded by being bestowed on a member of a monastic order." He remarks that the monks now hardly ventured even to show themselves at the court of Rome, where nothing but scorn and insults awaited them; that it was already evident that only men of the lowest extraction were willing to enter the monasteries. "Even a bankrupt shopkeeper," he exclaims, "thinks himself too good to assume the cowl."\*

As the convents thus lost their intrinsic importance, it is not astonishing that their very existence began to be reckoned unnecessary. It is worthy of remark that this opinion was first expressed in Rome, and that it was there first thought advisable to diminish the number of monks. In the year 1649, Innocent X published a bull prohibiting the reception of new members in any of the regular orders, until the income of the several convents was calculated, and the number of persons they could contain was fixed.† Still more important was a bull of the 15th October, 1652, wherein the pope complains that there were so many small convents in which the offices could neither be properly performed by day or night, nor spiritual exercises be gone through, nor conventual seclusion and discipline be duly observed; he affirms that they were in fact asylums for vice and debauchery, and that their number had now increased beyond all measure. He suppressed them all at a single blow; for the tares must, he said, be separated from the wheat.‡ Men already began to think, and in Rome itself first of all, of alle-

\* To this Grimani adds, "Si toglie ad ognuno affatto la voglia di studiare e la cura di difendere la religione. Deteriorandosi il numero de' religiosi dotti et esemplari, potrebbe in breve soffrirne non poco detrimento la corte; onde al mio credere farebbono bene i pontefici di procurar di rimettere i regolari nel primo posto di stima, partecipandoli di quando in quando cariche, . . . e così nelle religioni vi entrerebbero huomini eminenti."

† Our journal describes the effect produced by the constitution on the 1st January, 1650: "Non entrando quella ragione ne' cappuccini et altri riformati che non possedono entrata, temono che la proibitione sia perpetua, e così cred' io, fin a tanto che il numero de' regolari hoggi eccessivo sia ridotto a numero competente e la republica da loro non venga oppressa."

‡ "Constitutio super extinctione et suppressione parvorum conventuum, eorumque reductione ad statum secularem, et bonorum applicatione, et prohibitione erigendi nova loca regularia in Italia et insulis adjacentibus. Idibus Oct. 1652."

viating the financial difficulties even of foreign states by the confiscation not of convents only, but of entire monastic institutions. When the Venetians besought Alexander VII, soon after his accession, to assist them against the Ottomans in the war of Candia, he proposed to them the suppression of several orders in their own territories. They were opposed to it on the ground that these orders afforded a provision for the poor nobili. But the pope carried through his intention. The existence of these convents, he said, was a stumbling-block rather than a means of edification to the faithful, and that he acted like a gardener, who prunes off the useless branches of the vine in order to render it more fruitful.\*

It cannot, however, be said that any strikingly brilliant talents appeared among those now promoted. There was a universal complaint in the seventeenth century of the dearth of distinguished men.† One reason why men of talent were frequently excluded from the prelature was, that they were too poor to fulfil the conditions of admission.‡ Success depended almost exclusively on the favor of the pope's kinsmen, who could be gained only by a fawning adulation and abject submission most unfavorable to the development of high intellectual powers. The effects of this were visible on the whole clergy.

It is a striking fact, that scarcely a single original Italian work appeared on the most important theological questions; neither on the exposition of Scripture, which indeed then consisted of mere repetitions of the works of the sixteenth century; nor on morals, although this science was elsewhere much cultivated; nor even on dogmatic theology. Even in the congregations held to debate on the means of grace, strangers alone appeared in the arena; and the Italians took but a small part in the later disputes concerning freedom of judgment and faith. After Girolamo da Narni no distinguished preacher appeared even in Rome itself. In the diary kept from 1640 to 1650 by a very strict catholic, this is remarked with astonishment. "With the carnival," he says, "comedies ceased in theatres and houses, and began in churches and pulpits; the sacred office of preaching was made subservient to the purposes of display or flattery. Metaphysics, of which the speaker understood little, and his audience nothing, were introduced. Instead of precept and rebuke, eulogies only were delivered, having for their sole object self-advancement. The selection of a preacher no longer depended on merit, but only on connection and favor."

The result was, in fine, that the powerful internal impulse which

\* *Relazione de' IV ambasciatori, 1656: See Appendix, No. 129.*

† Grimani: "Tolto l'economia esteriore ogni altra cosa si deteriora; . . . d'huomini di valore effettivamente scarseggia al presente la corte al maggior segno."

‡ *Relazione di Roma sotto Clemente IX: "Portando lo stile che le cariche si trasferiscono solamente a prelati e che la prelatura si concede solo a quelli che hanno entrata sufficiente per mantenere il decoro, ne siegue però che la maggior parte di soggetti capaci ne resta esclusa."*

formerly governed court, state and church, and imparted to them a severe religious character, was extinguished; the tendency towards restoration and conquest had passed away. Other influences now obtained which led only to power and pleasure, and imprinted anew a worldly character on spiritual affairs.

The question next arises, what direction the order of Jesus, which was so peculiarly founded on the principles of the restoration, had taken under these circumstances.

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### § 11. THE JESUITS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

The most material change in the constitution of the Company of Jesus was this—that the professed members attained to the possession of power.

There were at first but few professed members who took the four vows: at a distance from the colleges, dependent on alms for support, they had hitherto confined themselves to the exercise of a strictly spiritual authority. All offices requiring secular activity, such as those of rectors and provincials, as well as the entire management of the colleges, had been in the hands of the coadjutors. Now, however, this was entirely changed; the professed members obtained places in the administration, they received a share of the revenues of the colleges, and even became rectors and provincials.\*

Hence it followed that the more fervent spirit of private devotion, which had been hitherto kept alive chiefly by the strict seclusion of the seminaries, now gradually cooled; even at the admission of members, it was no longer possible to inquire minutely into their call or their capacity for an ascetical life. Vitelleschi especially, admitted many who had no vocation of that kind. All endeavored to reach the highest rank, which conferred at once spiritual consideration and temporal power. The union of these was in every respect injurious to the cause of religion: the coadjutors and the professed members had formerly acted as a check upon each other; now, practical importance and spiritual pretensions were united in the same persons. Even the most narrow-minded fancied themselves men of great talents, as none dared to oppose them. In possession of exclusive power, they now began to enjoy at their ease the wealth which the colleges had accumulated in the course of time, and to think only how they might increase it. They abandoned to the younger members of the order the real direction of affairs, both

\* In a collection of "Scritture politiche, morali e satiriche sopra le massime, istituti e governo della compagnia di Gesu," (MS. Rom.) there is a circumstantial essay of almost 400 pages, "Discorso sopra la religione de' padri Gesuiti e loro modo di governare,"—written between 1681 and 1686 by a man apparently fully initiated,—from which the statements in the text are principally borrowed. (See App. No. 150.)

in the schools and the church.\* They even assumed a position in a great degree independent of the General of the order.

The magnitude of this change is perceptible from the dispositions and the fortunes of the Generals;—from the characters of the men chosen to preside over the society, and from the treatment they experienced.

How different was Mutio Vitelleschi from his absolute, crafty, and inflexible predecessor Aquaviva! Vitelleschi's nature was mild, yielding, and conciliatory; his acquaintances called him the angel of peace, and on his death-bed he found consolation in the conviction that he had injured no one. These qualities of a most amiable disposition were far from fitting him for the government of an order so widely diffused, so active and so powerful. He was not able to maintain strictness of discipline even with regard to dress; much less to resist the inordinate demands of resolute ambition. It was under his administration from 1615 to 1645, that the change we have already described was effected.

His immediate successors governed in the same spirit; in 1649, Vincenzo Caraffa, a man who even rejected all personal attendance, and was full of humility and piety,† but could effect nothing either by his example or by his exhortations; and in 1651, Piccolomini, who renounced the inclination for energetic and decisive measures which was natural to him, and was intent only on satisfying his brethren of the order.

It was now no longer advisable to attempt the introduction of any change in this respect. Alessandro Gottofredi (from January to March 1651) showed a strong desire to do so; and made some attempt to curb the grasping ambition of his brethren; but the two months of his government sufficed to make him universally hated, and his death was hailed as the deliverance from a tyrant. The succeeding general, Goswin Nickel, drew upon himself a still more decided antipathy. He could not be charged with projecting any very comprehensive reforms; on the contrary, he allowed matters to go on pretty much as they were; his chief offence was, that he used to insist with obstinacy on any opinions he had once adopted, and had rough, uncivil, and repulsive manners; but by this sort of character he so deeply wounded the self-love of several powerful members of the order, that the general congregation of 1661 pro-

\* Discorso: "Molti compariscono, pochi operano: i poveri non si visitano, i terreni non si coltivano. . . . Escludendo quei pochi, d'ordinario giovani, che attendono ad insegnare nelle scuole, tutti gli altri, o che sono confessori o procuratori o rettori o ministri, appena hanno occupazione di rilievo."

† Diario Deone, 12 Giugno 1649: "Martedì mattina morì il generale de' Gesuiti: fu di poche lettere, ma di santità di vita non ordinaria: quanto alla sua persona, egli non ha mai voluto carrozza al suo servizio, nè esser differenziato da qualsivoglia minimo tra di loro nel trattar del vitto o vestito: quanto agli altri, voleva che i padri Gesuiti fossero e vivessero da religiosi lasciando i trattati politici e 'l frequentare le corti, nel che havendo trovato difficoltà impossibile gli hanno cagionato il sedio della morte."

ceeded to measures against him, which, from the monarchical nature of the institution, appeared almost impossible.

They first entreated the permission of pope Alexander VII, to attach to their general a vicar, with the right of succession. The permission was easily obtained; the curia even went so far as to recommend a candidate for the office—that same Oliva who had first advised that the pope's nephews should be invited to court—and the congregation was complying enough to elect this favorite of the palace. The only question was, in what mode the power of the general could be transferred to the vicar. The open deposition of the former was too violent a measure to be thought of. In order to avoid the world, and yet to attain the end, the question was mooted as to whether the vicar should have a cumulative power, that is, in conjunction with the general, or a privative one, that is, without him: of course the congregation resolved upon the latter, and as a consequence of this decision, they actually pronounced the general to have forfeited all his power, which was to be transferred to the vicar.\*

Thus it happened, that the order, whose leading principle was unconditional obedience, themselves deposed their head, and this without so much as the imputation of a crime. From this fact it is evident how predominant aristocratical tendencies had become, even in an order founded upon such totally different principles.

Oliva was a man who loved external repose, luxurious living, and political intrigue. He possessed a villa near Albano, at which he amused himself with the cultivation of rare exotic plants; when he was in Rome, he retired from time to time to the novitiate house of Sant' Andrea, where he gave audience to no one; his table was served with the rarest dainties, he never went out on foot, and in his house, comfort was carried to the highest pitch of refinement; in short, he enjoyed his position and his power.

Such certainly was not the man fitted to revive the ancient spirit of the order. And in fact it daily departed more widely from the maxims on which it had been founded.

The primary engagement of the society was, to defend the interests of the see of Rome; indeed it was instituted for that very purpose. But its connection with France and the house of Bourbon had become so strong and intimate, that in all the collisions which gradually arose between the interests of Rome and those of France, it almost invariably took the side of the latter.† The works of the

\* Detailed account in a contemporary Discorso: "Venendo noi," concludes the author, "in tal tempo a Roma ed andando a fargli riverenza (a Nickel) . . . conchiuse con dire queste parole: Io mi trovo qui abandonato e non posso più niente."

† Relazione della nuntiatura di Mons<sup>r</sup> Scotti, nunzio alla M<sup>ta</sup> del re X<sup>mo</sup> 1639-1641: "I Gesuiti che dovrebbero essere come altre volte defensori della santa sede più degli altri la pongono in compromesso . . . Professano totale ritiratezza (dalla nuntiatura) dubbiosi sempre nell' accostarsi al nuntio di non perdere appresso ministri regi."



Jesuits were sometimes condemned by the inquisition at Rome, because they defended too vehemently the rights of the crown. The heads of the French Jesuits avoided all intercourse with the pope's nuncio, for fear of incurring the suspicion of ultramontane opinions. Nor in other respects had the see of Rome much reason to boast of the obedience of that order at the period in question; in the missions especially, the pope's decrees were almost always utterly disregarded.

Another of the fundamental principles of the Jesuits was, the renunciation of all worldly ties, and entire devotion to their spiritual duties. The rule that every new member should renounce all he possessed on his admission, had formerly been most strictly enforced. At first the execution of this rule was delayed for a time, and when fulfilled, it was only conditionally, because the member was always liable to expulsion; at last the custom was introduced, that a member should make over his property to the society itself, taking care, however, that it should always fall to the share of the particular college which he entered, so as frequently to keep the administration of it in his own hands, though under another title.\* It frequently happened that the members of the colleges had more leisure time than their relations, who were engaged in active life, and therefore managed their affairs, received their money, and carried on their lawsuits.†

This mercantile spirit became predominant even in the colleges in their corporate character. They wished to secure to themselves the possession of wealth; and as the large donations they formerly received had ceased, they sought to effect this by means of trade. The Jesuits recognised little distinction between the cultivation of the soil, which had been practised by the earliest monks, and those commercial pursuits to which they addicted themselves. The Collegio Romano had a manufactory of cloth at Macerata, at first merely for their own use, then for all the colleges in the province, and at last for general consumption. Their agents frequented the fairs. The intimate connection subsisting between the different colleges contributed to establish a system of money-changing; thus the Portuguese minister at Rome was authorised to draw upon the Jesuits of his own country. In the colonies especially, their commercial speculations were highly successful; and the vast web of their commercial relations, the centre of which was Lisbon, extended over both continents.

\* Vincentii Caraffæ epistola de mediis conservandi primævum spiritum societatis: "Definitis pro arbitrio dantis domibus sive collegiis in quibus aut sedem sibi fixurus est aut jam animo fixerit; . . . anxie agunt ut quæ societati reliquerunt, ipsimet per se administrent."

† Epistola Goswini Nickel de amore et studio perfectæ paupertatis: "Illud intolerabile, si et lites inferant et ad tribunalia confligant et violentas pecuniarum repetitiones faciant, aut palam negotiantur ad quæstum, . . . specie quidem primo aspectu etiam honesta, caritate in consanguineos, decepti."

This was a spirit, which, when once called into activity, necessarily affected the whole internal character of the society.

The Jesuits always formally adhered to the fundamental principle of giving gratuitous instruction. But they received presents on the entrance of any pupil, and at certain festivals—at least two in the course of the year;\* they were chiefly anxious to have scholars from among the rich, who naturally deriving from their wealth a certain feeling of independence, would no longer submit to the severity of the ancient discipline. A Jesuit who raised his stick against one of his pupils, received in return a stab with a poignard, and a young man in Gubbio who thought himself treated with too much severity by the father prefetto, killed him. In Rome itself the disturbances in the Collegio furnished constant matter of conversation to the city and the palace. On one occasion the tutors were kept locked up a whole day by their scholars; and at length the rector was actually dismissed in compliance with their demands. These were among the symptoms of a universal struggle between the ancient order of things and the new spirit; a struggle in which the latter was finally victorious. The Jesuits could no longer exercise that influence over the minds of men which they had formerly possessed.

But indeed it was no longer their aim to subjugate the world, or to imbue it with the spirit of religion. On the contrary, the spirit which once animated them had fallen before the temptations and influences of the world, and their sole endeavor now was to make themselves necessary to mankind, let the means be what they might.

To this end they not only accommodated the rules of their institute, but even the precepts of religion and morality. To the office of confession, which enabled them to exercise so immediate an influence on the most secret recesses of domestic life, they gave a direction which will be memorable to the end of time.

Of this we possess authentic and undoubted proofs. In numerous elaborate works they have stated and expounded the rules which they observed at confession and absolution, and which they prescribed to others. These rules are essentially the same as those with which they have so often reproached. Let us endeavor to understand the leading principles by pursuing which they acquired such extensive power.

In confession everything must inevitably depend upon the conception formed of transgression and of sin.

\* Discorso: “Per lo meno l'anno due volte cioè al natale e nel giorno della propria festa si fanno le loro offerte ovvero mancie, le quali ascendono a soma considerabile. . . . Il danaro poi di queste offerte o che venga impiegato in argenti, quadri o tappezzerie, calici o altri addobbi somiglianti, tutto ridonda in utilità de' collegi medesimi. Avegna che i rettori locali se ne servono indifferentemente, dal che ne derivano infinite offensioni, poco o nulla stimano i lamenti de' proprj scolari.”

Sin they define to be a wilful departure from the commands of God.\*

And in what, we may further inquire, consists this wilfulness? Their answer is, in perfect knowledge of the nature of the sin committed, and in the full consent of the will to its commission.†

They adopted this principle from the ambition of propounding something entirely new, combined with the desire of accommodating themselves to the common practices of mankind. With scholastic subtlety, and with a comprehensive view of the various cases falling within its scope, they carried out this principle to its most revolting consequences.

According to their doctrine, it was enough not to will the commission of sin, as such; the less the sinner thought of God during the commission of his offence, and the more violent the passion which hurried him into its commission, the greater was the hope of pardon. Habit, or even bad example, which limit the freedom of the will, are sufficient exculpations. It is evident how infinitely the boundaries of transgression were thus narrowed; since no man loves sin for itself. They also recognised other grounds of excuse. For example, duelling is strictly prohibited by the church; nevertheless the Jesuits asserted that if any man were in danger of being held a coward, or of losing an office or the favor of his prince, by refusing to fight a duel, he was not to be condemned for fighting.‡ Perjury is in itself a deadly sin; but, said the Jesuits, a man who only swears outwardly, without inwardly intending what he swears, is not bound by his oath; for he does not swear, he jests.§

These doctrines are to be found in works which expressly describe themselves as moderate. Who would wish now, as those times have gone by, to trace further the tortuous aberrations of a subtlety destructive of all morality: or to explore the records of perverted acuteness in which these teachers have labored with all the ardor of literary rivalry to outdo each other? But it cannot be denied that the most repulsive maxims of individual doctors, are rendered most dangerous by another principle maintained by the Jesuits, namely, by their doctrine of probability. They maintained that it was permitted in doubtful cases to follow an opinion, of the justice of which the individual himself was not convinced—sup-

\* Definition by Fr. Toledo: "voluntarius recessus a regula divina."

† Busebaum, *Medulla theologiæ moralis* lib. v, c. ii, dub. iii, thus expresses himself: "Tria requiruntur ad peccatum mortale (quod gratiam et amicitiam cum deo solvit), quorum si unum desit, fit veniale (quod ob suam levitatem gratiam et amicitiam non tollit): 1. ex parte intellectus, plena advertentia et deliberatio, 2. ex parte voluntatis; perfectus consensus, 3. gravitas materiæ."

‡ "Privandus alioqui ob suspicionem ignaviæ, dignitate, officio vel favore principis." Busebaum, lib. iii, tract. iv, cap. i, dub. v, art. i, n. 6.

§ "Qui exterius tantum juravit, sine animo jurandi, non obligatur, nisi forte ratione scandali, cum non juraverit sed luserit," (lib. iii, tract. ii, c. ii, dub. iv, no. 8.)

posing always that it was defended by any author of credit;\* they held it not only allowable to be directed by the most indulgent teachers, they even recommended it. Scruples of conscience were to be disregarded and contemned; indeed the true way to free the mind from them, was to follow the most tolerant opinions, even if they were less safe.† The secret operations of that awful tribunal which is established in the inmost depths of the heart of man, were thus changed into mere outward acts. A slight turn of the thoughts was held to exonerate from all guilt. In the manuals written by the Jesuits for the guidance of their novices, all the possible accidents of life are treated much in the same spirit as in the systems of civil law, and judged according to the gradations of their veniality; it was only necessary to refer to these books and follow the directions therein contained, without any individual conviction, to obtain the certainty of absolution from God and the church.

With a singular kind of simplicity the Jesuits themselves were sometimes astonished to find how easy the yoke of Christ was rendered by their doctrines.

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#### § 12. THE JANSENISTS.

It is obvious that all vitality must have been extinct in the catholic church, if some opposition had not instantly arisen to these most corrupting doctrines, and to the whole state of public opinion and public morals of which they were both effect and cause.

Most of the orders were already at variance with the Jesuits; the Dominicans on account of their dissent from Thomas Aquinas, the Franciscans and Capuchins on account of the exclusive power which the Jesuits claimed in the missions of further Asia: sometimes they were attacked by the bishops, whose authority they lessened; at other times by the parish priests with whose duties they interfered; even in the universities, especially in France and the Netherlands, they frequently encountered opposition. But all this desultory warfare constituted no vigorous or effective resistance, which indeed could only spring from a more profound conviction, quickened by a fresher spirit.

For the moral code of the Jesuits was in exact accordance with their theological dogmas; in both, they allowed great scope to the freedom of the will.

This, however, was the very point against which was directed

\* Em. Sa: Aphorismi Confessariorum s. v. dubium. "Potest quis facere quod probabili ratione vel auctoritate putat licere, etiamsi oppositum tutius sit: sufficit autem opinio alicujus gravis auctoris."

† Busembaum, lib. I, c. iii: "Remedia conscientie scrupulose sunt 1. scrupulos contemnere, 2. assuefacere se ad sequendas sententias mitiores et minus etiam certas."

the most formidable opposition ever encountered by the Jesuits, the origin and progress of which were as follows.

During those years in which the disputes concerning the means of grace kept the whole body of theologians of the catholic church in a state of constant contention, two young men, Cornelius Jansen of Holland, and Jean du Verger of Gascony, were pursuing their studies at Louvain; both of whom, actuated by an equally profound conviction, had espoused the more rigid doctrine which had never entirely disappeared at that university, and had conceived an intense hatred to the Jesuits. Du Verger was the superior in rank and fortune; he therefore took his friend with him to Bayonne. There they devoted themselves to a profound and unremitting study of the works of St. Augustine, and imbibed for the doctrines of that father of the church concerning grace and free-will, an enthusiasm which decided the complexion of their whole remaining lives.\* While Jansenius who became professor at Louvain and bishop of Ypres, labored to restore the influence of these doctrines by theoretical, Du Verger, who was made abbot of St. Cyran, strove to accomplish the same end by practical, asceticism.

The book entitled *Augustinus*, in which Jansenius fully and systematically expounded his own religious creed, is most remarkable; not only as boldly assailing the moral code and religious dogmas of the Jesuits, but as making this assault for the purpose of restoring the doctrines of grace, sin, and forgiveness, which had degenerated into mere traditional formulæ, to the efficacy of a vital faith.

Jansenius sets out from the principle of the servitude of man's will; he maintains that it is taken captive and held in bonds by the desire after earthly things, and unable of its own strength to raise itself from that condition; grace must come to the assistance of the will; that grace which is not so much remission of sins, as liberation of the soul from the bonds of desire.†

We now arrive at his own peculiar views. Grace, he says, is manifested by that higher and purer pleasure which was felt by the soul in godly things. The effectual grace of the Saviour is no other than a spiritual delight, by which the will is impelled to intend and to perform that which God has decreed. It is the involuntary impulse given by God to the will of man, in consequence of which he takes delight in good, and is moved to strive after its attainment.‡

\* *Synopsis vitæ Jansenii*, prefixed to the *Augustinus*: "In Cantabrigiam deinde migravit, ubi eruditissimorum virorum consuetudine et familiari studiorum communione in S. S. Patrum et præsertim Augustini intelligentia magnos progressus fecisse sæpe testatus est."

† *Corn. Jansenii Augustinus*, tom. iii, lib. i, cap. ii: "Liberatio voluntatis non est peccati remissio, sed relaxatio quædam delectabilis vinculi concupiscentialis, cui innexus servit animus quoad per gratiam infusa cælesti dulcedine ad suprema diligenda transferatur." Pascal interprets this doctrine in the same manner. "Dieu change le cœur de l'homme par une douceur céleste qu'il y répand." *Lettres Provinciales*, l. xviii, tom. iii, p. 413.

‡ Tom. iii, lib. iv, cap. i.

Jansenius repeatedly inculcates the maxim, that the motive to good should not be fear of punishment, but love of righteousness.

From this point he ascends to the higher question—what this righteousness is?

The answer is, God himself.

For we must not figure to ourselves God under a bodily form, nor under any image, not even that of the light; we must look upon him and love him as the Eternal Truth, from which flows all truth and wisdom; as Righteousness, not considered as a quality of the soul, but as an Idea, a supreme inviolable rule existing in the soul. The rules of our actions have their origin in the eternal law, and are a reflection of its light; whosoever loveth righteousness, loveth God.\*

Man does not necessarily become good by directing his mind to to this or that particular virtue, but by keeping in view the one immutable, supreme Good, which is truth, which is God himself. Virtue is the love of God.

In this very love consists the liberation of the will; since its inexpressible sweetness annihilates the pleasure arising from the gratification of man's evil desires; hence arises a voluntary and blissful necessity not to commit sin, but to live a good life;† and this is the true free will—a will freed from evil and exclusively determined by good.

The degree to which the dogmatical deductions in this work are developed with all the clearness of philosophical argument, in the midst of the polemical zeal of hostile discussion, is worthy of admiration: the fundamental ideas are at once moral and religious, speculative and practical; it opposes to the mere outward observances, and the relaxation of all self-discipline, of the Jesuitical system, a rigorous examination and government of the heart and mind; the ideal of a system of action proceeding from, and terminating in, the love of God.

Whilst Jansenius was still employed on this work, his friend was endeavoring to show forth in his own life, and practically to diffuse among his disciples, the ideas upon which it was founded.

St. Cyran, for thus was Du Verger called, had formed for himself in the midst of Paris a learned and ascetical hermitage. He endeavored by an unwearied study of the Holy Scriptures and the fathers of the church, to imbue himself with their spirit. Those peculiarities of doctrine in which he concurred with Jansenius, necessarily led him to their immediate application to the sacrament of penance. He was not satisfied with the penances enjoined by the

\* Tom. iii, lib. v, cap. iii: "Regulæ vivendi et quasi lumina virtutum immutabilia et sempiterna non sunt aliud quam lex æterna quæ in ipsa Dei æterni veritate splendet, quam proinde diligendo non aliud diligit nisi ipsum Deum seu veritatem et justitiam ejus incommutabilem, a qua promanat ex cujus refulgentia lucis fulget quiddam velut justum et rectum approbamus."

† Tom. iii, lib. vii, cap. ix: "Voluntas felix, immutabilis et necessaria non peccandi recteque vivendi."

church: he was heard to say that the church had been purer in her infancy, as streams near their source; that many of the truths of the gospel were now obscured.\* His demands were extremely rigorous. Lowliness, patience, dependence upon God, complete renunciation of the world,† and the devotion of all the thoughts and words and deeds to the love of God—this alone would he allow to be Christianity. He had so profound a conception of the necessity of an inward change, that according to him grace must precede repentance. “When it is the will of God to save a soul, he works inwardly on the spirit; if the heart is changed and true contrition felt, everything else follows; absolution only marks the first ray of grace: as the physician must watch and follow the movements and internal operations of nature, so must those who minister to the soul’s health, the workings of grace.” It was a frequent remark of his, that he had passed through the several phases of temptation and sin, to contrition, prayer, and exaltation. He communicated his thoughts to very few, and then briefly, and in a manner expressive of the serenity of his mind; but his whole soul was filled with his subject, as he always waited for a fitting opportunity and a suitable frame of mind, not alone in himself but in others, the impression he made was irresistible; his hearers frequently felt an involuntary change come over them, and burst into unlooked for tears.‡ He soon had as proselytes some of the most distinguished men in France, among whom were Arnauld d’Andilly, who was on intimate terms with cardinal Richelieu and Anne of Austria, and was employed in the most important affairs of state; and his nephew Le Maître, who though remarkable for being the most eloquent speaker in the French parliament, and with the most brilliant career before him, now retired from the world into strict seclusion. Angelique Arnauld, whom we have already mentioned, and her nuns of Portroyal, attached themselves to St. Cyran with that absolute devotedness which pious women are wont to feel for their prophet.

Jansenius died before he could see his book printed; St. Cyran, immediately after his first conversions, was thrown into prison by Richelieu, who had a natural antipathy to efforts so directed and so successful; but these calamities did not check the diffusion of their doctrines.

The Book of Jansenius gradually produced a deep and general impression, both from its inherent merits and from its polemical boldness.§ St. Cyran continued to make converts even from his

\* Extracts from his trial in Reuchlin, *Geschichte von Portroyal*, I, p. 451.

† “S’humilier, souffrir et dépendre de Dieu est toute la vie Chrétienne.”

‡ *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire de Portroyal par M<sup>e</sup> Fontaine*, i, p. 225. Racine, *Hist. de Portroyal*, p. 134.

§ Gerberon, *Histoire du Jansénisme*, i, 63: “Les théologiens de Paris s’appliquèrent tellement à l’étude de l’Augustin d’Ipres, où il reconnoissent celui

prison: the unmerited sufferings which had fallen to his lot, and which he bore with the greatest resignation, increased the reverence with which he was regarded; and when he obtained his freedom by the death of cardinal Richelieu, he was beheld as a saint, a John the Baptist. He died a few months afterwards, on the 11th of October, 1643; but he had established a school which looked upon his and Jansenius's doctrines as their gospel. "His disciples," says one of them, "go forth as young eagles from under his wings; heirs of his virtues and piety, who again transmit to others what they have received from their master. Elijah left behind him more than one Elisha who completed his work."

In endeavoring to obtain a clear view of the relation which the Jansenists bore to the predominant religious parties, we are forcibly reminded of the early protestants. They aim with the same zeal at sanctification of life; they strive with the same earnestness to reform the system of faith, by a rejection of the additions and interpolations of the schools. But these points of resemblance are, in my opinion, very far from justifying us in pronouncing them to be a sort of unconscious protestants. The main difference, in an historical point of view, consists in this; that they voluntarily admitted a principle which protestantism from the very first utterly rejected; they remained steadily attached to the most eminent fathers of the Latin church, whose authority had been thrown off by Germany as early as the year 1523, such as St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory; and even adopted some of those of the Greek church, especially St. Chrysostom. In the works of these illustrious men they thought they possessed a genuine and unadulterated tradition, from which St. Bernard had never deviated, but which, subsequent to the times of this "last of the fathers," had become obscured by the intrusion of the Aristotelic doctrines. We, therefore, find them far removed from that energetic zeal with which the protestants resorted directly to the Holy Scriptures; their consciences were satisfied with the primary formations which had become the substratum of the later system. They adhere to the maxim, that the visible church, in spite of moments of eclipse or of disfigurement, is yet of one spirit and even of one body with Christ, infallible, and immortal; they strenuously uphold the episcopal hierarchy; they have the most profound conviction that St. Augustine was inspired by God to expound to the world, in all its fulness, the doctrine of grace, which is the very essence of the new covenant; in him is to be found, according to them, the consummation of the Christian theology, which they desire to grasp at its very root, to understand to its very core, and to avoid the Pelagian errors which had often been mistaken for the opinions of St. Augustine. The spirit of Luther was awakened by Augustine, but he then resorted without

d'Hippone, . . . que'on commençoit à n'entendre plus parmi ces théologiens que les noms de Jansénius et de S. Augustin."



hesitation or compromise to the wellspring of instruction, the Holy Scriptures, the word of God, while on the contrary, orthodox catholicism held fast to the system matured by the lapse of centuries, in all its integrity; the Jansenists, on the other hand, seek to enforce the creed of Augustine as such;—as comprehending all that had gone before, and as laying the foundation of all that was to come after. Protestantism rejects tradition; catholicism clings to it; Jansenism seeks to purify it, and to re-establish it in its primitive form and authenticity, and thus hopes to effect the regeneration both of life and doctrine.

A company of persons of some consideration, who embraced these opinions, soon assembled in the hermitage of Portroyal des Champs, whither *Le Maître* had originally retired.

At first indeed the circle was very limited, consisting principally of members and friends of the *Arnauld* family. *Le Maître* induced four of his brothers to join him. Their mother, from whom they had imbibed their religious sentiments, was by birth an *Arnauld*; *Arnauld d'Andilly* was the oldest friend of *St. Cyran*, who bequeathed his heart to him, and after a time he too joined the company; his youngest brother, *Antoine Arnauld*, was the author of the first considerable work in defence of their opinions. Many other relations and friends soon followed their example. The convent also of Portroyal at Paris was almost exclusively in the hands of that family; *Andilly* relates that his mother, who retired thither at the close of her life, beheld around her twelve daughters and grand-daughters.\* It may not be superfluous to mention that the expulsion of the *Jesuits* from Paris in the year 1594, had been mainly owing to the potent and brilliant eloquence of an elder *Antoine Arnauld*, from whom all these were descended. Antipathy to the *Jesuits* appeared to be hereditary in the race.

This narrow circle of friends, however, was soon largely extended.

Many joined them, who had no other connection but that of similarity of opinions; *Siuglin*, a disciple of *St. Cyran*, and an eminent preacher at Paris, was especially active in the cause. He was remarkable for the peculiarity, that whereas in the common intercourse of life he expressed himself with difficulty, he no sooner ascended the pulpit than he displayed the most overpowering eloquence.† His most zealous followers were sent to Portroyal, where they were cordially welcomed. They were chiefly young ecclesiastics, and learned men, rich merchants, men of the highest families, physicians who had already acquired a station in the world, and members of various religious orders; in short, all of them were men who were induced to take this step from inward impulse and sincere conviction.

\* *Mémoires d'Arnauld d'Andilly*, i, p. 311.

† *Mémoires de Fontaine*, ii, p. 233.

In this retreat, which may be likened to a convent held together by no vows, many religious exercises were performed; the churches were zealously attended; prayers were frequently offered up both in company and in solitude; agricultural pursuits, or some handicraft, were followed by the members; but they chiefly devoted their time to letters; the religious society of Portroyal was likewise a sort of literary academy.

Whilst the Jesuits were hoarding up learning in huge folios, or were losing themselves in the mazes of the revolting subtleties of an artificial system of morals and dogmas, the Jansenists addressed themselves to the nation.

They began by translating the Holy Scriptures, the fathers of the church, and Latin prayer-books; they happily avoided the old Frankish forms which had till now been so prejudicial to the popularity of all works of that kind, and expressed themselves with an attractive clearness of style. The establishment of a seminary at Portroyal led them to compose school books on the ancient and modern languages, logic and geometry, which, emanating from minds not trammelled by antiquated forms, contained new methods, the merits of which have been universally admitted.\* They also published polemical writings, the acuteness and precision of which confounded their enemies; or works of the profoundest piety, such as "*Les Heures de Portroyal*," which were received with the utmost eagerness, and were as new and as much in request, after the lapse of a century, as on the first day of their appearance. Men of the lofty genius and the profound science of Pascal, of the poetical originality and perfection of Racine, and of the wide range of knowledge of Tillemont were formed within their walls. Their labours extended, as we see, far beyond the circle of ascetic theology which Jansen and Du Verger had traced. It would not be too much to assert, that this union of men of high intellect and filled with noble objects, who, in their mutual intercourse and by their original and unassisted efforts, gave rise to a new tone of expression and a new method of communicating ideas, had a most remarkable influence on the whole form and character of the literature of France, and hence of Europe; and that the literary splendor of the age of Louis XIV may be in part ascribed to the society of Portroyal.

It was impossible that the spirit which had given birth to all these productions should not penetrate the whole nation; adherents arose in all quarters, especially among the parish priests, who had long regarded with detestation the mode of confession practised by the Jesuits. Sometimes it appeared—for instance in the time of cardinal Retz—as if the Jansenists were about to make converts among the higher clergy; and some important offices were actually distributed among them. We soon find them not only in the

\* Notice de Petitot, preceding the *Memoirs of Andilly*, I, in other respects a work surprisingly full of party spirit.

Netherlands and in France, but even in Spain they had some partisans, and in the time of Innocent X a Jansenist preacher publicly promulgated his doctrines in Rome.\*

The main question now was, in what light the see of Rome would regard these opinions.

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§ 13. THE POSITION OF THE COURT OF ROME WITH RELATION TO THE TWO PARTIES.

This was a renewal of the same struggle, though under a somewhat altered form, which forty years before, neither Clement VIII nor Paul V had ventured to decide.

I know not whether Urban VIII or Innocent X would have shown more determination, had there not unfortunately occurred in the work of Jansenius a passage at which the Roman see took great offence on other grounds.

In his third book touching the State of Innocence, Jansenius comes to a principle of St. Augustine, which he was aware had been condemned by the Roman court. He hesitated for a moment whom to follow—the father of the church or the pope; but, after some deliberation, he remarks that the Roman see occasionally condemned a doctrine merely for the sake of peace without entirely meaning to declare it to be false: he therefore decides absolutely for the principle of St. Augustine.

His opponents naturally availed themselves of this passage, which they described as an attack upon the infallibility of the pope. Urban VIII was easily persuaded to express his disapprobation of a work containing maxims derogatory to the apostolical dignity, and already condemned by former popes.

But his denunciation had little effect in arresting the rapid spread of the Jansenist doctrines, which produced a general schism in France. The opponents of Portroyal deemed it necessary to obtain

\* Deone, tom. iv: "Fu citato per il sant' officio Monsieur Honorato Herzan (Hersent), dottor della Sorbona di Parigi, per la predica che fece in San Luigi nel giorno della festa, nella quale sostenne e difese l'opinione di Jansenio con esaltarlo per unico interprete di S. Agostino non specificandolo ma però delineandolo che da ciascheduno era inteso. Egli si ritirò in casa dell' ambasciator di Francia è di la a Parigi. Il suo libro è proibito, et il maestro del sacro palazzo ne ha havuto qualche travaglio per haverne permessa la stampa: egli si scusa con dire che veniva dedicato al papa e era in lingua francese, la quale egli non intende, però contenendo il libro l' opinione favorevole all' opinione loro contro l' opinione de' Gesuiti."

† De statu naturæ puræ, iii, cap. xxii, p. 403. "Quodsi," he adds, "vel tunc ostendi potuisset hanc aliasque nonnullas propositiones ab Augustino doctorum omnium coryphæo traditas, nunquam, arbitrator, hujusmodi decretum ab apostolica sede permanasset."

from Rome another and a more explicit condemnation of their adversaries. To this end they compressed into five propositions the fundamental doctrines of Jansenius, as they understood them, and required pope Innocent X to pronounce his apostolical judgment upon them.\*

The Roman court now proceeded to a formal investigation of the work of Jansenius; a congregation of four cardinals was formed, under whose supervision the examination was carried on by thirteen theological consultores.

The five propositions were so framed, that at first sight they appeared absolutely heterodox; but when considered with greater attention, might be interpreted at least in part, in an orthodox sense.† A diversity of opinion immediately arose among the consultores. Four of them, *viz.* two Dominicans, one minorite named Luca Wadding, and the general of the Augustines thought the condemnation unadvisable, but the remaining nine were in favor of it.‡ All now depended upon the question, whether the pope would side with the majority.

The whole controversy was disagreeable to Innocent X. His character and temper inclined him to hate all abstruse theological inquiries; but, besides this, he foresaw from that now set on foot, none but the most unpleasant consequences, let the judgment he pronounced be what it might. In spite of the decision of so large a majority, he could not make up his mind. "When he came to the edge of the precipice," says Pallavicini, "and measured with his eyes the width of the leap, he stopped short, and could not be persuaded to go further."

But the whole court was not restrained by these considerations. Immediately at the side of the pope stood one of the secretaries of the state, cardinal Chigi, who was incessantly laboring to incite him to open measures against the Jansenists. Whilst Chigi had been at Cologne the book had fallen into his hands; some passages had even then so excited his fanatical fury, that he had flung the book from him, and his indignation and hatred had been strengthened by the suggestions of certain members of the German monastic orders; he had taken a most active part in the abovementioned congregation of cardinals, and had greatly contributed to bring about the results: he strenuously advised the pope not to be silent; silence, he said, would now amount to acquiescence in their doctrines; his holiness must not allow the maxim of the pope's infallibility to fall into discredit, for one of the noblest prerogatives of the

\* Pallavicini, *Vita di Alessandro*: . . . "acciochè ben informato dichiarasse ciò che dovea permettersi o proibirsi intorno cinque principali proposizioni di quell' autore."

† Racine, *Abrégé de l'histoire ecclésiastique*, tom. xi, p. 15.

‡ Pallavicini, who was himself one of the consultores, communicates these details. He says of the pope, "Il suo intelletto alienissimo delle sottigliezze scolastiche."

apostolical chair was, the power of deciding the doubts of the faithful.\*

Innocent was, as we know, a man who allowed himself to be carried away by sudden impressions. In an unlucky hour he yielded to the representations made to him of the danger threatening the pope's infallibility. As this occurred on St. Athanasius's day, he received it in the light of an inspired warning. On the 1st of June, 1653, he published his bull, condemnatory of the five propositions, as being heretical, blasphemous, and accursed. He declared that he hoped thus to restore peace to the church; he had nothing more earnestly at heart than to be able to steer the vessel of the church into smooth water, and into the harbor of salvation.†

But the consequences which ensued were the very reverse of those he contemplated.

The Jansenists denied that those propositions were to be found in the book of Jansenius, and still more positively, that they interpreted them in the sense in which they had been condemned.

It now first became obvious in what a false position the court of Rome had placed itself. The French bishops demanded that Rome should declare that the propositions in question were really condemned in the sense intended by Jansenius. Chigi, who meanwhile had ascended the throne under the name of Alexander VII, had the less pretext for refusing this, since he had taken the chief share in their condemnation; he now declared formally and plainly, that "the five propositions were certainly taken from the book of Jansenius, and had been condemned in the sense of their author."‡

But the Jansenists were ready to meet him on this point; they replied that a declaration of such a nature overstepped the limits of the papal authority; that the pope's infallibility did not extend to a judgment of facts.

To the dogmatical difference was thus added a question as to the limits of the papal power; in the midst of their undeniable opposition to the Roman see, the Jansenists still knew how to maintain the character of good catholics.

This party could now no longer be crushed. Attempts were occasionally made on the part of the crown to effect that object, and formularies in the spirit of the bull of condemnation were promulgated, which all ecclesiastics, and even all schoolmasters and nuns, were required to subscribe. The Jansenists did not refuse to condemn the five propositions, which, as we have said, were susceptible of a heterodox interpretation; they simply refused to recognise,

\* Communicated by Pallavicini.

† Coquel. vi, iii, 248. We learn from Pallavicini that this bull was composed by Chigi and Albizi, an assessor of the inquisition, and principally by the latter.

‡ Cocquel, vi, iv, 151. "Quinque illas propositiones ex libro præmemorati Cornelii Jansenii episcopi Iprensis cui titulus Augustinus excerptas ac in sensu ab eodem Jansenio intento damnatas fuisse declaramus et definimus."

by signing any paper unconditionally, that these propositions were contained in Jansenius—that they were the doctrines of their master; no persecution could wring this acknowledgment from them. Their constancy had the effect of daily increasing their numbers and their credit; there were soon to be found, even among the bishops, numerous partisans of their opinions.\*

In order to restore at least outward peace to the church, Clement IX was compelled, in the year 1668, to declare himself satisfied with a subscription such as even a Jansenist need not have hesitated to give, and which condemned the five propositions in general terms, without insisting that the doctrines inculcated in them were truly and actually those of Jansenius.† This, in fact, implied a material concession on the part of the Roman court; for it not only allowed the claim to the right of deciding on matters of fact to drop, but it connived at the utter neglect of the sentence of condemnation pronounced by itself against Jansenius.

From that time the party of St. Cyran and Jansenius arose to considerable power and importance; tolerated by the curia, encouraged by some of the nobles, on good terms with the royal court, (the celebrated minister Pomponne was a son of Andilly,) and possessing, by means of their literary activity, an influence over the whole nation. But with the rise and progress of this party a vehement opposition to the see of Rome also gained ground in spite of the apparent conclusion of a peace between them; the Jansenists knew full well that had the designs of the curia succeeded, they would have ceased ere this to exist.

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#### § 14. RELATION OF THE HOLY SEE TO THE TEMPORAL POWER.

Meanwhile another not less dangerous opposition now menaced the power of Rome with ever-increasing violence and extension.

\* A Letter from nineteen bishops to the Pope, 1667, 1 Dec.: “Novum et inauditum apud nos nonnulli dogma præcuderunt, ecclesiæ nempe decretis, quibus quotidiana nec revelata divinitus facta deciduntur, certam et infallibilem constare veritatem.” This is in fact the recognised solution of the question of “droit” and “fait.”

† The last formulary of Alexander VII (15 Feb. 1665,) is as follows: “Je rejette et condamne sincèrement les cinq propositions extraites du livre de Cornelius Jansenius intitulé Augustinus, et dans le sens du même auteur, comme le saint siège apostolique les a condamnées par les susdites constitutions.” On the other hand there is the more circumstantial declaration of peace: “Vous devez vous obliger à condamner sincèrement, pleinement, sans aucune réserve ni exception tous les sens que l’église et le pape ont condamnés et condamnent dans les cinq propositions.” A second article follows: “Declarons que ce serait faire injure à l’église de comprendre entre les sens condamnés dans ces propositions la doctrine de St Augustin et de St Thomas touchant la grace efficace par elle-même nécessaire à toutes les actions de la piété chrétienne et la prédestination gratuite des élus.”

In the seventeenth century the Roman See began to assert its jurisdictional privileges, I know not whether with more vivacity and effect, but certainly more systematically and with more unyielding pertinacity, than at any former period. Urban VIII, who owed the tiara in part to the consideration he had acquired as a zealous champion of these claims,\* established a Congregation of Immunity, whose express function it was to defend them. The cardinals had generally, as young prelates, formed some connection with the temporal sovereigns of Europe; it was only to a few therefore, who had sought to obtain preferment by the zeal which they displayed on this subject, that he confided the office of keeping a watchful eye on every attempt of temporal princes to encroach on the spiritual jurisdiction. From that time the vigilance exercised was far more keen and regular, and the admonitions more urgent; a result which official zeal and self-interest conspired to bring about. The public opinion of the court accepted it as a proof of piety, to keep jealous guard over every point of these ancient and traditional rights.†

But was it likely that political states would complacently submit to this more rigorous supervision? The sentiment of religious union which the struggle with protestantism had excited, was cooled; the general tendency of nations was towards internal strength and political compactness; it followed that the court of Rome fell into bitter altercations with all the catholic states. Even the Spaniards occasionally made attempts to curb the influence of Rome; for example, to add some civil assessors to the tribunal of the inquisition at Naples. The court of Rome had shown reluctance to admit the claim of the emperor to the patriarchate of Aquileja, from the fear that he would use it for the purpose of acquiring a greater degree of ecclesiastical independence. The estates of the empire endeavored in the election-capitulations of 1654 and 1658, to limit the jurisdictions of the nuncios and the curia by stricter provisions. Venice was in a state of incessant agitation concerning the influence of the court over the nomination to the spiritual offices of the country; concerning the pensions and the insolent pretensions of the

\* *Relatione de' IV ambasciatori 1625*: "Professa sopra tutte le cose haver l' animo inflessibile e che la sua indipendenza non ammetta alcuna ragione degl' interessi de' principi. (Ma quello in che preme con insistenza et a che tende l' impiego di tutto il suo spirito è di conservare e di accrescer la giurisdittione ecclesiastica. Questo medesimo concetto fu sempre sostenuto dal pontefice nella sua minor fortuna, e ciò è stato anche grandissima causa della sua esaltatione.)"

† *Joh. Bapt. de Luca S. R. E. Cardinalis; Relatio curiæ Romanæ 1683. Disc. XVII, p. 109*: "Etiam apud bonos et zelantes ecclesiasticos remanet quæstio, an hujus congregationis erectio ecclesiasticæ immunitati et jurisdictioni proficua vel præjudicialis fuerit, potissime quia bonus quidem sed forte indiscretus vel asper zelus aliquorum, qui circa initia eam regebant, aliqua produxit inconvenientia præjudicialia, atque asperitatis vel nimium exactæ et exorbitantis defensionis opinionem impressit apud seculares." An admission undoubtedly very important from a cardinal.

papal families: Genoa and Savoy found frequent cause to recall their respective envoys from Rome: but the most vigorous resistance proceeded from the French church, as indeed the fundamental principle of its restoration would lead us to expect.\* The nuncios find no end to the objections and remonstrances which they think themselves called upon to make, especially concerning the limits imposed on the spiritual jurisdiction; they complain that before they had taken a single step, appeals were preferred against them; that they were robbed of the control over marriages, under the pretext of some intended abduction; that they were deprived of all criminal jurisdiction; that occasionally a clergyman was executed without being first degraded from his holy office; that the king without consulting them published edicts concerning heresy and simony; and that the tenths to the crown had gradually assumed the character of a permanent tax. The more reflecting and timid adherents of the curia beheld in these usurpations the forerunners of an open schism.

The state of things brought on by these disputes was necessarily connected with other circumstances, especially with the political attitude assumed by the Roman court.

Out of deference for Spain, neither Innocent nor Alexander had ventured to recognise Portugal, which had severed herself from that kingdom, or to grant canonical institution to the Portuguese bishops nominated by their own government. Almost the whole body of the legitimate episcopacy of Portugal died out; the church lands were in great part abandoned to the officers of the army; and king, clergy, and laity lost the habit of their former submissiveness to Rome.

Moreover the successors of Urban VIII inclined again to the side of Spain and Austria.

Nor can this be wondered at, considering that the overwhelming power of France so soon began to reveal a character dangerous to the freedom of Europe. Another cause was, that these popes owed their elevation to the Spanish influence, and both of them were personal enemies of Mazarin.†

In Alexander this hostility displayed itself still more strongly; he could not forgive the cardinal for allying himself with Cromwell, nor for long preventing the conclusion of peace with Spain, from personal considerations.

The consequence was, that the opposition to the Roman see in

\* *Relazione della nuntiatura di Francia di Mons<sup>r</sup> Scotti 1641, 5 Aprile.* He gives a separate section. *Dell' impedimenti della nuntiatura ordinaria.* "Li giudicii regj si puo dire che levino tutta la giurisdittione eccl<sup>ca</sup> in Francia alli prelati."

† *Deone, Ottobre 1644:* "Si sa veramente che l'esclusione di Panfilio fatta da cardinali Francesi nel conclave non era volontà regia nè istanza del cl. Antonio, ma opera del c<sup>l</sup> Mazzarini, emulo e poco ben affetto al c<sup>l</sup> Panziroli, il quale prevedea che doveva aver gran parte in questo ponteficato." As was really the case.



France became more inveterate, and from time to time broke out in violences most irritating and distressing to Alexander.

A quarrel which arose in Rome between the followers of M. de Créquy, the French ambassador, and the Corsican city guard, in which Créquy at length received a personal insult, furnished the king with an occasion of interference in the differences of the Roman see with the houses of Este and Farnese, and at last of actually marching troops into Italy. The unfortunate pope endeavored to save himself by means of a secret protest; but in the eye of the world he was obliged to accede to all the demands made by the king in the treaty of Pisa. The fondness of the popes for inscriptions in their honor is well known; it was a saying in Rome, that they would not let one stone be laid upon another in a wall, without their cipher. Alexander was compelled to permit the erection of a pyramid in one of the most frequented places of his capital, the inscription on which was to perpetuate the memory of his humiliation.

This act alone was sufficient to degrade the dignity of the papacy.

But other causes had already conspired, about the year 1660, greatly to lessen its authority. The papal see had been the originator of the peace of Vervins, had promoted it by negotiation, and had brought it to a conclusion. At the ratification of the peace of Westphalia, it had been present in the person of its delegates, but even then, had found itself reduced to protest against the conditions on which the other powers agreed. In the peace of the Pyrenees, the pope did not even take any ostensible part; his envoys were not admitted to the conferences—scarcely indeed was there the smallest reference to him in the whole transaction.\* How soon after this were treaties of peace concluded, in which dispositions were made relating to papal fiefs, without so much as consulting the pope!

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#### § 15. TRANSITION TO THE LATER EPOCHS OF THE PAPACY.

It is a most remarkable fact, and one which affords an insight into the general course of human affairs, that, at the moment when its schemes for the re-establishment of an universal supremacy fell to the ground, the papacy began also to decay at the core.

At the period of the restoration of catholicism, every thing which could secure its stability seemed to be effected. The doctrines of the church were renovated; her privileges more strongly centralised; alliances concluded with temporal sovereigns; the ancient orders reformed and new ones instituted; the political powers of

\* Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato della pace conclusa fra le due corone 1664, contains, p. 120, "Osservazioni sopra le cause per le quali si conclude la pace senza intervento del papa." We see that the misunderstanding between the pope and Mazarin was at that time notorious.

the States of the Church concentrated and converted into an organ of ecclesiastical influence; the spirit and the intellectual condition of the curia reformed; and every thing directed towards the one end of the re-establishment of the supremacy of Rome and of the catholic faith.

This, as we have seen, was not a new creation; it was a resuscitation effected by the force of new ideas, which, after sweeping away some abuses, only gave a fresh impulse to the existing elements of social life.

Without doubt, however, a renovation of this sort is more exposed to the decline of the vivifying principle than a radically new creation.

The first check which the catholic restoration received was in France. The papal power could not force its way by the beaten track; it was constrained to witness the formation and growth of a church, catholic indeed, but not under the influences it desired; it was constrained to stoop from its lofty pretensions, and to come to terms with a church so constituted.

To this shock to the omnipotence of Rome, other causes of decay were soon added. Violent internal dissensions arose; disputes concerning the most important points of faith, and concerning the relation of the spiritual to the temporal power; in the curia, nepotism displayed itself under the most dangerous form; while the financial resources, instead of being wholly applied to their proper objects, fell for the most part into the hands of a few families.

But Rome had still a grand and universal object towards which it advanced with singular good fortune. In the pursuit of this high endeavor all contradictions were reconciled, the differences of doctrine and of the ecclesiastical and temporal powers were allayed, the divisions between states were healed, the progress of the common enterprises was promoted, the curia was the centre and the index to the whole catholic world, and conversions continued to be made on the grandest scale.

But we observed how it came to pass, that notwithstanding these flattering appearances, the papacy, far from attaining its end, was thrown back upon itself by internal dissensions and external resistance.

From that time the whole political and social condition of Rome assumed a new form.

The spirit of conquest and acquisition, directed towards a great cause, implies a certain devotedness; it is incompatible with the narrowness of selfish views and selfish enjoyments. Now, however, the love of pleasure and the love of gain had taken possession of the curia; a society of annuitants was formed, who thought they had a right to the revenues of the state and to the administration of the church; and while they abused this right in a manner ruinous to the public, they clung to it with a zeal as fervent as if the whole existence of religion had depended upon it.

This was, however, the very cause which aroused an irreconcilable hostility to the court of Rome from opposite sides.

A doctrine arose, originating in a new intuition of the profounder meaning of religion, which the court of Rome condemned and persecuted, but could not silence. Sovereigns and states assumed an independent bearing, and emancipated themselves completely from all subservience to the papal policy; in the management of their political and civil affairs, they claimed a right of self-government, which had the effect of continually abridging the influence of the curia even in ecclesiastical matters.

The history of the papacy from henceforward rests on these two important changes.

In the epochs which follow, far from displaying any spontaneous energy, it was completely occupied with finding means of defending itself, as well as it could, from the attacks which assailed it on every side. The attention of mankind is naturally attracted by energy and power, nor is it possible to understand historical events but by a consideration of the active causes of them; it therefore forms no part of the purpose of this work to describe the modern phases of the papacy. But as one of the most singular spectacles ever exhibited on the world's stage still remains unnoticed, and as we prefixed to the more immediate subject of our work, an introductory sketch of the earlier ages of the papacy, we cannot conclude without attempting to give at least a brief outline of its more recent history.

The first thing which presents itself to our notice, is the attack from the side of the catholic states. This is intimately connected with the division of the catholic world into two hostile parties, the Austrian and the French, which the pope had no longer the power either to coerce or to tranquillise. The political position which Rome assumed, may be taken as the measure of the spiritual devotedness which it could command. We have marked the first shock to its political importance; we are now about to contemplate its further decline.

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#### § 16. LOUIS XIV AND INNOCENT XI.

Whatever was the attachment of Louis XIV to the catholic faith, he could not endure that the see of Rome should pursue a policy independent of his own—nay, often opposed to it.

Clement X (1670 to 1676), like Innocent and Alexander (and if not Clement IX himself, yet his court and dependents), leaned to the side of the Spaniards, an inclination which he shared with his nephew, Pauluzzi Altieri.\* For this Louis XIV revenged himself by incessant encroachments on the spiritual power.

\* Morosini, *Relatione di Francia*, 1671: "Conosciuta naturale partialità del

He arbitrarily confiscated church property, suppressed monastic orders, and claimed the privilege of charging church livings with military pensions; he endeavored to extend to those provinces of his kingdom in which it had never obtained the right of receiving the revenues of a bishopric so long as it was vacant, and of presentation to its dependent livings, which had become so celebrated under the name *regale*; and he inflicted the deepest wound on the holders of the Roman funds, by subjecting the donations sent to Rome to a strict and controlling supervision.\*

He continued the same course during the pontificate of Innocent XI, who, though he observed the same general line of policy as his predecessor, opposed a stronger resistance to the measures of Louis.

Innocent XI, of the house of Odescalchi of Como, came to Rome in his twenty-fifth year, with no other fortune than his sword and pistols, to seek some secular employment there, or perhaps to take service in the Neapolitan army. The advice of a cardinal, who saw more deeply into his character than he did himself, induced him to enter upon the career of the curia. This he did with so much zeal and earnestness, and gradually secured such a reputation for ability and good intentions, that while the conclave was sitting, the people shouted his name under the porticos of St. Peter's, and there was a general feeling of satisfaction, when, on the 21st of September, 1676, his election was declared.

He was a man of such mildness and humility of manner, that when he called for any of his servants, it was with the reservation, "if it was convenient to them;" of such purity of heart and life, that his confessor declared that he had never discovered in him anything which could sever the soul from God; meek and gentle, but impelled by the same conscientiousness which governed his private life, to fulfil the duties of his office with inflexible integrity.

He immediately attacked the abuses in the state, more particularly of the financial administration. The expenditure had risen to 2,578,106 sc. 91 baj. a year; the revenue (dataria and spolia included) amounted to only 2,408,500 sc. 71 baj.; a deficit of 170,000 sc. yearly, which threatened to occasion a public bankruptcy.† That matters did not proceed to this extremity, is unquestionably attributable to Innocent XI. He was the first pope who totally abstained from nepotism. He declared that he loved his nephew Don Livio, who merited his affection by his modesty;

card<sup>l</sup> Altieri per la corona cattolica rende alla X<sup>ma</sup> sospetta ogni sua azione. Il pontefice presente è considerato come un immagine del dominio che risiede veramente nell' arbitrio del nipote."

\* Instruzione per mons<sup>r</sup> arcivescovo di Patrasso, 1674: "Questo fatto arrivato alla corte siccome eccitò lo stupore e lo scandolo universale così pervenuto alla notizia di N. S<sup>se</sup> mosse un estremo cordoglio nell' animo di S. Beat<sup>o</sup>."

† Stato della camera nel presente pontificato di Innocenzo XI, MS. (Bibl. Alb.)

but that, for that very reason, he would not have him in the palace. He abolished all the places and pensions which had hitherto been regarded as the exclusive property of the papal nephews, as well as many others which were a burthen to the public. He put an end to innumerable abuse and exemptions, and as soon as the state of the money market permitted it, he reduced the monti, without hesitation, from four to three per cent.\* After a few years he actually succeeded in raising the revenue, considerably above the expenditure of the state.

With the same determination which characterised his domestic policy, Innocent now met the attacks of Louis XIV.

Three or four bishops of the Jansenist party, who opposed the extension of the *regale* mentioned above, were harassed and persecuted by the court on that account. One of them, the Bishop of Pamiers, was reduced to live for a time on alms. They appealed to the pope, who instantly took them under his protection.†

He twice admonished the king not to lend an ear to flatterers, and not to touch the liberties of the church; for that if he did, he might cause the fountains of the divine mercy to dry up from his kingdom. As he received no answer, he reiterated his warnings a third time; now, however, he added, he would write no more, he would no longer content himself with admonitions, he would make use of every weapon which God had placed in his hands. He would fear no danger, no storm; he beheld his glory in the cross of Christ.‡

It has ever been a maxim of the French court to control the papal power by means of the national clergy, the national clergy by means of the papal power. But never did a prince rule his clergy more absolutely than Louis XIV. The speeches addressed to him on solemn occasions breathe an abject submission which has no equal. "We scarcely dare," says one of them,§ "to prefer any requests, from the fear of setting bounds to the zeal of your majesty for the church. The melancholy privilege of making objections or complaints, is now transformed into the sweet necessity of celebrating the praises of our benefactor." The prince de Condé said, that if the king were to think fit to go over to the protestant church, the clergy would be the first to follow him.

It is at least certain that the clergy did not scruple to stand by

\* In a MS. of 763 pages of the year 1743, entitled "Eretitione et aggiunta de' monti camerali," are the decrees and briefs relating to this measure. In a brief to the Tesoriere Negroni in 1684, Innocent first declares his intention "d'andar liberando la camera del frutto di 4 P<sup>r</sup> C<sup>r</sup> che in questi tempi è troppo rigoroso."

† Racine, Histoire, ecclésiastique, X, p. 328.

‡ Brief of 27 Dec. 1679.

§ Remontrance du clergé de France (assemblée à St. Germain en Laye en l'année 1680) faite au roi le 10 juillet par l'ill<sup>me</sup> et rév<sup>me</sup> J. Bapt. Adheimar de Monteil de Grignan. Mem. du clergé, tom. xiv, p. 787.

their king against the pope; from year to year the declarations which they issued were more decidedly in favor of the throne. At last followed the assembly of 1682. "It was summoned and dismissed," says a Venetian ambassador, "at the convenience of the ministry, and conducted in entire accordance with its suggestions."\* The four articles which it drew up have from that time been constantly regarded as the manifesto of the Gallican liberties. The first three repeat principles maintained before:—that the temporal power is independent of the spiritual; that a council is superior to the pope; that the usages of the Gallican church are inviolable. The fourth, however, is peculiarly worthy of note, since it limits not only the temporal, but the spiritual authority of the pope. "Even in questions of faith, the decision of the pope is subject to amendment, so long as it has not received the assent of the church." We see that the two national authorities supported each other. The king was freed from the interference of the temporal, the clergy from the unlimited authority of the spiritual, power of the papacy. It was observed by contemporaries, that if France remained within the pale of the catholic church, she stood on the very threshold, ready to quit its enclosure. The king exalted the articles above mentioned into a kind of confession of faith—a symbolical book. They were to be taught in all the schools, and no man was to be permitted to take a degree in the faculty of law or theology without swearing to them. But the pope had still a weapon left. While the king bestowed the highest favor and preferment on the authors of this declaration—the members of the assembly—Innocent refused to grant them spiritual institution. They might take the revenues, but the ordination they did not receive, nor consequently, could they perform a single spiritual act of the episcopal office.

This state of confusion was aggravated by the resolution just then taken by Louis XIV, to prove the soundness of his orthodoxy by the barbarous extirpation of the Huguenots which signalized his reign. He thought he rendered a great service to the catholic church. It was indeed said that pope Innocent was a party to the design.† But the fact is not so. The court of Rome would now have nothing to do with conversions wrought by armed apostles; "that was not the method employed by Christ; men must be led, not dragged, into the temple."‡

\* Foscarini, *Relatione di Francia*, 1684: "Con non dissimile dipendenza segue l'ordine eccl<sup>o</sup> le massime e l'interesse della corte, come l'ha fatto conoscere l'assemblea sopra le vertenze della regalìa, unita, diretta e disciolta secondo le convenienze ed ispirazioni del ministero politico. Provenendo della mano del re l'esaltatione e fortuna de' soggetti che lo compongono, dominati sempre da nuove pretensioni e speranze si scorgono più attaccati alle compiacenze del monarca che gli stessi secolari."

† Bonamici, *Vita Innocentii*; Lebret, *Magazin viii*, p. 98, and Lebret's note, "Thus it cannot be denied," &c.

‡ Venier, *Relatione di Francia*, 1689: "Nell' opera tentata nella conversion degli Ugonotti dispiacque al re, non riportar dal pontefice lode che sperava, e

Fresh difficulties continually arose. In the year 1687 the French ambassador entered Rome with such an immense retinue, comprising two or three squadrons of cavalry, that although the pope had solemnly abolished the right of asylum, which the ambassadors then claimed, not only for their palace but for all the neighboring streets, he would vainly have tried to dispute it. The ambassador bearded the pope in his own capital with armed retainers. "They come with horses and with chariots," said Innocent, "but we will walk in the name of the Lord." Ecclesiastical censure was pronounced on the ambassador, and the church of St. Luigi, in which he had attended a solemn high mass, was laid under interdict.\*

The king on his side now proceeded to extreme measures. He appealed to a general council, caused Avignon to be invested, and the nuncio to be shut up in St. Oton; and it was thought he intended to create Harlai, the archbishop of Paris, who sanctioned, if he did not suggest, all these steps, patriarch of France. To such a length had things gone; the French ambassador in Rome excommunicated; the papal nuncio in France forcibly detained; thirty-five French bishops without canonical institution; a part of the papal territory occupied by the king. Schism had thus in fact already broken out. Nevertheless Innocent XI turned aside not a step from his course.

If we examine on what he depended for support, we shall find that it was not the effect of his censures in France, nor the weight of his apostolical authority; it was chiefly the general resistance which Louis XIV had excited in the whole of Europe, by enterprizes which menaced the very existence of her liberties; to this resistance the pope attached his own cause.

He supported Austria in her Turkish war to the extent of his ability;† and the success which crowned her arms gave to the whole party and to the pope individually a new attitude. It were indeed difficult to prove that Innocent had, as was asserted, formed a direct alliance with William III, and had personal knowledge of the designs of that prince upon England;‡ but it may be affirmed with the ut-

ricevè il papa in mala parte che fosse intrapresa senza sua partecipazione et eseguita con i noti rigori, . . . . publicando che non fosse proprio fare missioni d' apostoli armati, e che questo metodo nuovo non fosse il migliore, giachè Christo non se n' era servito per convertire il mondo: in oltre parve importuno il tempo di guadagnar gli eretici all' ora che erano più bollenti le controversie col papa."

\* *Legatio marchionis Lavardini Romam ejusque cum Romano pontifice dissidium*, 1697. A refutation by Lavardin, which explains these events with great impartiality and penetration: it is one of a series of admirable political treatises which the assumptions of Louis XIV called forth in Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, and Italy.

† *Relatione di Roma di Giov. Lando*, 1689. The subsidies are here estimated at two millions of scudi.

‡ In the *Mémoires sur le règne de Frédéric I, roi de Prusse*, par le comte de Dohna, p. 78, also this assertion is made: that his father had obtained possession of the letters from queen Christina, "qui les faisait passer par le comté de Lippe, d' où un certain Paget les portoit à la Haye." In spite of these details the story appears doubtful, when we recollect that all this time Christina was not on good

most confidence that his ministers knew of them. The pope was only told that the prince of Orange would take the command on the Rhine, and defend the rights of the empire, as well as those of the church, against Louis XIV; and for this object he promised considerable subsidies; but his secretary of state, Count Cassoni, had certain information in the year 1687, that the plan of the discontented English was to dethrone king James, and transfer the crown to the princess of Orange. The count was ill served; the French had found a traitor in his household. From the papers which this man suffered to be inspected in his master's most secret cabinet, the courts of France and of England received the first intelligence of these plans. Singular combination of events! It was at the court of Rome that the threads of an alliance were destined to meet, the object and the consequence of which was, to deliver protestantism from the last great danger which menaced it, and to secure the English throne for ever to that confession.\* If Innocent, as we have said, knew not of the entire scheme, it is yet undeniable that he attached himself to a party which was chiefly sustained by protestant energies, and founded on protestant sentiments. The resistance which he offered to the candidate for the archbishopric of Cologne, who was patronized by France, was in the interest of that party, and greatly conduced to the breaking out of the war.

Yet the results of this very war were extremely favorable to the papal principle in France. If the pope by his policy aided the cause of protestantism, the protestants, by maintaining the balance of Europe against the "exorbitant power" of France, contributed in their turn to compel that country to admit the spiritual claims of the papacy.

It is true that Innocent XI did not live to witness this result; but the very first French ambassador who appeared in Rome after his death (Aug. 10, 1689), abandoned the claim to the right of asylum; the king's behavior changed; he restored Avignon, and began to negotiate.

terms with the pope. From the account contained in her own correspondence, I do not believe it possible that the pope, who once said, shrugging his shoulders, —"è una donna,"—should have confided such a secret to her. There may however have been secret Roman despatches.—[See Bishop Burnet's description of his interview with cardinal Howard in 1685, and of lord Castlemain's reception at Rome in 1687: *Hist. of his own Time*, vol. ii, p. 357, 410.] (Translator.)

\* But little notice has been taken of the *Lettre écrite par le Cl. d'Etrées, Ambassadeur extraord. de Louis XIV, à M. de Louvois, 18 Dec. 1637. Œuvres de Louis XIV, tom. vi, p. 497*, although decisive with regard to this position of affairs. It proves how early James was informed of all that passed. The young Duke of Norfolk, who was at Rome incognito, regularly despatched couriers to him. Mackintosh (*History of the Revolution*, ii, 157,) is of opinion, that James was not convinced of the views of the prince upon England, till the beginning of May 1688. But as early as the 10th or 11th of March, he said to the papal nuncio, "il principe avere in principal mira l'Inghilterra." (*Lettera di Monsr d'Adda, ibid. p. 346.*) His great misfortune was, his want of confidence in himself.



This was the more necessary, since the new pope, Alexander VIII, widely as he departed from the austere example of his predecessor in other respects, in this point adhered to his principles. Alexander issued a new manifesto, declaring the decrees of 1682\* “invalid, of none effect, null and void;” not binding, even when sanctioned by an oath; and adding, that he thought of them day and night with bitterness of heart, and raised his eyes to heaven with tears and sighs.

After the early death of Alexander VIII, the French used every possible effort to obtain the election of a pacific man, inclined to conciliatory measures, as pope;† and in this they succeeded by the election of Antonio Pignatelli, Innocent XII, (July 12, 1691.)

This pope, however, had as little inclination as he had urgent need, to abate anything of the dignity of the papal see; since the allied arms provided Louis XIV with abundance of serious and formidable occupation.

The negotiations lasted two years. Innocent more than once rejected the formulæ submitted to him by the French clergy. They were, in fact, compelled at length to issue a declaration, to the effect, that all that had been discussed and determined in the assembly should be considered as not having been discussed and determined: “Prostrate at the feet of your holiness we acknowledge our inexpressible grief at it.”‡ It was not till after this absolute recantation, that Innocent granted them canonical institution.

On these conditions alone was peace restored. Louis XIV wrote

\* “In dictis comitiis anni 1682 tam circa extensionem juris regalæ quam circa declarationem de potestate ecclesiastica actorum ac etiam omnium et singulorum, mandatorum, arrestorum, confirmationum, declarationum, epistolarum, edictorum, decretorum quavis auctoritate sive ecclesiastica sive etiam laicali editorum, necnon aliorum quomodolibet præjudicialium præfatorum in regno supradicto quocumque et a quibusvis et ex quacumque causa et quovis modo factorum et gestorum ac inde secutorum quorumcumque tenores.” 4 Aug. 1690, Cocquel, ix, p. 38.

† Domenico Contarini, *Relazione di Roma 1696*: “Tenedosi questa volta da Francesi bisogno d’un papa facile e d’animo assai rimesso e che potesse facilmente esser indotto a modificare la bolla fatta nell’agonia di Alessandro VIII sopra le proposizioni dell’assemblea del clero dell’anno 1682, diedero mano alla elezione di esso.”

‡ It has been maintained, and among others Petitot is of opinion (*Notice sur Portroyal*, p. 240), that this was written by the Jansenists, “pour répandre du ridicule et de l’odieux sur les nouveaux évêques;” but no other formula was ever issued by the opposite party, and the above was always acknowledged at least indirectly by the Roman authors, for instance in *Novaes Storia de’ Pontefici*, tom. xi, p. 117. Indeed it was at that time universally esteemed genuine, without any contradiction even from the court. Domenico Contarini says, “Poco dopo fu preso per mano da Francesi il negotio delle chiese di Francia proponendo diverse formule di dichiarazione.....materia ventilata per il corso di due anni e conclusa ed aggiustata con quella lettera scritta da vescovi al papa che si è diffusa in ogni parte.” These are the very words of that formula, and no other was known.—Daunou also, in his *Essai historique sur la puissance temporelle des papes*, ii, p. 196, gives the document as authentic.

to the pope that he recalled his ordinance concerning the observance of the four articles. We see that Rome once more maintained her prerogatives, even in the teeth of the most powerful of monarchs.

It was, however, an enormous evil that the open assertion of so decided an hostility was for so long a time treated as a legally authorised resistance. These articles had been proclaimed with as much noise and ostentation as if they had been decrees of the empire; they were revoked privately, silently, in the form of letters, and only by a few individuals, who stood peculiarly in need of the favor of the court of Rome. Louis XIV permitted this; but people did not venture to believe that he had revoked the four articles, although the matter was sometimes regarded in that light in Rome. At a much later period he would not tolerate that the court of Rome should refuse the institution to partisans of the four articles. He declared that though he had abolished the obligation to teach them, it was equally just and necessary that no man should be hindered from acknowledging their validity who desired to do so.\* There is another observation which we must make. It was by no means of its own strength that the court of Rome had maintained its position, but solely in consequence of a great political combination; it was only one effect of those causes which had forced France to retreat within narrower bounds. What then would ensue if these circumstances should change, when there remained not a single power to defend the holy see against the attacks of its enemies?

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### § 17. THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

The extinction of the Spanish line of the house of Austria was an event of the greatest importance to the papacy.

The chief security for the freedom and independence of the see of Rome was the continual rivalry between Spain and France, which determined the policy of the rest of Europe; the states of the

\* The words of the king in his letter to Innocent XII, Versailles, 14 Sept., 1693, are: "J'ai donne les ordres necessaires afin que les choses contenues dans mon edit du 22 Mars 1682 touchant la declaration faite par le clergé de France (a quoi les conjonctures passées m'avoient obligé) ne soyent pas observées." In a letter of the 7th July, 1713, which we find in Artaud (*Histoire du Pape Pie VII*, 1836, tom. ii, p. 16), it is then said: "On lui (au Pape Clement XI) a suppose contre la vérité que j'ai contrevenu a l'engagement pris par la lettre que j'écrivis a son predecesseur, car je n'ai obligé personne a soutenir contre sa propre opinion les propositions du clergé de France, mais il n'est pas juste que j'empêche mes sujets de dire et de soutenir leurs sentimens sur une matière qu'il est libre de soutenir de part et d'autre." We perceive that even in his latter years Louis XIV was not so devoted a Romanist as is supposed. He says decidedly, "Je ne puis admettre aucun expedient."

church had been maintained in peace for a century and a half by the influence of Spanish political principles; whatever might be the event, it was exceedingly dangerous that an order of things, upon which reposed the whole habitual state of the world, should be brought into doubt.

But still more menacing was the dispute which arose as to the succession, and threatened to break out in a general war, of which Italy must inevitably become the principal theatre. The pope himself would hardly be able to avoid declaring for one of the parties, though without any hope of rendering it essential aid.

I find it stated\* that Innocent XII, who was then reconciled to France, had advised Charles II of Spain to declare the French prince his heir, and that this counsel of the holy father had had great influence on the construction of the will, on which so much depended.

At any rate the see of Rome abandoned the anti-French policy, which it had pursued almost without interruption since the time of Urban VIII. The pope might possibly consider as the more trifling change and the least evil, that the monarchy should fall undivided into the hands of a prince belonging to a family which at that time manifested a pre-eminent zeal in favor of catholicism. Clement XI, Gianfrancesco Albani, elected on the 16th November 1700, openly approved the determination of Louis XIV to accept the succession; he wrote a congratulatory letter to Philip V, and granted him subsidies raised upon ecclesiastical property, as if no doubt could be entertained of his rights.† Clement XI may be considered as not only a disciple, but as a perfect representative, of the court of Rome, which he had never quitted. His courteous manners, literary talents, and irreproachable conduct had procured for him universal popularity:‡ he had discovered the art of attaching, and making himself necessary to, the last three popes, different as their characters had been; he had risen in the world by tried and practical, but not formidable, talents. He once said, that as cardinal he had known how to give good advice, but as pope he knew not how to guide himself; which seemed to prove that he felt himself more able to seize and carry out an impulse already given, than to

\* Morosini, *Relatione di Roma 1707*: “Se il papa abbia avuto mano o partecipazione nel testamento di Carlo II io non ardirò d’asserirlo, nè è facile di penetrare il vero con sicurezza. Bensì addurrò solo due fatti. L’uno che questo arcano non si sa, se con verità fu esposto in un manifesto uscito alle stampe in Roma ne’ primi mesi del mio ingresso all’ambasciata all’ora che dall’uno e l’altro partito si trattava la guerra non meno con l’armi che con le carte. L’altro che il papa non s’astenne di far pubblici elogj al christ<sup>mo</sup> d’ essersi ritirato dal partaggio ricevendo la monarchi intiera per il nepote.”

† Buder, *Leben und Thaten Clemens XI*, tom. i, p. 148.

‡ Erizzo, *Relatione di Roma 1702*: “Infatti pareva egli la delizia di Roma, e non eravi ministro regio nè nazione che non credesse tutto suo il cardinale Albani. Tanto bene,” he adds, “sapeva fingere effetti e variare linguaggio con tutti.”

form and act upon a spontaneous decision. For instance, in taking up the jurisdictional question with renewed vigor, immediately after his succession, he did but follow in the track marked out by public opinion and by the interests of the curia. So he now trusted in the power and fortune of the great monarch. He doubted not that Louis XIV would ultimately be victorious. The Venetian ambassador assures us that Clement could not conceal his joy and satisfaction at the success gained by the French, in the attempt made by Germany and Italy upon Vienna in 1703, which promised to be decisive.

But at that very moment fortune deserted them. The king's German and English enemies, who had been the allies of Innocent XI, but from whom Clement XI had gradually estranged himself, obtained unprecedented victories: the imperial troops, united with those of Prussia, poured down upon Italy; they were not disposed to spare a pope whose conduct had been so equivocal; the old pretensions of the empire, which had never been thought of since the time of Charles V, were again revived.

We will not here enter into all the bitter animosities in which Clement XI was gradually involved.\* At last the imperial party appointed a limited time within which he must decide on the acceptance or rejection of their offers of peace; among the conditions of which, the recognition of the Austrian pretender to the Spanish throne was the most important. It was in vain that the pope looked round for assistance. He waited till the appointed day, the 15th January 1709, after which, if he were still undecided, the imperialists had threatened to overrun his capital and his dominions. It was at the last moment, at eleven at night, that he gave in his signature. He had formerly congratulated Philip V; he now was compelled to recognise his rival, Charles III, as catholic king.†

This event not only gave a severe blow to the authority of the pope as an umpire, but also deprived him of his political freedom and independence. The French ambassador left Rome, declaring that it was no longer the seat of the church.‡

The political world had entirely changed its aspect. It was protestant England which in fact decided the fortunes of the Spanish and catholic monarchy: what influence then could the pope exercise over the destinies of Europe? At the peace of Utrecht, coun-

\* *E. g.* concerning the troops quartered at Parma and Piacenza, in which places even the clergy were not exempted from military contributions. "Accord avec les députés du duc et de la ville de Plaisance 14 Dec. 1706, art. ix, que pour soulager l'état tous les particuliers quoique très privilégiés contribueroient à la susdite somme." This however the pope would not endure, and the emperor's claims were again asserted with fresh vehemence. *Contre declaration de l'empereur*, Lamberty, v, 85.

† The conditions, which were at first kept a secret, became known through a letter from the Austrian ambassador to the Duke of Marlborough. *Lamberty*, v, 242.

‡ *Lettre du marechal Thessé au pape*, 12 Juillet 1709.

tries which the pope had looked upon as his fiefs, such as Sicily and Sardinia, were allotted to new families without even consulting him.\* The infallible decision formerly claimed by the chief shepherd of the church yielded to the interests of the great powers of Europe.

Peculiar misfortunes befell the papal see from this cause.

It had always been one of the principal objects of the policy of the Roman court, to possess an influence over the Italian states, and if possible, to assert and exercise an indirect sovereignty over them.

But at the period under our notice, not only had Austria, while in open war with the pope, established herself firmly in Italy, but the Duke of Savoy had attained to regal power and large new possessions, in spite of the pope's known opposition.

Matters went still further. In order to reconcile the contending houses of Bourbon and Austria, the mediating powers acceded to the wishes of the queen of Spain, and gave to one of her sons Parma and Piacenza. For two centuries, the pope's feudal suzerainty over that duchy had never been called in question: the successive dukes had received it as a fief, and had paid tribute; now, however, that the right assumed a new character, and it was evident that the male line of the Farnese family would shortly become extinct, the pope's claims were no longer regarded. The emperor gave the duchy in fee to an infant of Spain. Nothing remained for the pope but to make protests, to which no one paid the slightest attention.†

The peace between the two houses, however, was but momentary. In the year 1733 the Bourbons renewed their claims upon Naples, which was then in the hands of Austria; the Spanish ambassador offered to pay tribute and the palfrey to the pope. Clement XII would now willingly have left matters as they stood; he named a committee of cardinals, who decided in favor of the Austrians. Again the fortune of war was adverse to the decision of the pope; the Spanish arms were victorious. In a short time Clement was obliged to concede the investiture of Naples and Sicily to the same infant of Spain, whom he had seen, with such mortification, take possession of Parma.

It is true that the final result of these contests was not very different from that originally aimed at by the Roman court: the house of Bourbon extended its power over Spain and a large portion of Italy, but under very different circumstances from those contemplated.

The word which was to decide the destinies of Europe had gone forth from England. The Bourbons had forced their way into

\* For the suspicious character of the conduct of Savoy, see Lafitau, *Vie de Clement XI* tom. ii, p. 78.

† *Protestatio nomine sedis apostolicæ emissa in conventu Cameracensi.* Rousset, *Supplement au corps diplomat. de Dumont*, iii, ii, p. 173.

Italy in open contradiction to the wishes of the holy see: the separation of the provinces, which it was sought to avoid, had taken place, and continually filled Italy and the territory of the church with hostile troops. The temporal authority of the papal see was thus annihilated, even in its immediate neighborhood.

This must have had a great effect on the jurisdictional disputes of the church, which were intimately blended with her political relations; an effect, which Clement XI had already been made to feel in the severest manner.

More than once his nuncio was sent out of Naples; once also in Sicily the clergy favorable to Roman views were seized in a body and transported to the territory of the church.\* An intention was manifested in all the Italian provinces, of permitting none but natives to be invested with ecclesiastical dignities.† In Spain also the nuntiatura was closed,‡ and Clement XI at one time thought that he should be driven to cite the prime minister of Spain, Alberoni, before the inquisition.

From year to year these differences became wider and more serious. The court of Rome no longer possessed the power or the internal energy requisite to enable it to preserve union, even among those who acknowledged its religious supremacy.

“I cannot deny,” says the Venetian envoy Mocenigo, in 1737, “that there is something unnatural in the sight of all the catholic governments united in a body, in a hostility to the Roman court so violent as to leave no hopes of any reconciliation which would not injure that court in some vital part. Whether it proceed from the spread of more enlightened ideas, as many people maintain, or from a tyrannical disposition to crush the weaker party, thus much is certain—that the kings of Europe are making rapid progress in stripping the Roman see of all its temporal rights and privileges.”§

To any one who took even a superficial view of what was passing in Rome, under his own eyes, it was evident that everything was at stake if peace were not concluded.

The memory of Benedict XIV, Prospero Lambertini, (1740—1758,) is blessed because he determined to make the concessions indispensable to this end.

It is well known how little Benedict XIV suffered himself to be dazzled or elated by the elevation of his dignity, nor did it destroy his good-humored jocularly and Bolognese wit. He rose from his work, joined his courtiers, communicated to them some idea which

\* Buder, *Leben und Thaten Clemens XI* tom. iii, p. 571.

† We learn from Lorenzo Tiepolo, *Relatione di Roma 1712*, that the imperial party in Naples as well as in Milan already entertained the project, “che li benefici ecclesiastici siano solamente dati a nazionali, colpo di non picciolo danno alla corte di Roma se si effettuasse.”

‡ San Felipe, *Contributions to the history of Spain*, iii, 214.

§ Aluise Mocenigo IV: *Relatione di Roma 16 Apr. 1737*, see Appendix. (No. 162.)

had just entered his head, and returned to his desk.\* His attention was steadily directed to essentials. With an unshrinking glance he surveyed the position of the papal see with relation to the other European powers, and clearly discerned what could be retained, and what must be given up. He was too well versed in the canon law, and at the same time too completely a pope, to allow himself to be hurried into excess in the latter direction.

The most extraordinary act of his pontificate was the concordat which he entered into with Spain in 1753. He brought himself to renounce the patronage of the smaller benefices, which though now violently contested, the Roman curia still possessed in that country.

But was the court to lose the large sum which it drew from that source, without any compensation? should the papal power all at once abandon its influence on individuals? To solve these difficulties Benedict devised the following expedient. Fifty-two of those benefices were expressly reserved for the nomination of the pope, "in order that he might have the means of rewarding those among the Spanish clergy who by their virtue, purity of morals, learning, or by the services which they had rendered to the Roman see, might be able to substantiate their claim to preferment."† The pecuniary loss to the curia was then calculated, and was found to amount to 34,300 sc. a year. The king bound himself to pay a sum of 1,143,330 sc., the interest of which, at three per cent., would equal the loss thus sustained. All-atoning gold thus proved its conciliatory influence in ecclesiastical affairs.

With most of the other courts too, Benedict XIV concluded treaties containing concessions. The right of patronage which the king of Portugal already possessed, was extended, and the title of Most Faithful was added to the other spiritual privileges and honors which he had won. The court of Sardinia, doubly displeased, because the concessions which it had obtained at favorable conjunctures had been revoked during the last pontificate, was conciliated by means of the instructions for the concordats of 1741 and 1750.‡ In Naples, where, under the patronage and favor of the imperial government, and more especially under the influence of Gaetano Argento, a school of jurisprudence had arisen which had devoted its chief study to questions of ecclesiastical law, and stren-

\* *Relatione di F. Venier di Roma, 1774*: "Asceso il papa al trono di S. Pietro non seppe cambiare l'indole sua. Egli era di temperamento affabile insieme e vivace, e vi restò, spargeva fin da prelado li suoi discorsi con giocosi sali ed ancor li conserva—dotato di cuore aperto e sincero traseurò sempre ogn' una di quelle arti che si chiamano romanesche." (See App. No. 163.)

† "Acciò non meno S. S.<sup>a</sup> che i suoi successori abbiano il modo di provvedere e premiare quegli ecclesiastici che per probità e per illibatezza de' costumi o per insigne letteratura o per servizi prestati alla S. Sede se ne renderanno meritevoli." Words of the concordat, quoted in the Report of the English Committee, 1816, p. 317.)

‡ Risposta alle notizie dimandate intorno alla giurisdizione ecclesiastica nello stato di S. M.<sup>a</sup>. Torino 5 Marzo 1816, *ibid.* p. 250.

uously resisted the claims of the papal see,\* Benedict XIV, permitted the rights of the nuntiatura to be not a little curtailed, and sanctioned the subjecting the clergy to taxation. The pope authorised the imperial court to diminish the number of the appointed holidays—an act which made great noise at that time; for though he had only permitted work to be done on those days the imperial court did not hesitate to employ force to exact it.

In this manner were the catholic courts once again reconciled to their ecclesiastical head; once more was peace restored.

It must not, however, be imagined that matters were thus brought to a conclusion; nor that the contest between the state and the church, which seems to originate in an internal necessity of catholicism, could be terminated by these slight compromises, of no avail beyond the moment which occasioned them. The agitated deep soon began to heave with indications of other and far more tremendous storms.

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§ 18. ALTERED STATE OF EUROPE; INTERNAL AGITATIONS;  
SUPPRESSION OF THE ORDER OF THE JESUITS.

The greatest changes had been effected, not only in Italy and in the South, but in the general political condition of Europe.

Where were now the times in which the papacy might cherish not unfounded hopes of again bringing Europe and the world under its sway?

Three of the five great powers which determined the destinies of Europe in the middle of the eighteenth century, were anti-catholic. We mentioned the attempts made by former popes to subdue Russia and Prussia by means of Poland; and England by the arms of France and Spain. These three powers now exercised an influence over Europe unquestionably greater than that possessed by the catholic states.

It was not that the one creed had prevailed over the other—the protestant over the catholic theology: this was no longer the field of contention; the change was produced by the action of national causes, the origin of which we have noticed: the states of the anti-catholic party generally evinced a decided superiority to the catholics. The centralising and monarchical spirit of Russia had overmastered the disunited and insubordinate aristocracy of Poland; the industry and practical talent and the naval skill of the English, had triumphed over the careless indolence of the Spaniards, and the vacillating policy of the French, which was at the mercy of every accidental change in their domestic affairs; while the energetic or-

\* Giannone, Storia di Napoli, vi. 387.



ganisation and military discipline of Prussia had given her a decided advantage over a federal monarchy, such as Austria then was.

Although the preponderance in the scale of Europe acquired by these powers, was in no respect connected with their peculiar religion, it had of necessity a considerable effect upon the affairs of the church.

In the first place, because religious creeds shared in the prosperity and power of the several states by which they were professed. Russia, for example, without the smallest regard to the inclinations of the people, placed Greek bishops in the united provinces of Poland;\* the revolt of Prussia generally reawakened in the German protestants a feeling of independence and strength such as they had long been strangers to; while the absolute dominion of the seas acquired by protestant England, eclipsed and paralysed those catholic missions which had formerly been sustained by political influences.

Nor was this all. In the former half of the seventeenth century, when England was bound to the policy of France, when Russia was almost entirely severed from the rest of Europe, and the power of the house of Brandenburg was in its infancy, the catholic powers, France, Spain, Austria and Poland, even in their discord, ruled the European world. The consciousness how utterly this was changed, must, we should think, gradually find its way into the minds of that party; the confidence inspired by a politico-religious position restrained by no rival or superior, must vanish. The pope was now fully aware that he no longer stood at the head of the powers which swayed the destinies of Europe.

Lastly, would not the thought necessarily suggest itself, whence arose this change? Every defeat, every loss, produces a revolution in the breast of the conquered who does not utterly despair of himself; it stimulates him to imitation of his triumphant antagonist. The strictly monarchical, military and commercial spirit of the anti-catholic party now insinuated itself into the catholic states; and as it was impossible to deny that the adversity which had fallen upon them was connected with their spiritual constitution, the movement of the public mind was now turned in that direction.

It there encountered other mighty agitations which in the mean time had broken out on the field of faith and opinion, in the centre of catholicism itself.

The Jansenist controversy, the origin of which we have traced, was renewed with redoubled violence from the beginning of the eighteenth century. It originated in the highest places. The king's confessor, who was generally a Jesuit, and the archbishop of Paris, used to exercise the greatest influence in the supreme ecclesiastical council of France, whence La Chaise and Harlai, who were closely united, had directed the measures hostile to the papacy. Their

\* Rulhière, *Histoire de l'anarchie de Pologne*, i, 181.

successors, Le Tellier and Noailles were not on so good an understanding. It was very probably slight differences of opinion which first caused their disunion—the stricter adherence of the one to the Jesuitical or Molinist ideas, and the tolerant inclination of the other to Jansenist views; gradually, however, a complete feud broke out between them, and the nation was divided by a quarrel originating in the cabinet of the king. The confessor succeeded not only in maintaining his power and in gaining over the king, but also in moving the pope to issue the bull *Unigenitus*, in which the Jansenist doctrines of sin, grace, justification, and church, even in their mitigated expression, and sometimes as they were thought to be literally found in St. Augustine, and in a far larger extension than in the five propositions above mentioned, were denounced as heretical.\* It was the final decision of the old controversy agitated by Molina; after centuries of vacillation, the Roman see at length declared itself decidedly in favor of the Jesuits.

By this declaration the pope succeeded in attaching the powerful order which from that time became the most ardent defender of ultramontane doctrines and of the claims of the papacy—a character which, as we have seen it was far from having maintained before. He also succeeded in keeping on a good understanding with the French government, which had indeed provoked this decision, and which soon bestowed its preferment exclusively on those who submitted to the bull. But at the same time the most powerful opposition arose on the other side; from the learned, who adhered to St. Augustine; from the monastic orders, which were followers of Thomas Aquinas; from the parliaments, which beheld in every new act of the court of Rome a violation of the Gallican rights.—The Jansenists now at length seriously entered the list for these liberties, and they not only broached, with advancing audacity, doctrines concerning the church which ran directly counter to those of Rome, but, under the protection of a protestant government, they instantly set about applying their principles; an archiepiscopal church arose in Utrecht, generally adhering to catholicism, but maintaining complete independence of Rome, and carrying incessant war on the Jesuitical ultramontane spirit. It would well requite our labor to investigate the formation, diffusion, and operation of these opinions throughout Europe. In France the Jansenists were oppressed, persecuted, and excluded from office; but, as usually happens, this did no essential injury to their cause. During these very persecutions a large portion of the public declared for them, and their influence would have been far more deep and stable, had

\* The "*Mémoires secrets sur la bulle Unigenitus*," i, p. 123, describe the first impression it made. "Les uns publioient qu'on y attaquoit de front les premiers principes de la foi et de la morale; les autres qu'on y condamnoit les sentimens et les expressions des saints pères; d'autres qu'on y enlevoit à la charité sa prééminence et sa force; d'autres qu'on leur arrachoit des mains le pain céleste des écritures: les nouveaux réunis à l'église se disoient trompés," &c. &c.

they not brought even their more rational doctrines into discredit by extravagance and credulity. But at all events, they made such approaches to a purer system of morals and to a profounder faith, as secured for them universal respect and attention. We find traces of them in Vienna and in Brussels, in Spain and in Portugal,\* and throughout Italy.† Their doctrines pervaded all Christendom, sometimes openly, more frequently in secret.

This schism among the clergy was undoubtedly one cause which opened the way to the progress of far more dangerous opinions.

The kind of influence produced by the exertions of Louis XIV, in the cause of religion, on the mind of France, and indeed of all Europe, is a phenomenon which deserves to be held in eternal remembrance. Louis XIV had employed the most arbitrary and cruel means—he had violated the laws of God and man, in order to root out protestantism, and to extirpate every trace of nonconformity within the pale of the catholic church. His whole endeavor had been to give to his kingdom the character of pure orthodox catholicism. Scarcely, however, had he closed his eyes, when the whole fabric he had labored to rear, crumbled to the ground. The repressed spirit broke out into wild and uncontrolable activity.

It was the very horror of the proceedings of Louis XIV which generated opinions at open war, not only with catholicism, but with all positive religion whatsoever. These opinions yearly acquired fresh internal strength and external diffusion. The kingdoms of southern Europe were founded on the most intimate connection between church and state. Here, in these very kingdoms, antipathy to church and religion was organised into a system infecting all ideas of God and his world; all social and political principles, all sciences; and giving birth to a literature of opposition, which took captive the minds of men, and bound them with indissoluble bonds.

It is evident how little harmony there was between these tendencies; the reforming spirit was essentially monarchical; this was far from being the case with the philosophical, which very soon displayed its hostility to the state as well as to the church; while the Jansenists clung to convictions which were equally indifferent, if not odious, to the one party as to the other; yet they conspired to produce a common result. They generated that spirit of innovation, whose grasp is the wider the less distinct is its object, and the more boundless the claims it asserts on the future; and which daily imbibes fresh strength from the abuses of existing institutions. This spirit now took possession of the catholic church. It generally

\* In Llorente, *Histoire de l'Inquisition*, iii, 93 to 97, we find how much employment, real or supposed, Jansenists furnished to the inquisition under Charles III and Charles IV.

† *E. g.* in Naples very early; even in 1715 it was believed that one half of those who were at all reflecting people were Jansenists. *Keyssler Reisen*, p. 780.

originated, consciously or unconsciously, in what is called the philosophy of the eighteenth century.

The Jansenist theories gave it form and substance, while the necessities which pressed upon the people, and the emergency of the moment, set it in activity. In every country and at every court two parties arose, of which the one made war on the curia, on the established constitution, and the established creed; the other strove to maintain things as they were, and to uphold the prerogatives of the universal church.

The latter was more particularly represented by the Jesuits, whose order appeared the main bulwark of ultramontane principles.

Against this, therefore, the whole fury of the storm was first directed.

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The Jesuits were still very powerful in the eighteenth century; still, as in former times, chiefly because they were the confessors of kings and nobles, and the instructors of youth; their enterprises, whether religious (though these were no longer pursued with their former energy) or commercial, still embraced the world. They now adhered with unshaken firmness to the doctrines of ecclesiastical orthodoxy and subordination; whatever was in any way at variance with these, whether positive infidelity, Jansenist opinions, or theories of reform—all fell under common sentence of condemnation.

The first attack made on them was in the domain of thought and of literature. It is not to be denied, that to the multitude and vigor of their assailing foes, they opposed rather stubborn tenacity of opinions once espoused, indirect influence on the great, and anathema of all who opposed them, than any fair and genuine intellectual weapons. It is hardly credible that neither they themselves, nor any of their adherents, produced a single original and effective book in their defence, whilst the works of their antagonists inundated the world, and determined the cast of public opinion.

But after they were once defeated on the field of doctrine, of science, and of intellect, they could not long retain possession of power.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, it happened, that during the contest of these two tendencies, reforming ministers were placed at the helm in almost all the catholic states; in France, Choiseul,\* in Spain, Wall and Squillace, in Naples, Tannucci, in Portugal, Carvalho; all men who had made it the main thought and object of

\* In the Appendix to the memoirs of M<sup>me</sup> du Hausset there is an essay, "De la destruction des Jésuites en France," in which Choiseul's hatred to the Jesuits is ascribed to the circumstance of the general of the order having given him to understand at Rome, that he knew what had been said at a supper at Paris. This is a story which has been repeated in many different ways, but which has very little probability. The causes no doubt lay much deeper.

their life to limit the pretensions of the church. In them the ecclesiastical opposition acquired representatives and champions; their individual position rested upon it, and open war was the more inevitable, since they found the Jesuits constantly laboring to obstruct their designs by personal counteraction, and by personal influence over the highest classes of society.

The first idea which suggested itself did not go the length of an entire abolition of the order; it went no further than to remove them from the courts of Europe, and to strip them of their influence, and, if possible, of their wealth. It was thought practicable to make the court of Rome subservient to that end. The schism which divided the catholic world, had in a certain sense extended even hither; there was a strict, and a moderate party. Benedict XIV, who was the representative of the latter, had long been dissatisfied with the Jesuits, whose conduct in the missions he had often loudly condemned.\*

After Carvalho, in the strife of factions which divided the Portuguese court, had remained lord and master of the powers of the state and of the will of the king, in defiance of the Jesuits who labored at his overthrow, he demanded of the pope a reform of that order.† He naturally placed in the most prominent light the side most obnoxious to blame—the mercantile spirit of the society, which indeed opposed very troublesome obstacles to his commercial schemes. The pope entered on the subject without scruple. The busy worldly occupations of the order were an abomination to him. At the suggestion of Carvalho, he charged cardinal Saldanha, a Portuguese and a friend of the minister, with the visitation of the order. In a short time a decree of the visitor appeared, in which the Jesuits were earnestly admonished to relinquish their commercial pursuits, and the royal authorities were empowered to seize all goods belonging to those ecclesiastics.

Already had an attack been made on the society in France on similar grounds. The bankruptcy of a mercantile house connected with father Lavallete, in Martinique, which occasioned a multitude of other failures, induced the sufferers to bring their complaint before a court of justice, which entered into the affair with zeal.‡

Had Benedict XIV lived longer, it may be assumed, that though he would not indeed have annihilated the order, he would have gradually reduced it to subordination by a searching and radical reform.

But at this moment he expired, and a man of contrary opinions

\* This occurred while he was only bishop Lambertini. *Mémoires du père Norbert*, ii, 20.

† This contest of factions is most vividly described on the Jesuit side, in a history of the Jesuits in Portugal, translated by Murr from an Italian manuscript.

‡ *Vie privée de Louis XV*, iv, p. 88.

and sentiments, Clement XIII, quitted the conclave as pope (6th July, 1758).

Clement was a man of pure soul and pure intentions; he prayed much and fervently; his highest ambition was, to obtain the honors of canonization; but he likewise entertained the opinion that all the claims of the papacy were sacred and inviolable; he deeply lamented that any had been abandoned, and was resolved to make no concessions; he was even firmly persuaded that by unshaken perseverance everything could be obtained, and the obscured glory of Rome restored.\* He beheld in the Jesuits the most faithful champions of the papacy and of religion; he approved them, such as they were, nor did he think they stood in need of any reform. In all these sentiments he was strengthened by his immediate attendants, who shared his devotions. But affairs were in such a state, that the only result of his exertions was, to render the attacks upon the Jesuits more violent, and at the same time to call them down on the holy see itself.

The Jesuits of Portugal were involved (it is impossible to say whether justly or not) in an accusation of an attempt on the king's life.† Blow after blow fell upon them with crushing force, and at length they were banished with merciless severity, and transported to the coasts of the Roman states.

In France, meanwhile, they had fallen, in consequence of the lawsuit abovementioned, into the power of the parliaments, by whom they had always been detested. The business was conducted with the greatest publicity and clamor, and the whole order was at length sentenced to acquit all Lavallette's obligations. Nor did their enemies rest here. The unlimited power of their general, which was not compatible with the laws of the country, was once more imputed to the Jesuits as a crime, and the legality of their existence generally was called into question.

Louis XV would fain have saved the order, not with any view to its destruction, but on the contrary, to give it all the protection

\* Sammlung der merkwürdigsten Schriften die Aufhebung der Jesuiten betreffen, 1773, i, p. 211. How strongly public opinion was opposed to it, may be seen in Winkelman's letters.

† In the sentence pronounced on the 12th of January, 1759, it is chiefly certain "legal presumptions" which are insisted on against "the corrupt members of the company of Jesus." The principal are: their ambition to gain possession of the reins of government (§ 25); their arrogance before the undertaking, and their depression after its miscarriage (§ 26); lastly, and certainly as the most serious offence, their close connection with the leading delinquent Mascarenhas, with whom they had previously quarrelled. Father Costa is said to have declared that, in committing regicide, "a man would not be guilty of even a venial sin" (§ 4). On the other hand, it is to be remarked, that the confessions on which these accusations are grounded, were extorted by the rack, and that the documents relating to the trial are full of informalities and marks of precipitation. Legally, the sentence can never be justified. Compare Von Olfers upon the attempt to assassinate the king of Portugal, Sept. 3, 1758. Berlin, 1839.

possible; and only because the public voice, the sentence of the courts of justice, and the majority of his council compelled him to do so, he proposed to the general to appoint a vicar in France.\*

If a man like Aquaviva had been at their head, there is no doubt that even at this moment some expedient, some conciliatory course, would have been devised. But the company had now a most inflexible chief, Lorenzo Ricci, who felt nothing but the injustice it sustained. He replied, that so material a change of the constitution was not within his power. An appeal was made to the pope: Clement XIII replied, that this constitution had been too distinctly sanctioned by the holy council of Trent, and by numerous decrees of his predecessors, for him to alter it.† They rejected every kind of modification. Ricci's whole mind was expressed in the words, "sint ut sunt, aut non sint."

And accordingly they ceased to be. On the 6th of August, 1762, the parliament of Paris decreed the suppression of the Jesuits in France. It is true the pope in consistory declared this decree null and void;‡ but things had already got to such a pass, that he did not dare to publish the allocution in which the sentence was contained.

The movement now spread with resistless progress through all the countries under Bourbon sway. Charles III of Spain was prevailed on to believe that the Jesuits had a plot for placing his brother Don Louis on the throne in his stead.§ Hereupon, with that resolute self-possession which distinguished his whole character and conduct, he caused every thing to be prepared in secrecy and silence, and in one and the same day every establishment belonging to the Jesuits in Spain was closed—an example which was immediately followed in Naples and Parma.

Vain were all the pope's admonitions, prayers, and adjurations. At length he tried another expedient. The Duke of Parma went so far as to forbid all recourse to the tribunals of Rome, as well as all grants of the benefices of the duchy to foreigners; upon this the

\* Letter from Praslin, 16 Jan., 1762, Flassan *Histoire de la Diplomatie Françoise*, vi, 498. The whole account is very instructive.

† Wolf, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, iii, 365. This book is only useful as regards the abolition of the order.

‡ "Potestatem ipsam Jesu Christi in terris vicario ejus unice tributam sibi temere arrogantes totius societatis compagem in Gallico regno dissolvunt," &c. &c. This act is in Daunou, *Essai* ii, 207.

§ Letter from the French Ambassador which was inserted in Lebrét's *History of the Bull "In cœna Domini,"* iv, 205, taken from the Italian work *Delle cagioni dell' espulsione de Gesuiti*. A *Relatione al conte di Firmian*, 1767, Apr. 7, (MS. in the Brera) asserts that the Jesuits had some expectation of what impended over them: "Non fu senza forte motivo che poco prima di detta espulsione dimandarono al re la conferma de' loro privileghe e del loro istituto, il che solamente in oggi si è saputo." They had concealed their money and their papers. But the advantage to the crown appeared to Charles III so great, that after the affair had been accomplished, he exclaimed, that he had conquered a new world.

pope took courage to issue a *monitorium*, in which he threatened the duke, his vassal, with ecclesiastical censures;\* thus once more attempting to defend himself by retaliatory measures. But the experiment was attended with the worst results; the duke replied in a tone which in former ages the mightiest monarch would not have dared to assume; the Bourbons all took his part, and Avignon, Benevento, and Pontecorvo were invested by their troops. The hostility of the Bourbon courts did not stop here; from the persecution of the Jesuits, they proceeded immediately to aggressions on the see of Rome.

To whom could the pope now have recourse? All the Italian states, Genoa, Modena, and Venice took part against him. He turned his eyes once more to Austria. He wrote to the empress, Maria Theresa, that she was his only consolation on earth; he trusted she would not suffer his old age to be oppressed by violent men.

The empress answered, as Urban VIII had once answered the emperor Ferdinand, that it was an affair of state and not of religion, and that she had no right to intermeddle in it.

Clement's spirit was broken. At the beginning of the year 1769 appeared the ambassadors of the Bourbon courts one after another; first the Neapolitan, then the Spanish, and lastly the French, to demand the final abolition of the entire order of Jesus.† The pope summoned a consistory for the 3d of February, in which he seemed resolved at least to take the matter into consideration. But he was not destined to undergo so profound a humiliation. On the evening before, he was seized by a convulsion and expired.

The attitude of the courts was too threatening, and their influence too powerful, not to give them an ascendancy in the conclave that now assembled, and to secure the triple crown to a man suited to their purposes.

Of all the cardinals, Lorenzo Ganganelli was without question the mildest and most moderate. In his youth his tutor said of him, "that it was no wonder he loved music, for that all was harmony within him."‡ He grew up in innocent intercourse with a small

\* Botta *Storia d'Italia*, tom. xiv, p. 147.

† *Continuazione degli annali d'Italia di Muratori*, xiv, 1, p. 197.

‡ *Aneddoti riguardanti la famiglia e l'opere di Clemente XIV in the Lettere ed altre opere di Ganganelli*, Firenze, 1829. As far as regards these works and letters themselves, they may perhaps be interpolated; but I believe them to be chiefly authentic, 1st, because the defence of them in the *Ringraziamento dell'editore all'autor dell'anno letterario*, is on the whole natural and satisfactory, although an unjustifiable use had been made of them before their publication; 2d, because credible witnesses, such as cardinal Bernis, assure us they saw the originals; the real collector was the Florentine *littérateur* Lami; according to a letter from the Abbé Bellegarde in *Potter's Vie de Ricci*, i, p. 328, those who possessed the originals and gave the copies testified to their authenticity; 3d, because they bear the stamp of an originality, a peculiar turn of thought, unchanged under all the circumstances of life, such as no one could have invented or forged. There is a



circle of friends, combined with retirement from the world, and solitary study, which led him deeper and deeper into the sublime mysteries of true theology. In like manner as he turned from Aristotle to Plato, in whom he found more full satisfaction of soul, so he quitted the schoolmen for the fathers, and them again for the Holy Scriptures, which he studied with all the devout fervor of a mind convinced of the revelation of the Word. From this well-spring he drank in that pure and calm enthusiasm which sees God in everything, and devotes itself to the service of man. His religion was not zeal, persecution, lust of dominion, polemical vehemence, but peace, charity, lowliness of mind and inward harmony. The incessant bickerings of the holy see with the catholic states, which shook the foundations of the church, were utterly odious to him. His moderation was not weakness or a mere bending to necessity, but spontaneous benevolence and native graciousness of temper.

A tone of opinion was generated in the very bosom of religion, which however different in its origin from the worldly spirit of courts, yet tended to corroborate its effects.

Ganganelli obtained his election mainly through the influence of the Bourbons, and more directly in consequence of a proposal made by the Spanish and French cardinals. He took the name of Clement XIV.

The Roman curia was, as we have mentioned, divided like other courts into two parties; the "zelanti," who sought to maintain unimpaired all its privileges; and the party of the temporal crowns, the "regalisti," who believed the safety of the church to lie in prudent concessions; this party now rose to power, in the person of Ganganelli, and the same change which had already taken place in all the royal courts, was now wrought in that of Rome.

Ganganelli's first measure was to prohibit the reading of the bull, *In cœnâ Domini*; he likewise enlarged the concessions which Benedict XIV had made to the king of Sardinia, and which his successors had refused to recognise or to ratify; on the very day of his installation he declared that he would send a nuncio to Portugal; he suspended the action of the monitorium issued against Parma, and he then applied himself most earnestly to the question of the Jesuits. A commission of cardinals was appointed, the archives of the propaganda were searched, and the arguments on either side dispassionately weighed. Clement XIV was, it is true, unfavorably predisposed to their cause. He belonged to the order of the Franciscans, which had always been at war with the Jesuits, especially in the missions; he was also a follower of the Augus-

living spirit in them. At all events the letters cannot be the work of Caracciolo. We need only read his *Vie de Clément XIV*, to see how far inferior all his own observations are to those which were uttered by Clement himself. The whole merit of this work is a mere reflection of the spirit of Ganganelli.

tinian and Thomist scheme of theology, which was utterly at variance with that espoused by the society; nor indeed was he entirely free from Jansenist opinions. The various points of accusation which could not be argued away, were now brought forward, and above all, the impossibility of restoring the peace of the church in any other way than by the suppression of the order. On the 21st July 1773, he pronounced his decision:—

“Inspired, as we humbly trust, by the Divine Spirit, urged by the duty of restoring the unanimity of the church, convinced that the Company of Jesus can no longer render those services, to the end of which it was instituted, and moved by other reasons of prudence and state policy which we hold locked in our own breast, we abolish and annul the Society of Jesus, their functions, houses, and institutions.”\*

This was a step of infinite moment:—

In the first place as to the relation of the holy see to the protestants. The institute was originally calculated for the struggle with them, and was fundamentally adapted to that purpose (for even its creed mainly rested on its contradiction to that of Calvin); and this was the character which the Jesuits, even at the end of the 17th century, during the persecution of the Huguenots, revived with fresh energy. This struggle was, however, at an end, nor could it longer have afforded any material inducements to wilful self-deception: in the great political relations of Europe the anti-catholic countries possessed an incontestable superiority, and the endeavor of the catholic states was now rather to make some approach to those powers, than to draw them within the sphere of their own influence. In this change, I am inclined to believe, lies the principal and the deepest cause of the abolition of the order. It was an institution framed for a state of warfare, and rendered useless by peace. As, however, it would not depart a hair's breadth from its course, as it obstinately resisted every proposition of reform—necessary as that was on other accounts—it pronounced sentence on itself. It is a very striking and important fact, that the holy see had not the power to uphold a society founded expressly to wage war against protestantism:—that a pope abandoned their cause, not on compulsion, but of his own free motion.

This event produced the strongest effect in the catholic countries. The animosity to the Jesuits and their overthrow were chiefly attributable to their defence of the supremacy of the see of Rome, in the most rigorous acceptation of the word; but as Rome herself now abandoned this pretension, the strict idea of supremacy, and its consequences, fell together. The efforts of the opposition were crowned with complete and incontestable victory. The fact that the society which had made the instruction of youth its especial business, and which still had so large a portion of it in its hands,

\* *Continuazione degli Annali*, tom. xiv, part ii, p. 107.

should be annihilated at one blow, without any preparation, must needs occasion a convulsion of the catholic world to its very centre—to that core of society wherein new generations of men are formed.\* The outworks being taken, the victorious party proceeded with greater ardor to the attack of the fortress. The agitation increased from day to day, and desertion and apostacy thinned the ranks of the church; and what hope remained?—since that state whose existence and whose power were most intimately connected with the results of the efforts of catholicism during the epoch of its restoration—since Austria—was now infected with the general fermentation.

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§ 19. JOSEPH II.

The ruling idea of Joseph II was, to unite all the powers of the monarchy, without check or limitation, in his own hand; how then was it possible that he should approve the interference of Rome, or the connection between his subjects and the pope? It is perhaps matter of doubt whether he was more surrounded by infidels or by Jansenists;† but it is indisputable, that here, as in the attack on the Jesuits, they combined their forces to a common end; that they urged and assisted the emperor in the incessant and destructive war which he waged against all institutions calculated to uphold the external unity of the church. Of more than two thousand monasteries, he left only about seven hundred in existence; none of the societies of nuns, but those which could show their obvious and practical usefulness, found mercy at his hands; and even those which he spared, he entirely severed from Rome. He regarded the papal dispensations as foreign commodities, for which he would not suffer any money to leave the country, and he publicly declared himself the administrator of all the secular affairs of the church.

Pius VI, the successor of Ganganelli, quickly perceived that the only means of restraining the emperor from extreme measures, even perhaps as to doctrine, lay in the impression which he might hope to make on him in a personal interview; accordingly he proceeded to Vienna, and it cannot be denied that the mildness, nobleness, and grace which characterised his whole appearance and manner, had some influence. Nevertheless, Joseph pursued his main purpose without wavering or looking back. The very convent where he took solemn leave of the pope, immediately after received notice of its suppression. Pius VI was obliged to consent

\* Montbarey, Mémoires, i, p. 225.

† To this may be ascribed what was believed by Van Swieten. But that there existed a very decided Jansenist tendency in Vienna may be seen from Fessler's life. Fessler's Rückblicke auf seine siebsigjährige Pilgerschaft, pp. 74, 78, and other passages. Compare Schlözer's Staatsanzeigen, ix, 33, p. 113.

to yield the nomination to the episcopal sees, even of Italy, to the emperor.

The anti-papal struggles were thus communicated to Italy from Austria. Leopold himself, as far as we can judge, imbued with Jansenist opinions, reformed the church of Tuscany without any reference to the see of Rome; at so short a distance from the capital of Christendom, the synod of Pistoja published in its decrees a complete manifesto of the union of Gallican and Jansenist principles. Naples, which was closely united with this party by means of Queen Caroline, abolished the last traces of feudal obligation to the see of Rome.

The proceedings of the emperor had also an indirect operation on the church of Germany. The ecclesiastical electors, between whom and Rome the strictest harmony had so long subsisted, at last began to revolt from her side. They united in their own persons the interests of sovereign princes, who desired to put an end to a drain of the wealth of their dominions, and of spiritual dignitaries who sought to restore their authority.\* According to their declaration given at Emms, and "written with a pen," says a Roman prelate, "dipped in the gall of Paolo Sarpi," the Roman primate was compelled in future to content himself with the rights which were assigned him in the first centuries of the church.† The German canonists had rendered great service by their admirable preparatory labors, and had been aided by other jurists who attacked the whole constitution of the catholic church in Germany, the political power and civil administration of its hierarchy.‡ An ardent spirit of innovation inflamed both the learned and the lay. The lesser clergy and the bishops, the bishops and the archbishops, they again and the pope, were at variance. In short everything announced a coming change.

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#### § 20. FRENCH REVOLUTION.

But even before the first steps towards it were taken, before Joseph had accomplished his reforms, the most fearful explosion that ever convulsed the world broke out from the depths of the fermenting elements of French society.

It is sufficiently obvious that the disputes of the clergy among themselves; the collision of two hostile parties in all the affairs of

\* Compare the Coblenz article for the year 1769 in the journal *Deutsche Blätter für Protestanten und Katholiken*. Heidelberg, 1839, part i, p. 39.

† Bartolommeo Pacca: *Memorie Storiche sul di lui Soggiorno in Germania*, p. 33.

‡ E. g. Friedrich Carl, v. Moser, *Über die Regierung der geistlichen Staaten in Deutschland*, 1787. His most important position is p. 161, that "the characters of sovereign prince and bishop should be separated."

religion; the incapacity of the dominant party to maintain its ground on the field of thought and literature; the universal dislike which it had, not without reason, drawn on itself, contributed to hasten incalculably the event which has determined the character and the destiny of modern times—the French revolution. The spirit of opposition which had arisen in the very bosom of catholicism, divided against itself, had acquired more and more strength and stability. It gained ground step by step, and in the tempests of the year 1789, obtained possession of power; a power which it deemed itself called on to use for the utter destruction of ancient institutions and ancient opinions—for the creation of a new world. In the universal overthrow which threatened the Most Christian monarchy, one of the severest shocks was necessarily that which convulsed its spiritual constitution.

Every thing concurred; financial difficulties, particular interests, (as for example those of municipal bodies,) indifference or hatred towards the established religion: and, to crown all, the proposal was made by a member of the higher clergy itself, to recognise the right of the nation, that is of the temporal power—and specially of the national assembly—to legislate concerning church lands. Hitherto these lands had been regarded as the property not only of the French, but at the same time of the universal church, and the consent of the pope had been indispensable to any alienation of them. But how remote were the times and the ideas which had given birth to such a view of the subject! After a short debate, the assembly asserted its own right to dispose of the estates of the church, that is, to alienate them, and with still more absolute and unconditional authority than was contemplated in the first proposition. But it could not possibly stop here. As the appropriation of the lands, which was not for a moment delayed, rendered impossible the further subsistence of the existing order of things, it became necessary to proceed forthwith to a new arrangement, such as that effected in the civil constitution of the clergy. The principles of the revolutionised state were carried into the affairs of the church;\* popular election was substituted for the installation commanded by the concordat, and salaries from government for the independence secured by endowments in land; all dioceses were altered, orders suppressed, vows dissolved, the connection with Rome broken, nay the receipt of a brief was now regarded as one of the most heinous crimes. The attempt of a carthusian monk to uphold the doctrine of the sole and absolute dominion of the catholic religion had no other effect than to precipitate resolutions fatal to its power. The whole body of the clergy was commanded to bind itself to the new order of things by solemn oaths.

\* Quite systematically, according to the doctrine of the ancient historians of the church; “*Tota ecclesiarum distributio ad formam imperii facta est.* Camus; Opinion sur le projet de constitution du clergé 31 Mai 1790.”

It is not to be denied that these events were brought about with the co-operation of the French Jansenists, and with the approbation of those of other countries. They saw with pleasure that the power of Babel, as they in their hatred called the Roman curia, had received so tremendous a blow, that the clergy from whom they had experienced such fierce persecution, was overthrown. It was also in accordance with their theoretical convictions, for they maintained that "by stripping a priesthood of their wealth, you compel them to win consideration by real merit. \*

The court of Rome still for a moment flattered itself that this movement would be checked by an internal reaction, with which the pope used every effort to co-operate. He rejected the new constitution, condemned the bishops who had sworn to it, endeavored to encourage the still numerous party who resisted it by exhortation and praise; and at length pronounced sentence of excommunication on the most influential and distinguished members of the constitutional clergy.

But his efforts were vain; the revolutionary spirit triumphed, and the civil war, which had been in a great degree kindled by religious heats, secured the advantage to the side of innovation. Happy had it been for the pope had matters rested there; had France torn from him nothing save herself.

But meantime the general war had broken out, which was destined to convulse Europe to its very foundations.

With that resistless fury, made up of enthusiasm, rapacity, and terror, which had been engendered in intestine strife, the revolutionary torrent burst the bounds of the French dominions, and overflowed Europe. Wherever it spread—in Belgium, Holland, the Rhenish provinces of Germany, (the chief seat of the ecclesiastical form of government,) it brought with it analogous changes; the campaign of 1796 subdued Italy to its power; revolutionary states arose on every side, and the pope was threatened in his own territory, and even in his own capital.†

Though he had thrown into the scale of the coalition the weight of his spiritual authority, he had afforded them no active co-operation. But he vainly insisted on his neutrality. His territories were overrun, and his subjects incited to revolt. Contributions which it was impossible for him to raise, and concessions such as were never demanded of any of his predecessors, were extorted from him.‡ Nor was this all. The pope was not an enemy like any

\* Letters from Gianni and some other Abbés; Potter *Vie de Ricci*, ii, p. 315. Wolf, *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche unter Pius VI*, vol. vii, p. 32, contains a chapter on the influence of the Jansenists in the formation of the new constitution; it is, however, exceedingly imperfect.

† *Authentische Geschichte des Französischen Revolutionskrieges in Italien 1797*. The pope declared that religion forbade their offering any opposition that might lead to bloodshed.

‡ In the *Memoires Historiques et Philosophiques sur Pie VI, et son Ponti-*

other. Even during the war, he had taken courage to reprobate the Jansenist Gallican doctrines of the synod of Pistojo, by the bull, "Auctorem fidei." The unyielding attitude he had assumed, and the condemnatory briefs he had issued, still had a great effect on the interior of France; the French now demanded the retraction of these, and the recognition of the civil constitution of the country, as the price of peace.

But nothing could move Pius VI to these concessions. It would have seemed to him apostacy from the very groundwork of the faith, treason to his high office, to give way on such points.\*

He replied to these demands, "that after imploring help of God, and inspired, as he believed, by the Divine Spirit, he declined acceding to these terms."

For a moment the revolutionary authorities seemed to acquiesce;—an accommodation was devised without these concessions—but it was only for a moment. They advanced from the intention of breaking with the pope, to the idea of entirely crushing him. The directory found the government of priests in Italy incompatible with its own. At the first opportunity (which was afforded by an accidental popular tumult,) Rome was invaded and the Vatican invested. Pius VI prayed his enemies, to let him, an old man of eighty, die there, where he had lived. They replied that he could die any where; they stripped and plundered his sitting-room before his eyes; they deprived him even of the smallest things needful to his comfort; they pulled the ring from his finger; and at length carried him off to France, where he died in August, 1799.

In fact, it seemed as if the papal power was now for ever at an end. The spirit of hostility to the church, the rise and progress of which we have watched, seemed now to have acquired sufficient strength to encourage it to aim at no less a result.

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#### § 21. THE TIMES OF NAPOLEON.

Events however occurred which prevented the fulfilment of such expectations.

The papacy was more especially indebted to the enmity which it experienced from the revolutionary powers, for the protection afforded to it by the other European states—whatever might have otherwise been their dispositions towards it. The death of Pius VI took place precisely at a moment when the allies were again

ficat, tome ii, the losses of the Roman State are reckoned at 220 millions of livres.

\* Memoria diretta al Principi della Pace; Tavanti: Fasti di Pio VI, tom. iii, p. 335: "S. Santità rimase stordita, veggendo che si cercava di traviare la sua coscienza per dare un colpo il più funesto alla religione."

victorious. This rendered it possible for the cardinals to assemble in S. Giorgio at Venice, and to proceed in their election of a pope. On the 13th March, 1800, they chose Pius VII.

Shortly afterwards the revolutionary power was again triumphant, and acquired supremacy in Italy. At that very moment however it underwent a great internal change. After passing through the numerous metamorphoses engendered by the storms of that momentous period, it assumed a monarchical complexion. A despot now arose, who was filled with the idea of a new universal empire, and who, from the spectacle of the general distraction and ruin before his eyes, and from his experience of eastern affairs, had come to the conviction, that of all the ancient institutions of Europe necessary to the accomplishment of his end, the unity of religion and a hierarchical subordination were the foremost.

It was on the field of Marengo that Napoleon despatched the bishop of Vercelli to enter into negotiations with the pope concerning the re-establishment of the catholic church.

This was a proposal which, however tempting, was pregnant with danger. The re-establishment of the catholic church in France, and its connection with the pope, were only to be purchased by enormous concessions.

These Pius VII determined at once to make. He consented to the alienation of church lands—a loss of four hundred millions of francs in landed property:—his motive was, according to his own expression, that his refusal would produce fresh outbreaks of violence, and that he was inclined to give way as far as he could, without prejudice to religion; he acquiesced in the new organization of the French clergy, who were henceforth to be appointed and paid by the government; he was satisfied with the restoration of the right of granting canonical institution, as possessed by former popes, in its full extent, unfettered by any limitation of the veto.\*

The event which shortly before none had expected, the re-establishment of catholicism in France, and the subjection of that country to the ecclesiastical authority, now actually took place. The pope was rejoiced, “that the churches were purified from all profanation, the altars reared again, and the standard of the cross displayed; orthodox shepherds were placed over the people, and so many erring souls re-united to the church and reconciled to God and to themselves.” “How many motives,” he exclaimed, “for joy and thankfulness!”

We must not however be led into a belief that a complete and cordial union of the old ecclesiastical power and the revolutionary government was brought about by the concordat of 1801.

\* *Lettera Apostolica in forma di breve; Pistolesi, Vita di Pio VII, tom. i, p. 143*, with a complete exposition of the departures from the original in the French edition.



Notwithstanding the concessions made by both parties, each pertinaciously adhered to its own principles.

The restorer of the catholic church in France immediately became the chief agent in the final and utter demolition of the proud edifice of the German church, by investing temporal princes, without reference to their being catholics or protestants, with bishoprics and principalities;—a change fraught with confusion and dismay to the Roman court. “According to the old decretals, heresy entailed the loss of property; but now the church of Rome was compelled to look on, while its own possessions were divided amongst heretics.”\*

In the mean while, a concordat, in the same spirit as that concluded with France, was proposed for Italy: the pope was forced to sanction the sale of ecclesiastical property, and to abandon the nomination to all offices to the temporal power; indeed so many limitations were appended to this concordat, that Pius VII felt himself compelled to refuse to publish it.†

But it was in France itself that Napoleon labored with the greatest zeal and effect to give the civil power the ascendancy over the church. He treated the declaration of 1682 as a fundamental law of the kingdom, and caused it to be taught in the schools; he would suffer no religious vows, and no monks; and the regulations concerning marriage which were introduced into his civil code were entirely at variance with the catholic principle of its sacramental signification; the organic articles which he attached to the concordat, from the very first, were of a thoroughly anti-Roman spirit.

Notwithstanding all these encroachments on his power, the pope consented to cross the Alps, at the emperor's request, and to give to the coronation the religious sanction of the holy oil: little encouraging to such a hope as the conduct of the French had been, he still flattered himself that he should be able to effect something for the advantage of the catholic church, and to complete the work he had begun.‡ He calculated on the effect of personal intercourse. He took with him the letter of Louis XIV to Innocent XII, in order to prove to Napoleon, that even that monarch had abandoned the declaration of 1682. In the first remonstrance, written in Italian, which he presented on his arrival at Paris, he formally contested this declaration, and sought to free the new concordat from the restrictions of the organic articles.§ Indeed his views and expectations went still further. In an elaborate memoir he showed the exigencies of the pontificate, together with the losses it had sustained during the last fifty years, and urged the emperor after the example of Charlemagne, to restore the provinces which had been

\* Instructions to a nuncio at Vienna; unfortunately without a date, but probably, of the year 1803. Daunou, *Essai* II, p. 318.

† Coppi, *Annali d'Italia*, tom iii, p. 120.

‡ *Allocutio habita in consistorio secreto* 29 Oct. 1804. For the Italian version see Pistolesi, *Vita di Pio VII*, tom. i, p. 193.

§ *Extrait du Rapport de M. Portalis*; in Artaud, *Pie VII*, tom. ii, p. 11.

occupied.\* So high did he estimate the services which he had rendered to the revolutionary monarchy.

But how utterly was he disappointed! At the very ceremony of the coronation a transient cloud of melancholy was observed to pass over his face, as it were a shadow of evil to come. Of all that he wished and hoped, he did not attain the smallest iota. On the contrary, this was the very moment at which the designs of the emperor were first revealed in all their magnitude.

The constituent assembly had endeavored to emancipate itself entirely from the pope; the directory wished to annihilate his authority; Bonaparte's notion was to retain him, but in a state of absolute subjection; to make him a tool of his own boundless ambition.

He sent proposals to the pope, if we are rightly informed, to remain in France, and to reside either in Paris or in Avignon.

The pope is said to have replied, that, in contemplation of the possibility of his being imprisoned, he had drawn up an abdication in all its forms, which he had deposited at Palermo, beyond the reach of the French decrees.

At this moment the only spot in Europe which could have afforded safety to the pope, was in the power of the British navy.

The pope was indeed suffered to return to Rome, and to retain the appearance of his former independence, but from the very hour of his return he was exposed to the most revolting humiliations.

In a very short time Napoleon declared, without further circumlocution, that like his predecessors of the second and third dynasties, he was the eldest son of the church; that he bore the sword for her defence, and could not endure that she should hold communion with heretics or schismatics like the English or the Russians. He was peculiarly fond of representing himself as the successor of Charlemagne, though the consequences he deduced from the assumption of that character were widely different from those drawn by the court of Rome. He assumed that, the States of the Church being a gift of Charlemagne to the pope, it followed, that the latter lay under an absolute obligation not to sever his policy from that of the empire; and indeed he declared that he would not endure any such separation.†

\* Printed by Artaud, p. 81. Compare the letter by Napoleon, 22d July, 1807. "Le pape s'est donné la peine de venir à mon couronnement: J'ai reconnu dans cette démarche un saint prélat; mais il voulait que je lui cédasse les legations." In Bignon, *Histoire de France sous Napoléon*, Deuxième Epoque, i, p. 158.

† Schoell's *Archives Historiques et Politiques* (Paris, 1819) contain in the 2d and 3d vols., a Précis des contestations qui ont eu lieu entre le saint siège et Napoléon Bonaparte accompagné d'un grand nombre de pièces officielles. The correspondence, given here entire, extends from the 13th of Nov. 1805 to the 17th of May 1808. Nevertheless, in Bignon, *Histoire de France depuis la paix de Tilsit 1838*, i, chap. 3, p. 125, we find the following passage: "Les publications faites depuis 1815 ne se composent guère que de pièces dont la date comence en 1808." And again: "Jusqu'à present son caractère (de Pie VII)

The pope was astonished at the suggestion that he was to regard the enemies of another as his enemies. He replied that he was the universal shepherd, the father of all, the servant of peace, and that the mere request filled him with horror. He ought to be Aaron, the prophet of God, and not Ishmael, whose hand is against every man, and every man's hand against him.

Napoleon however went straightforward to his end. He invested Ancona and Urbino, and on the rejection of his ultimatum (in which he claimed, amongst other things, the nomination of a third of the cardinals), he marched his troops upon Rome; the cardinals who were not inclined to be obsequious to him were dismissed—the pope's secretary of state, twice; but as all this made no impression on Pius VII, even his person was not spared; he too was dragged away from his palace and capital. The union of the States of the Church with the French empire was then proclaimed by a *senatus-consultum*. The temporal sovereignty was declared incompatible with the exercise of spiritual powers; the pope was in future to be formally bound to adhere to the four principles of the Gallican church; he was to draw his revenues from land, almost like a feudatory of the empire, while the expenses of the college of cardinals were to be defrayed by the state:\*—a plan which, it is evident, would have subjected the whole power of the church to the empire, and have placed it, at least indirectly, in the hands of the emperor.

But how would it be possible to obtain the pope's assent to this, his own degradation?—an assent which yet was indispensable.

Pius VII had employed the last moment of his freedom in pronouncing sentence of excommunication. He refused canonical institution to the bishops appointed by the emperor. Napoleon was not so absolutely master of his clergy as not to experience some resistance from various parts of his empire.

But this very resistance at length served to overcome the resolution of the pope. The consequences of it fell far more heavily on the spiritual ruler, the head of the church, who had a sympathy with her internal condition, than on the temporal, to whom spiritual things were a mere instrument of power, and in themselves utterly indifferent.

In Savona, whither the pope had been carried, he was alone, thrown upon himself, and without an adviser. Moved by the lively and almost exaggerated representations of the confusion of the church caused by his refusal of institution, the amiable old man was brought virtually to renounce this right, although with bitter grief and violent struggles: for it could be regarded in no other light

*n'est pas suffisamment connu. On ne le connaîtra bien qu'en l'appreciant d'après ses actes.*" In fact, however acquainted we were already with these acts, Bignon has added but little to the documents given by Schoell.

\* Thibaudeau, *Histoire de la France et de Napoleon. Empire*, tom. v, p. 221.

than as an act of renunciation, since whenever he delayed longer than six months to exercise it, for any other reason than personal unworthiness, it devolved on the metropolitans. He renounced the right which was in fact his last weapon.

And yet this was not all that was exacted of him. With reckless and impatient haste, which aggravated his bodily infirmities, he was taken to Fontainebleau, where he was again exposed to violent scenes, and to the most pressing importunities that he would completely restore the peace of the church. At length these measures were successful;—the pope was brought to give way on the remaining and decisive points. He consented to reside in France, and acquiesced in the most important decision of the *senatus-consultum* above mentioned. The concordat of Fontainebleau (25th January 1813) was framed on the preliminary condition that he should not return to Rome.\*

The autocrat of the revolution had thus really accomplished what no former catholic sovereign had ever seriously so much as projected. The pope consented to become subject to the French empire. His authority would have been, to all times, a tool in the hands of the new dynasty, used to confirm its own subjects in their obedience, and to hold in more complete dependence those catholic states which were not yet wholly subdued. In these respects the papacy would have relapsed into the state into which it had fallen under the German emperors in the plenitude of their power; particularly under the Salic prince Henry III. But it would now have had to bear far heavier bonds. The power that now subjugated the pope contained elements in direct contradiction with the principle of the church. It was, at bottom, but another metamorphosis of that spirit of hostility to the authority of the church which was developed in the eighteenth century, and which involved so strong a tendency to positive unbelief. Of this hostile power, the papacy would have been the subject and vassal.

Again, as formerly, the current of events and opinions, which appeared resistless, was checked.

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#### § 22. THE RESTORATION.

The empire, of which the pope was henceforth to be the hierarchical centre, was still involved in a dubious warfare with invincible foes. In the solitude of his captivity, the pope received no accurate tidings of the vicissitudes of this struggle. At the very moment when, after so long a resistance, he gave way, Napoleon's last and greatest enterprise, that against Russia, had been utterly wrecked,

\* Bart. Pacca, *Memorie Storiche del Ministero de' due viaggi in Francia, &c.* p. 323. *Historisch-Politische Zeitschrift*, i, iv, 642.

and his power, with all its long train of consequences, had been shaken to its centre. Europe once more conceived the nearly extinct hope of deliverance. When the pope, to whom some few cardinals were allowed access in consequence of his submission, was informed of these events, his confidence revived; he breathed once more; he felt every step of the allied powers as an act of liberation to himself.

Thus when Prussia rose, obedient to the call of her king, Pius VII took courage to revoke the last concordat; when the congress met at Prague, he ventured to raise his eyes, to look beyond the bounds of the empire which held him captive, and to recall his rights to the recollection of the emperor of Austria. After the battle of Leipsig, he had gained sufficient confidence promptly to reject the proposal which was made to him, of a restitution of part of his states; after the allies had crossed the Rhine, he declared that he would enter into no further negotiations till his complete restoration was effected. Events succeeded each other with such rapidity, that when the allies entered Paris as conquerors, he had already reached the frontiers of the States of the Church, and on the 21st May, 1814, he re-entered Rome. This was the commencement, not only of a new age for the world, but of a new era for the holy see.

The character and tenor of the last half century have been mainly determined by the struggle between the tendencies of the revolution, which had still such power over the minds of men, and the ideas to which the old states after their victory recurred with redoubled eagerness, as to their primeval bases; in this struggle it is obvious that the supreme head of the catholic church must take an important share.

His first and ready ally was, the idea of temporal legitimacy; and it is remarkable that this was urged even more strongly by his ecclesiastical opponents, than by those attached to him by the bonds of spiritual allegiance. It was the victory of the four great allied powers, of whom three were anti-catholic, over the despot who had thought to make his capital the centre of catholicism, which restored the pope to freedom, and enabled him to return to Rome, the ancient metropolis of Christendom. To these three anti-catholic sovereigns alone, who were then met in London, was the wish of the pope to recover the entire papal states first submitted. How often in former ages had every nerve of that country been strained to effect the destruction of protestantism, whether in England or in Germany, or to propagate the Roman catholic faith in Russia or Scandinavia! The restitution of his country and his power to the pope, must now be effected mainly by the intercessions of these anti-catholic powers. In the allocution in which Pius VII communicates to his cardinals the fortunate result of his negotiations, he expressly mentions the services of the sovereigns "who do not belong to the church of Rome; the emperor of Russia,

who had taken his rights into consideration with peculiar attention; the king of Sweden, the prince regent of England, and the king of Prussia, who had declared in his favor during the whole course of the negotiations." Differences of confession were for the moment sunk in oblivion; political considerations alone were regarded.

We have already had occasion to remark similar tendencies in the course of the last century and a half. We have seen from what states Innocent XI received support and assistance in his contests with Louis XIV. When the Jesuits were doomed to destruction by the Bourbon courts, they found in Russia and Prussia favor and protection; the occupation of Avignon and Benevento by those courts, in the year 1758, caused a political commotion in England. But never did this state of opinion display itself more strikingly than in the events of our days.

The pope having once more attained to a free and independent position among the princes of Europe, could now turn his undisturbed attention to the recovery of the spiritual allegiance. The re-establishment of the Jesuits—the first great act by which he signalled the renewal of his functions, left no doubt that he hoped to exercise his spiritual authority, not within the narrow bounds imposed on it during the latter part of the eighteenth century, but in the spirit of his earlier predecessors. And indeed how could he possibly have found a more favorable or inviting moment for such a project? The restored governments of southern Europe repented of their former insubordination to Rome; they thought they had thus unchained the tempest by which themselves had been overthrown; they now beheld in the pope their natural ally, and they hoped by the aid of the church to achieve an easier victory over the domestic foes by whom they saw themselves surrounded. The king of Spain remembered that he bore the title of Catholic King, and declared that he would deserve it; he recalled the Jesuits whom his grandfather had so jealously driven into banishment, and he re-established the tribunal of the nuncio. Once more were edicts of the grand inquisitor current in Spain. In Sardinia new bishoprics were founded; monasteries were restored in Tuscany; Naples, after some resistance, acquiesced in a concordat by which the Roman curia acquired a very powerful and direct influence over the clergy of that kingdom. Meanwhile in France the chamber of 1815 beheld the salvation of the country in the restoration of the ancient French church; "that work," as one of their orators expressed himself, "of heaven, of time, of kings, and of forefathers;" but the matter really at issue was, the necessity of restoring to the clergy their right of interference in the state, communes and families—in public business and public instruction; not the liberties which the Gallican church had formerly either possessed *de facto*, or had distinctly reserved; according to the project of the new concordat it was placed in a state of dependence on Rome, unparalleled in any former age.

It was, however, impossible in the nature of things, that a line of conduct, running directly counter to that spirit of the Romance nations, which had been developed under totally different auspices, should achieve a prompt or easy victory. In France the old antipathy to the hierarchy burst forth in a loud war cry against the new concordat; the legislative power was here constituted in a manner which rendered utterly impracticable the execution of the plans of 1815. The arbitrary and cruel acts of the government of Ferdinand excited a no less violent reaction in Spain; a revolution broke out, which, though immediately directed against the claims to absolute power advanced by the king (who could oppose no resistance), likewise betrayed a determined spirit of hostility to the clergy. One of the first measures of the new cortes was the re-expulsion of the Jesuits, and soon after followed the decree for the suppression of the monastic orders, the alienation of their lands, and the payment of the national debt with the proceeds. Similar movements immediately took place in Italy, and penetrated into the States of the Church, which were filled with the same elements of disquiet; the carbonari had even fixed the day for a rising throughout the papal territory.

A second time the restored sovereigns received support and assistance from the great powers which had been so recently victorious; the revolutions were stifled in their birth. The non-catholic states did not, it is true, take any active or immediate part in this repression, but some were at least not opposed to it, and by others it was positively approved.

And in the mean time catholicism had acquired a new organisation, even in those countries where it was not the religion of the state. Positive religion, of whatever form it might be, was deemed the best prop and security for civil obedience and social order. In every part of Europe care was taken to arrange the dioceses anew, to establish bishoprics and archbishoprics, catholic seminaries and schools. In the provinces of Prussia which had been incorporated into the French empire, the catholic church assumed a totally different aspect from that which it had worn under French domination. The opposition to the ancient regulations of the church of Rome which arose in some places, found no encouragement in the protestant states, while on the other hand, the court of Rome concluded treaties with the protestant as well as the catholic governments, and recognised the necessity of sanctioning their influence in the election of bishops. This was in fact occasionally employed to promote the most zealous churchmen to the highest posts. It appeared as if the theological warfare in high places was for ever laid to rest. In civil life it visibly became feebler every day. Protestant literature devoted a respectful attention to ancient catholic institutions, which in earlier times it would have found impossible.

But the event proved that these expectations of peace had been too sanguine and hasty.

On the contrary, the strict catholic principle, of which Rome is at once the central point and the theatre, again engaged in a conflict more or less violent and premeditated with the protestant governments.

In the year 1829 it obtained a great victory in England.

During the war of the revolution, the government of England, which for a century had been exclusively protestant, had conceived more friendly dispositions towards the Roman see. Pius VII had been elected under the auspices of the victories of the coalition of 1799, in which England had so large a share. We have just mentioned how, at a subsequent time, that pope leaned for support on the power of England, and could not be induced to adopt any hostile measures towards her; nor could the English nation then deem it so necessary as heretofore, to make the spiritual relation to the pope a ground of exclusion from all simply political rights—from all qualification for public functions. This had already been felt and expressed by Mr. Pitt;\* but any change in the habits of adherence to the tried principles of the constitution, long encountered, as might be anticipated, in invincible opposition. But the spirit of the age, which is averse from all exclusive privileges, made itself resistlessly heard on this question. Hence in Ireland—so distinguished for its catholicity—politico-religious associations, lawless outbursts and disturbances rose to such a height, that at length the great general who had victoriously withstood such numerous and formidable foes, and who then held the reins of government, was compelled to declare that he could no longer govern it without making the concessions demanded by the catholics. Accordingly those oaths which, in the times of the restoration or of the revolution of 1688, had been deemed the only safeguard of the protestant interest, were modified or abolished. How often had Lord Liverpool declared, that if this measure were passed, England would no longer be a protestant state; that even if no important consequences immediately ensued, yet it was impossible to foresee what might arise from it in future!† Nevertheless the bill was passed; the nation braved the threatened danger.

\* In his letter to George III, 31 Jan. 1801—he says, “Mr. Pitt is convinced that the grounds on which the laws on exclusion now remaining were founded, have long been narrowed—that those principles formerly held by the catholics, which made them be considered as politically dangerous, have been for a course of time gradually declining—that the political circumstances under which the exclusive laws originated, arising from the conflicting power of hostile and nearly balanced sects, and a division in Europe between catholic and protestant powers—are no longer applicable to the present state of things.”

† Speech of Lord Liverpool, 17th of May, 1825. “Where was the danger in having a popish king or a popish chancellor, if all the other executive officers might acknowledge the pope?—It was said—that a catholic might be a prime minister and have the whole patronage of the church and state at his disposal.—If the bill were to pass, Great Britain would be no longer a protestant state.”



Not long after this event catholicism obtained a still more splendid and unexpected triumph in Belgium.

In the kingdom of the Netherlands, from the moment of its establishment, an ill will prevailed between north and south which threatened to overturn it, and which displayed its chief acrimony in religious affairs. The protestant king adopted the ideas of Joseph II; under their influence he erected higher and lower schools, and administered generally his share of the spiritual power. The opposition set up other institutions for education in a contrary spirit, and devoted itself with full purpose to labors in favor of hierarchical institutions of the most marked character. A catholic liberal party was formed, which here, as in England, having firm footing on the universal principles of justice, daily advanced in its claims, and extorted first, concessions, such as liberation from the government schools; and at length, at the first favorable moment, completely threw off the hated sway. It succeeded in founding a kingdom in which the priests were restored to high political importance. The most decidedly liberal opinions were just what contributed the most to their triumph. The low qualification which admits the humbler classes in town and country, over whom the priests most readily obtain influence, to a share in public business, enables them to direct the elections; by means of the elections they rule the chambers, by means of the chambers, the kingdom. In Brussels, as in Rome, you meet them in the public walks; well fed and full of pretension; they enjoy their victory.

In neither of these events did the court of Rome, so far as we know, take any direct and active share, advantageous as they are to its authority. In a third, however, the dispute between the catholic church and the state in Prussia, it has actively interfered. In that country the protestant government and the catholic hierarchy, which since the restoration appeared united, but which soon after fell asunder, have broken out into violent and systematic hostility, and are engaged in a conflict which has justly attracted the attention of the world, and which is pregnant with the most important consequences. The pope, in conjunction with the two archbishops of the kingdom, has set himself in open hostility to an ordinance of the king, intended to regulate, in a religious point of view, the domestic relations of the mixed population over which he reigns. In Germany itself the sovereign pontiff has found ready organs and powerful support.

We see that the catholic hierarchical principle has once more entered the lists with great vigor against the protestant principle of the supremacy of the state. The political opposition to the reigning governments, to which our age is so strongly and so inevitably inclined, has in every case lent its aid to catholicism.

In the countries which profess his own faith the pope has not been equally fortunate.

The revolution of July could not be regarded in any other light

than as the total defeat of the hierarchical party in France; the religious zeal of Charles X was indeed the main cause of his overthrow. In Spain and Portugal parties have risen to power who have revived the policy and the measures of the revolutionary cortes. Movements similar in their origin have taken place at the very foot of the Vatican, and have owed their suppression entirely to foreign interference.

It cannot be said that the holy see has contributed much to curb the revolutionary spirit. In no instance has it been able to subdue it by its own unaided strength.

But before it had been restored to firm and stable sovereignty within the pale of its own church, it found means to place itself in an attitude of offence towards protestantism. There, it would have been in harmony with the legitimate power, and with the ancient traditions and institutions of Europe. Here, it has found its best allies in the ideas of the age, and in liberal opinions. Its position and its policy once more vacillate between these temporal powers, as they did in the time of Napoleon.

To what this state of things may lead, the future alone can show.

Were we to look only at the efforts of the hierarchical party and of its opponents, we should be led to fear that a deadly war was ready to break out between them afresh, to convulse the world, and to revive the old animosities in all their bitterness. But if, on the other hand, we turn our eyes to the universal activity of mind which characterises the age, we dismiss these fears as groundless. Few indeed are now disposed to re-establish the dominion of a priesthood, in the true and full sense of the word; and, were any found to make the attempt, it is precisely in the Romance countries, the ancient seat and stronghold of catholicism, that it would experience the most violent opposition.

Nor among the protestants can there be a return to the bigotry, the exclusiveness, the narrow-minded antipathy of the old system. We see the profounder spirits on either side gradually recurring with more knowledge, with larger and deeper insight, with more freedom from the fetters of cramping church formularies, to the eternal principles of genuine and spiritual religion. It is impossible that this tendency can be barren of results. The more perfect apprehensions of the spiritually true and immutable which lies at the bottom of all forms, but can be expressed by none in its whole infinite extent, must at length allay all animosities. High above all the contradictions which have agitated the minds, or alienated the hearts of men—let us never relinquish this hope—there dwells the unity of a simple consciousness of the being and the presence of God, reposing on itself in serene and inviolable security.

## APPENDIX.



# APPENDIX.

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## SECTION I.

PERIOD TO THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

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### 1.

*Ad S. Dm Nostrum Pontificem Maximum Nicolaum V conformatio curie romane loquentis edita pcr E. S. oratorem Joseph. B. doctorem cum humili semper recommendatione. (1453.) Bibl. Vatic. nr. 3618.*

THIS is a lament over the well-known conspiracy of Stephen Porcari, which does not indeed furnish any more accurate details concerning it, but brings to light some important circumstances in the state of affairs. For example, it reveals the principal object which Nicholas V had in view in the buildings he erected:

“Arces fortificat muris turrinque superbam  
Extruit ..... ne quisque tyrannus ab alma  
Quemque armis valeat papam depellere Roma.”

Former popes had often been obliged to quit the city. Nicholas built in order to defend himself against domestic and foreign enemies. It also shows the connection existing between Rome and other Italian cities.

“..... Si tu perquiris in omnibus illam (libertatem)  
Urbibus Italiæ, nullam nihi crede prefecto  
Invenies urbem quæ sic majore per omnem  
Libertate modum quam nunc tua Roma fruatur:  
Omnis enim urbs dominis et bello et pace coacta  
Præstita magna suis durasque gravata gabellas  
Solvit, et interdum propriam desperat habere  
Justitiam, atque ferox violentia civibus ipsis  
Sæpe fit, ut populus varie vexatus ab illis  
Fasce sub hoc onerum pauper de divite fiat;  
At tua Roma sacro nec præstiti nec similem vim  
Nec grave vectigal nec pondera cogitur ulla  
Solvere pontifici ni humiles minimasque gabellas;  
Præterea hic dominus tribuit justissimus almam  
Justitiam cuiuscunque suam, violentaque nulli  
Infert: hic populum prisco de paupere ditem  
Efficit, et placida Romam cum pace gubernat.”

The author blames the Romans for striving after the freedom of ancient Rome. The fact is incontestable, and greatly facilitated the acquisition of territory by the church, that the government of the pope was milder than that of the rulers of the other Italian cities. Our author thinks the opposition shown by the

citizens to the church, the dispenser of so many spiritual and temporal blessings among them, unpardonable:

“..... quibus *auri copia grandis*  
*Argentique* ferax æternaque vita salusque  
Provenit, ut nulli data gratia tam ardua genti.”

He advises the pope to add still more to his fortifications, and never to go to St. Peter's without an escort of three hundred armed men; at the same time to endeavor to gain the love of the people of Rome; to support the poor, especially those of good birth, “*vitam qui mendicare rubescunt;*”

“..... succurre volentibus artes  
Exercere bonas, quibus inclyta Roma nitescat;”

which indeed there was little necessity for saying to Nicholas V. This little work is mentioned in the “*Vita Nicolai V a Dominico Georgio, conscripta Romæ, 1742,*” (p. 130.)

## 2.

*Instructiones datæ a Sixto IV RR. PP. Dnis J. de Agnellis protonotario apostolico et Anto de Frassis s. palatii causarum auditori ad M. Imperatoris. 1 Decis 1478. Bibl. Altieri VII G. 1, 99.*

This is the most ancient instruction I have met with amongst all the manuscripts that have come under my notice. It begins, “*Primo salutabunt Serenissimum Imperatorem.*”

On the 26th of April, 1478, the conspiracy of the Pazzi against the Medici, which threw all Italy into commotion, exploded. “*Ecclesia justa causa contra Laurentium mota, clamant Veneti, clamat tota ista liga.*”

The ambassadors were to prevent the emperor from giving any credence to a certain Jacob de Medio, whom the Venetians had sent to the imperial court. “*Est magnus fabricator et Cretensis: multa enim referebat suis quæ nuncquam cogitaveramus neque dixeramus.*” The ambassadors were to request the emperor's mediation. The king of France had already offered his, but the pope preferred giving the honor of the office to the emperor. “*Velit scribere regi Franciæ et ligæ isti, ostendendo quod non recte faciunt et parum existimant Deum et honorem pontificis, et quod debent magis favere ecclesiæ justitiam habenti quam uni mercatori, qui semper magna causa fuit quod non potuerunt omnia confici contra Turcum quæ intendebamus parare, et fuit semper petra scandali in ecclesia Dei et tota Italia.*”

The matter was the more dangerous for the pope in consequence of the general determination of thwarting his temporal aggressions by means of a council. “*Petunt cum rege Franciæ, concilium in Galliis celebrari in dedecus nostrum.*”

This calls to mind the attempt made a few years later to convene a general council, in which the archbishop of Carniola earned a certain reputation. Johann v. Müller has devoted a few pages to him in his history of Switzerland (p. 286). His account of this transaction does not exhibit the temporal motives to this demand for a council in a satisfactory manner. Cardinal Andreas was not so mere a priest as it would appear from Müller. The ambassadors of Florence and Milan sought him out in Basle, coming in the name of the whole “*Liga,*” which was in arms against Sixtus. They found in him (according to their own report) great experience of the world, (“*gran pratica et experientia del mundo,*”) and a vehement hatred of the pope and his nephew. “*E huomo per fare ogni cosa purchè e' tuffi el papa e 'l conte.*” S. Baccius Ugolinus Laurentio Medici in Basilea a di 20 Sept., 1482, in Fabroni Vita Laurentii, II, 229. We see plainly that this spiritual opposition of the princes was undertaken from temporal motives. They were possessed of spiritual weapons, and they brought these to bear against those of the pope.

## 3.

*Relatione fatta in pregadi per Polo Capello el cavalier venuto orator di Roma 1500, 28 Sett. In the Vienna archives.*

This is the first report I could find of the papal court by a Venetian minister. It does not exist in the Venetian archives: it would appear as if the reports were not at that time sent in writing. It is contained in the *Chroniele* of Sanuto, which is chiefly filled with accounts of what passed in the Senate, and among the Pregadi.

Polo Capello promised to touch upon four points—the cardinals—the disposition of the pope towards the king of France, and towards Venice—the views (“*el desiderio*”) of his holiness—and what they were to expect from him; but as this division of his subject does not rest on very accurate distinctions, he does not adhere to it.

He remarks particularly that neither Venice nor France was on very good terms with the pope; the former, because it had seized on a portion of the Milanese territory, and it was feared would get possession of all Italy—the latter, because the king did not keep faith with the pope. We here find the terms of the alliance of the year 1498 between the king and the pope. The pope granted the king his dispensation for a divorce from his wife. In return, the king promised Cesare Borgia, the pope's son, a domain giving an annual revenue of twenty-eight thousand francs, a wife of the blood royal (Navarre?), and a renunciation of any attempt upon Naples, except in favor of the house of Borgia, “*del regno di Napoli don se impazzar se non in ajutar il papa.*” So that we learn from this, that the pope had even then some design on Naples. These promises, however, were not kept. The marriage proposed to Cesare Borgia did not exactly come up to the pope's expectations; the pope contented himself with the purchase of an estate of twelve thousand francs as a security for the dowry, but the young bride remained in France. It was only the superior power of the king which held the pope in check. “*Quando il Sr Lodovico intrò in Milan,*” says Capello very significantly, “*publice diceva (il papa) mal del roy.*” He was enraged that the French would not assist him in driving the Bentivogli out of Bologna.

If this passage in Capello's report gives us more insight than we had before into the internal intrigues of the pope's policy, the following description of his personal character and feelings is yet more interesting.

The author first mentions the death of the pope's son-in-law. Cesare Borgia had already wounded him once. “*Per dubio mandò a tuar medici di Napoli: ste 33 di ammalato, et il c' Capau lo confessò, e la moglie e sorella, ch'è moglie del principe di Squillaci altro fiol di papa, stava con lui et cusinava in una pignatella per dubio di veneno per l' odio li haveva il ducha di Valentinos, et il papa li faceva custodir per dubio esso ducha non l' amazzasse, e quando andava il papa a visitarli, il ducha non vi andava se non una volta e disse: quello non è fatto a disnar si farà a cena. Or un zorno, fo a dì 47 avosto, intrò in camera, che era za sublevato, e fe ussir la moglie e sorella, intrò Michiele cussi chiamati, e strangolò ditto zovene. ....*”

“*Il papa ama et ha gran paura del fiol ducha, qual è di anni 27, bellissimo di corpo e grande, ben fatto e meglio che re Ferandin [the last king of Naples, Ferdinand, who was reckoned very handsome;] amazzò 6 tori salvadegi combatendo a cavallo a la zaneta, et a uno li taiò la testa a la prima bota, cosa che paresse a tutta Roma grande. E realissimo, imo prodego, e il papa li dispiace de questo. Et alias amazzò sotto il manto del papa M. Peroto, adeo il sangue li saltò in la faza del papa, qual M. Peroto era favorito dal papa. Etiam amazzò il fratello ducha di Gandia e lo fe butar nel Tevere.—Tutta Roma trema di esso ducha non li faza amazzar.*”

Roscoe has endeavored in the *Life of Leo the Xth* to clear the memory of Lucrezia Borgia from the load of infamous crimes imputed to her. He has opposed the testimony of a number of favorable witnesses of a later period to the accusations brought against her early life. The German editor of his book,

however, is not convinced, but thinks that she altered her conduct for the better. This report of Capello is also remarkable as giving favorable testimony to the character of Lucrezia, in the early period of her life, and states, "Lucrezia la pual è savia e liberal." Cesare Borgia was rather her enemy than her lover. He took from her Sermoneta, which had been granted to her by the pope, saying, that as she was a woman, she could not know how to retain possession of it: "è donna, non lo potrà mantener."

## 4.

Among the various documents contained in the fifth volume of Sanuto, the following appears to me the most important.

"Questo è il successo de la morte di papa Alexandro VI.

"Hessendo el c<sup>l</sup> datario dno Arian da Corneto stato richiesto dal pontefice chel voleva venir a cena con lui insieme con el duca Valentinos a la sua vigna et portar la cena cum S. S<sup>a</sup>, si imagino esso cardinal questo invito esser sta ordinado per darli la morte per via di veneno per aver il duca li soi danari e beneficii, per esser sta concluso per il papa ad ogni modo di privarlo di vita per aver il suo peculio, come ho ditto, qual era grade, e procurando a la sua salute penso una sola cosa poter esser la via di la sua salute. E mando captato tpio (tempo) a far a saper al schalcho del pontefice chel ge venisse a parlar, con el qual havea domestichezza. El qual venuto da esso cd<sup>i</sup>, se tirono tutti do in uno loco secreto, dove era preparato duc. X m. d'ore, e per esso c<sup>i</sup> fo persuaso ditto schalcho ad acetarli in dono e galderli per suo amor. El qual post multa li accepto, e li offerse etiam il resto di la sua faculta, perche era richissimo card<sup>i</sup>, a ogni suo comando, perche li disse chel non poteva galder detta faculta se non per suo mezzo, dicendo: vui conoscete certo la condition del papa, et io so chel ha deliberato col ducha Valentinos ch'io mora e questo per via di esso scalcho per morte venenosa, pregandolo di gratia che voia haver pieta di lui e donarli la vita. Et dicto questo, esso scalcho li dichiari il modo ordinato de darli il veneno a la cena, e si mosse a compassione promettendoli di preservalo. Il modo era chel dovea apresentar dopoi la cena tre schatole di confecion in taola, una al papa, una al d<sup>no</sup> card<sup>i</sup> et una al ducha, et in quella del card<sup>i</sup> si era il veneno. E cussi messe ditto card<sup>i</sup> ordine al prefato scalcho del modo che doveva servar, e far che la scutola venenata, dovea aver esso card<sup>i</sup>, di quella il papa manzasse e lui si atosegaria e moriria. E cussi venuto il pontefice a la cena al zorno dato l'hordine col ducha preditto, el prefato c<sup>i</sup> se li butto a li piedi brazzandoli et strettissimamente baxandoli, con affectuosissime parole supplicando a S. S<sup>a</sup>, dicendo, mai di quelli piedi si leveria si S. Beat. non li concedesse una gratia. Interrogato del pontefice, qual era facendo istanza se levasse suso, osso, c<sup>i</sup> risponde chel voleva aver la gratia el dimandaria et haver la promessa di fargela da S. S<sup>a</sup>. Hor dopoi molta persuasion, il papa stete assai admirativo vedendo la perseverantia del d<sup>no</sup> c<sup>le</sup> e non si voler levar, e li promisse di exaudirlo: al qual card<sup>i</sup> sublevato disse: patre santo, non e conveniente che venendo il signor a caxa del servo suo, dovesse el servo parimente confrezer (?) con el suo signor, e perho la gratia el dimandava era questa zusta e honesta che lui servo dovesse servir a la mensa di S. S<sup>a</sup>, e il papa li fece la gratia. E andato a cena al hora debita di meter la confecion in tavola, fo per il scalcho posto la confecion avenenata ne la scutola secondo el primo ordine li havea dato il papa, et il c<sup>i</sup> hessendo chiaro in quella non vi esser nenen li fece la credenza di dicta scatola e messe la venenata avante il papa, e S. S. fidandosi del suo scalcho e per la credenza li fece esso c<sup>i</sup>, judico in quella non esser veneno e ne manzo allegramente, e del altra, chel papa fusse avenenata si credeva e non era, manzo ditto c<sup>i</sup>. Hor al hora solita a la qualita del veneno sua S<sup>a</sup> comenzo a sentirlo e cussi sen'e morto: el card<sup>i</sup>, che pur haveva paura, se medicino e vomito, e non have mal alcuno ma non senza difficulta. Valete."

Even if this is not authentic, it is a very remarkable account of the death of Alexander the VIth, and is probably the best extant.



## 5.

*Sommario de la relatione di S. Polo Capello, venuto orator di Roma, fatta in Collegio 1510.*

After the great reverses which befel the Venetians in consequence of the League of Cambray, they managed to win over Julius II again to their side.

Polo Capello relates some details, hitherto unknown, as to the manner in which this was accomplished. The pope dreaded the results of a projected meeting of Maximilian and the king of France. "Dubitando perche fo ditto il re di Romani et il re di Francia si voleano abboccar insieme et era certo in suo danno." For a time he desired the Venetians to give up those cities which, in virtue of the league, were to fall to the German king; but when he saw how ill the enterprises of Maximilian turned out, he insisted on that no longer. He entertained the lowest opinion of Maximilian: "È una bestia," is his expression; "merita piu presto esser rezudo ch' a rezer altri." It was reckoned, on the contrary, a high honor to the Venetians, whose very name had been regarded at Rome as extinguished, that they maintained their independence. The pope gradually determined to grant them absolution.

Capello had the greatest respect for the personal qualities of that pope. "È papa sapientissimo, e niun nol intrinsecamente con lui, e si conseja con pochi, imo con niuno." The cardinal Castel de Rio had only a very indirect influence over him: "Parlando al papa dirà una cosa, qual dita il papa poi considererà aquella." For instance, the cardinal was decidedly against the Venetians, in spite of which the pope made a treaty with them. Capello found him very well provided with money; he says he might have seven hundred thousand ducats, if not a million, in his treasury.

## 6.

*Sommario di la relatione di Domenego Trivisan, venuto orator di Roma, in pregadi 1510.*

What Capello had transmitted to the Collegio, Trivisan continues to report to the senate. There is, however, this difference, that whereas the former develops the secret motives, the latter contents himself with a general sketch, which is nevertheless worthy of attention.

He agrees with his colleague as to the amount of the papal treasure, adding, however, that the money was intended by the pope to be applied in defraying the expenses of a war against the unbelievers. "Il papa è sagaze praticio: ha mal vecchio galico e gota, tamen è prosperoso, fa gran fadicha: niun pol con lui: alde tutti, ma quello li par.—E tenuto e di la bocha e di altro per voler viver piu moderatamente. [Does this mean that he himself said that he would be more moderate in future?—in his drinking, perhaps.] A modo di haver quanti danari il vole: perche come vacha un beneficio, non li da si non a chi (a) officio e quel officio da a un altro, si che tocca per esso [by this means] assai danari; ed è divenudo li officii sensari piu del solito in Roma:" that is, the very offices which men held would be converted into bribes for other benefices.

"Il papa a entrada duc. 200,000 di ordinario, et extraordinario si dice 150 m. [that is, the popes generally had so much;] ma questo a di do terzi piu di extraordinario e di ordinario ancora l' entrate:" so that he had about a million; this he explains thus: "Soleano pagare il censo carlini X al ducato e la chiesa era ingannata: era carlini XIII½ el duc., vole paghino quello convien, et a fatto una stampa nova che val X el duc. e son boni di arzeno, del che amiora da X a XIII½ la intrada del papa, et diti carlini novi si chiamano Juli." Here we see the origin of the present currency of Rome. For the present paoli have only lately driven out the name and the use of the giuli. The carline, which was the common coin of exchange, had become so debased that it occasioned a dead loss to the exchequer. Julius II issued a good coinage for the interest of his treasury.

"Item è misero: a pocha spesa. Si acorda col suo maestro di caxa: li da el

mexe per le spexe duc. 1500 e non piu. Item fa la chiezia di S. Piero di novocosa bellissima, per la qual a posto certa cruciata, et un solo frate di S. Francesco di quelli habia raccolto diti frati per il mondo li portò in una bota duc. 27 m. si che per questo tocca quanti danari el vuol. A data a questa fabrica una parte de l'intrada di S. M. di Loreto e tolto parte del vescovado di Recanati."

## 7.

*Summario de la relatione di S. Marin Zorzi, dottor, venuto orator di corte fata in pregadi a dì 17 Marzo 1517.*

Marin Zorzi was chosen as ambassador to the court of Leo X, on the 4th of January 1514, and after his refusal to undertake that office, he was again chosen on the 25th of the same month. If it is true, as asserted by Paruta (lib. iii, p. 109), that his commission had reference more especially to the expedition of Francis I into Italy, he must have visited Rome about the commencement of 1515.

His narrative refers to that period, and is the more important, as he undertook to give information on points which he had not dared to write about in his letters. "Referirà," says what appears to be a summary written afterwards, "di quelle cose che non a scritto per sue lettere, perche multa occurrunt quæ non sunt scribenda."

These chiefly concern the negotiations of the pope with Francis I; of which even Paruta had no knowledge, and respecting which the best information I know of is to be found here.

It has been occasionally suggested, that pope Leo wished to procure a crown for his brother Julian; how he thought this was to be effected has never yet been exactly brought to light. Zorzi asserts, that Leo at this time proposed to the king of France, "che del reame di Napoli saria bon tuorlo di man di Spagnoli e darlo al magnifico Juliano suo fradello;" adding, "e sopra questo si fatichoe assai, perche el non si contentava di esser ducha so fradello, ma lo volea far re di Napoli: il christianissimo re li aria dato il principato di Taranto e tal terre: ma il papa non volse, e sopra questo venneno diversi oratori al papa, mons' di Soglie e di Borsi, et il papa diceva: quando il re vol far questo accordo, saremo con S. M. Hor si stette sopra queste pratiche: il ch<sup>mo</sup> re havendo il voler che 'l papa non li saria contra, deliberò di venir potente et cussi venne: et il papa subito si ligò con l'imperator, re catholico, re de Inghilterra e Sguizzari."

I have already given the notices relating to the time of the campaign in the text or notes.

We see clearly, however, how hostile the pope's secret inclinations were to the French, not only from his resentment against the Venetians for taking part so promptly and so decidedly with the French against Maximilian,— "O che materia," he said, "a fatto questo senato a lassar le vostre gente andar a Milano, andar con Francesi, aver passa 8 fiumi, o che pericolo è ques'ò?"—but also from the secret assistance he rendered to Maximilian. "Il papa a questo subito mandò zente in favor del imperador e sotto man dicendo: M. Ant. Colonna è libero capitano a soldo del imperador." In the meanwhile the ratification of the treaty of Bologna was delayed. The king sent ambassador after ambassador to demand this. At length the pope sent his minister to France, and the treaty was signed and sealed.

Francis I soon had an opportunity to revenge himself. The Duke of Urbino made an unexpected resistance to the pope. Marin Zorzi asserts, "Il re non si tien satisfatto del papa; è contento Francesco Maria prosperi."

He then describes the pope more minutely. "A qualche egritudine interior de repletion e catarro ed altra cosa, non licet dir, videl. in fistula. E hom da ben e liberal molto, non vorria faticha s'il potesse far di mancho, ma per questi soi si tuo faticha. E ben suo nepote è astuto e apto a far cosse non come Valentino ma pocho mancho." By this he means Lorenzo de' Medici. He asserts positively what others (for instance Vetori) deny, that Lorenzo de' Medici himself had had serious designs upon Urbino. He says that Julian, only two days be-

fore his death, had besought the pope to spare Urbino, where he had been so kindly received on his exile from Florence. The pope, however, would not give way, but said, “Non è da parlar deste cose.” Questo feva perche de altra parte Lorenzin li era attorno in volerli tutor il stato.”

Among the counsellors of the pope he mentions first Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII, of whose talents, however, he has not so great an opinion as others: “E hom da ben, hom di non molte facende, benche adesso il maneggio di la corte è in le sue mani, che prima era in S. M<sup>a</sup> in Portego;” and next Bibbiena, whom he conceives to be favorable to the Spaniards, as he was then enriched by Spanish benefices; and lastly, Lorenzo,—“qual a animo gaiardo.”

Lorenzo brings him to speak about Florence. He says a few words about the constitution, adding however, “Hora non si serva piu ordine: quel ch' el vol (Lorenzin) è fatto. Tamen Firenze è piu francese che altrimenti, e la parte contraria di Medici non pol far altro, ma non li piace questa cosa.” The militia—the military force—had been decreased. The revenue amounted, 1st, from the taxes at the gates and in the city, to seventy-four thousand ducats; 2dly, from the towns subject to Florence, to one hundred and twenty thousand ducats; and 3dly, from the Balzello, a kind of tithe, a direct tax, to one hundred and sixty thousand ducats.

This brings him to the pope's revenue, which he reckons altogether to amount to four hundred and twenty thousand ducats; and he then comes to expenses and personal character of the pope. “E docto in humanità e jure canonico, et sopra tutto musico excellentissimo, e quando el canto con qualche uno, il fa donar 100 e piu ducati: e per dir una cosa che si dimenticò [of him the speaker], il papa trahe all' anno di vacantie da duc. 60,000 e piu, ch' è zercha duc. 8000 al mese, e questi li spende in doni, in zuogar a primier di che molto si diletta.”

These short extracts suffice to show the lively and graphic nature of these notices; the style is extremely *naïf* and colloquial. We seem to live with the writer and to witness all he relates.

## 8.

*Sommario di la relatione di Marco Minio, ritornato da corte, 1520 Zugno. Sanuto, Tbm. XXVIII.*

Marco Minio was the successor of Zorzi, but unfortunately his report is very short.

He begins with stating the amount of the pope's income, which he finds very insignificant. “Il papa a intrada per il papato pocha; son tre sorte de intrade: d' annate traze all' anno 100 m. duc., ma le annate consistorial, ch' è episcopati e abbatie, la mita è de cardinali; di officj traze all' anno 60m.; di composition 60m. Non a contadi (contante), perche è liberal, non sa tenir danari, poi li Fiorentini e soi parenti non li lassa mai aver un soldo, e diti Fiorentini è in gran odio in corte, perche in ogni cosa è Fiorentini. Il papa sta neutral fra Spagna e Franza: ma lui orator tien pende da Spagna, perche è sta pur messo in caxa da Spagnoli, etiam assumpto al papato. Il cardinal di Medici suo nepote, qual non è legitimo, a gran poter col papa: è hom di gran maneggio;”—thus we see that since Zorzi's time his reputation had much increased:—“a grandissima autorità, tamen non fa nulla se prima non dimanda al papa di cose di conto; hora si ritrova a Firenze a governar quella città; il cardinal Bibbiena è appresso assa del papa, ma questo Medici fa il tutto.”

The Venetian minister assures his countrymen of the good feelings the pope entertained for them. He did not wish indeed to see Venice greater than she was, but would not, for any advantage in the world, see her destroyed.

## 9.

*Diario de Sebastiano de Branca de Telini. Barber. Bibl. n. 1103.*

This diary consists of sixty-three pages, from the 22d April, 1494, to the year 1513, in the time of Leo the Xth. It is not to be compared to Burcardus;

and as the author knew but little of what went on, his work cannot even be used as a check upon that of Burcardus. He saw only what every body else saw.

Thus he describes the entrance of Charles VIII into Italy, whose army he estimates at between thirty and forty thousand men. The king he thinks the ugliest man he ever saw, his soldiers, on the contrary, the handsomest men in the world; "la piu bella gente non fu vista mai." We are not to believe him to the letter; for this is a style in which he delighted to express himself. (He tells us that as much as three hundred ducats had been given for a horse.)

So Cesare Borgia is the cruellest man that ever lived; and the reign of Alexander VII, remarkable for cruelties, scarcity, and high taxation. "Papa Alessandro gittao la data a tutti li preti e a tutti li officiali per tre anni e tutte le chiese di Roma e fora di Roma.....per fare la cruciata contro il Turco, e poi la dava allo figliuolo per fare meglio la guerra." According to him, Cesare gave audience to no one but his executioner Michilotto. All his servants went magnificently clothed: "vestiti di broccado d' oro e di velluto fino alle calze: se ne facevano le pianelle e le scarpe."

He is a great admirer of Julius II. "Non lo fece mai papa quello che have fatto papa Julio."—He relates the number of towns he conquered, but thinks that his wars occasioned the death of ten thousand men.

Next followed Leo, who began his reign with the promise, "che i Romani fossero fianchi di gabella, ed officii e beneficii che stanno nella cittade di Roma fossero dati alli Romani: ne fecero grand' allegrezze per Roma."

Private individuals occasionally appear on the stage, and we are here brought acquainted with the boldest and most celebrated of procurators, "Ben<sup>o</sup> Moccaro, il pie terribile [powerful, tyrannical] uomo che mai fusse stato in Roma per un huomo privato in Roma." He lost his life through the Orsini.

Even in this otherwise unimportant work, the spirit of the times and the spirit of the successive governments are vividly represented;—the several periods of terror, of conquest, and of quiet under Alexander, Julius, and Leo. There are other diaries, for instance that of Cola Colleino, from 1521 to 1561, which contain nothing of importance.

## 10.

*Vita Leonis X. Pontificis Maximi per Franciscum Novellum Romanum, J. V. Professorem. Bibl. Barberina.*

"Alii," says the author, "longe melius et hæc et alia mihi incognita referre et describere poterunt." This is perfectly true; his work is thoroughly uninteresting.

## 11.

*Quædam historica quæ ad notitiam temporum pertinent pontificatum Leonis X, Adriani VI, Clementis VII. Ex libris notariorum sub iisdem pontificibus. Abridged by Felix Contellorius. Bibl. Barberina. 48 pages.*

Short notices of the contents of certain instruments; for instance, "Leo X assignat contessinæ de Medicis de Rodulfis ejus sorori duc. 285 auri de camera ex introitibus dohanarum pecudum persolvendos."

I have made occasional use of these statements. Perhaps the following extract from a brief of the 11th June, 1529, is the most worthy of our attention, as containing a remarkable trait of character hitherto unnoticed: "Certain precious articles belonging to the papal see, were given in pledge to Bernardo Bracchi, who thought it would be better to conceal them, during the sack of Rome, in a garden. He only acquainted one man, a certain Geronimo Bacato of Florence, with the secret, so that some one might know the place, in the event of his death. Bracchi was shortly afterwards seized by the Germans and very barbarously treated. Geronimo now thought that his friend had perished under the torture, and imparted his secret to another, from a similar motive; this person, however, was not so discreet, and the Germans hearing of the concealed treasure, by fresh

torture compelled Bracchi at length to point out the spot to them. In order to save these articles, Bernardo made himself answerable for the sum of ten thousand ducats. Geronimo regarded himself as a traitor, and killed himself from shame and vexation."

## 12.

*Sommario di la relation fatta in pregadi per S. Aluixè Gradenigo, venuto orator di Roma, 1523, Mazo. In Sanuto, Tom. 31.*

He first describes the city, which he says had increased by about ten thousand houses in a very short time; then the constitution—that the conservatori claimed precedence of the foreign ministers, to which the latter refused to yield; then the cardinals—the reputation of Giulio de' Medici had risen still higher. "Hom di summa autorità e richo cardinale, era il primo appresso Leon, hom di gran ingegno e cuor: il papa (Leone) feva quello lui voleva." He describes Leo X: "Di statura grandissima, testa molto grossa, havea bellissima man: bellissimo parlador: prometea assa ma non atendea.—Il papa si serviva molto con dimandar danari al imprestido, vendeva poi li officii, impregnava zoie, raze del papato e fino li apostoli per aver danaro." He conceives the income from temporal sources to amount to three hundred thousand ducats; from ecclesiastical, to about one hundred thousand.

The policy of Leo he esteems thoroughly anti-French, and when it appeared otherwise he was only dissembling. "Fenzeva esso amico del re di Francia." He was then, however, openly against France, and Gradenigo accounts for it thus: "Disse che m' di Lutrech et m de l'Eseu havia ditto che 'l voleva che le recchia del papa fusse la major parte restasse di la so persona." Does this mean that little of the pope would remain but his ears? Truly an extremely coarse and vulgar jest, which Leo took very ill. After the news of the conquest of Milan, Leo is reported to have said, that already half the battle was won.

Leo left the papal treasury so exhausted, that at the celebration of his obsequies, they were forced to use the wax tapers which had served for the funeral of Cardinal S. Giorgio, who died shortly before him.

Gradenigo awaited the arrival of Adrian VI. He describes the moderate, rational manner of life of that pope, and remarks that his conduct was at first neutral. "Disse: il papa per opinion soa, ancora che 'l sia dipendente del imperador, è neutral, ed a molto a cuor di far la trieva per atender a le cose del Turco, e questo si judica per le sue operation cotidiane come etiam per la mala contentezza del vicere di Napoli, che venne a Roma par far dichiarar il papa imperial, e S. S<sup>ta</sup> non volse, onde si parti senza conclusion. Il papa è molto intento a le cose di Hungaria e desidera si fazi la impresa contra infideli, dubita che 'l Turco non vegni a Roma, pero cerca di unir li principi christiana e far la paxe universal, saltem trieve per tre anni."

## 13.

*Sommario del viazo di aratori nostri andono a Roma a dar la obedientia a papa Hadriano VI.*

The only report which has the interest of a book of travels, and which also touches upon subjects connected with art.

The ambassadors represent the flourishing condition of Ancona, and the fertility of the March; they were honorably received by Oratio Baglioni in Spello, whence they proceeded to Rome.

They describe a feast given there by a fellow-countryman, cardinal Cornelio. The music at table seems to have been remarkable: "A la tavola vennero ogni sorte de musici, che in Roma si atrovava, li pifari eccellenti, di continuo suonono, ma eravi clavicembani con voce dentro mirabilissima, liuti e quatro violoni." Grimani likewise gave them a feast: "Poi disnar venneno alcuni musici, tra li quali una donna brutissima che cantò in liuto mirabilmente."

They visited all the churches. In S<sup>ta</sup> Croce the *mastri* were ornamenting the doors; "alcuni arnesi e volte di alcune porte di una preda raccolta delle anticaglie:" every little stone which was wrought there deserved, in their opinion, to be set in gold and worn upon the finger. At the Pantheon an altar was erecting, at the foot of which was the tomb of Raffael's grave. They were shown some ornaments, said to be of gold of the same purity as Rhenish gulden; but they thought if this were true pope Leo would not have left them there. They admired the columns, larger than those of St. Mark. "Sostengono un coperto in colmo, el qual è di alcune travi di metallo."

They express their admiration of the antiquities of Rome with great simplicity. I know not whether this book is likely to fall into the hands of antiquarians. The following description of the colossal statues is very remarkable: "Monte Cavallo è ditto perche alla summità del colle benissimo habitato vi è una certa machina de un pezo di grossissimo muro [a rude base], sopra uno di cantoni vi è uno cavallo di pietra par de Istria molto antiquo e della vetustà carroso e sopra l' altro uno altro, tutti doi dal mezzo inanzi zoe testa, collo, zampe, spalle e mezzo il dorso: appresso di quelli stanno due gran giganti, huomini due fiata maggiori del naturale, ignudi, che con un braccio li tengono: le figure sono bellissime, proportionate e di la medesima pietra di cavalli, bellissimi si i cavalli come gli huomeni, sotto una di quali vi sono bellissime lettere majuscule che dicono opus Fidie e sotto l' altro opus Praxitelis." In the Belvedere their chief object of interest was the Laocoon: until now it has often been a subject of accusation against the German Landsknechts, that they had rendered necessary the restoration of one of the arms of this magnificent work of art; but this account proves that the arm was wanting before the sack of Rome: "Ogni cosa è integra, salvoche al Laocoon gli manca il braccio destro." They were transported with admiration, and said of the whole group, "Non gli manca che lo spirito." They describe the statues of the sons remarkably well: "L' uno volendosi tirare dal rabido serpente con il suo brazelle da una gamba nè potendosi per modo alcuno ajutar, sta con la faccia lacrimosa eridando verso il padre e tenendolo con l' altra mano nel sinistro braccio. Si vede in sti puttini doppio dolore, l' uno per vedersi la morte a lui propinqua, l' altro perche il padre non lo puel ajutare e si languisce." They add that at the meeting at Bologna, Francis had asked the pope to give him this work of art, but that he would not deprive his Belvedere of it, and had ordered a copy to be made for the king. The boys, they say, were already finished. But if the master lived five hundred years, and worked a hundred at it, it would not be like the original. They also found in the Belvedere a young Flemish artist, who had made two statues for the pope.

They then pass to the pope and the court. The most important fact they relate is that cardinal di Volterra, who had until then kept down the Medici, had been thrown into prison because letters of his had been found encouraging Francis I to make an attack upon Italy now, as he could not have a more favorable opportunity. This incident caused the rise of cardinal de' Medici. The imperial envoy Sessa stood by him. This event may possibly have given occasion to the change in Adrian's policy.

## 14.

*Clementis VII. P. M. Conclave et Creatio Bibl. Barb. 4. 70 pp.*

The following remark is written in the title page: "Hoc conclave sapit stylum Joh. Bapt. Sangæ civis Romani, qui fuit Clementi VII. ab epistolis." But we may, without hesitation, reject this conjecture. Another manuscript in the Barberini library, bearing the following title, "Vianessi Albergati Bononiensis commentarii rerum sui temporis," contains no other matter but the account of this conclave. It forms the first part of the commentaries, of which, however, no continuation is to be found. We venture therefore to suggest that the author of the above-named conclave was Vianesio Albergati.

But who was he? Mazzuchelli has the names of several Albergatis, but not of this one.

The following story is told in a letter of Girolamo Negro. A Bolognese caused pope Adrian to be informed that he had an important secret to impart to him, but had no money for the journey. Messer Vianesio, a friend and favorite of the Medici, interceded for him, and the pope told Vianesio that he might disburse the twenty-four ducats required by the Bolognese, and should be repaid. This Vianesio did; the man arrived, and was introduced into the pope's presence with the greatest secrecy. "Holy Father," said he, "if you wish to conquer the Turks, you must arm a mighty force by sea and land." He could be brought to no further disclosure. "Per Deum!" said the pope, excessively irritated, the next time he saw messer Vianesio, "this Bolognese of yours is a great swindler; but it shall be at your cost that he has cheated me." Vianesio never recovered his twenty-four ducats. This then, in all probability, is our author, for in the work under review he says that he had been the mediator between the Medici and the pope: "me etiam internuntio." He was well acquainted with Adrian, whom he had already known in Spain.

Nevertheless he has erected to his memory the most inglorious of monuments. We learn from this work the extent of the hatred which Adrian excited in the breast of the Italian: "Si ipsius avaritiam, crudelitatem et principatus administrandi inscitiam considerabimus, barbarorumque quos secum adduxerat asperam feramque naturam, merito inter pessimos pontifices referendus est." He is not ashamed to relate the most miserable pasquinades on the deceased pope; for example, one in which he is compared first to an ass, then to a wolf—"post paulo faciem induit lupi acrem,"—and lastly to Caracalla and Nero. But if we ask for evidence, we find that the unfortunate pope was justified by Vianesio's own representation.

Adrian had a room in the Torre Borgia, the key of which he constantly carried with him, and which went under the name of the "sanctum sanctorum." This was opened with great curiosity on his death. As he had received much and spent nothing, they expected to find great treasure; but it contained nothing but books and papers, a few rings of Leo X, and scarcely any money. They confessed at last, "male partis optime usum fuisse."

There may be better grounds for the complaint which our author makes of the delays in public business. The pope's phrase was "Cogitabimus, videbimus." He referred matters to his secretary, who, after long delay, referred them to the Auditore di Camera, who was a well-meaning man, but who never got through anything, and confused himself by his own excessive activity. "Nimia ei nocebat diligentia." People then appealed again to Adrian, who again said "Cogitabimus, videbimus."

On the other hand he is loud in his praises of the Medici and of Leo X, his kindness, and the security enjoyed under his government; he also admires his public works.

I conjecture, from this author, that Raffaello's Arazzi were originally intended for the Sistine chapel. "Quod quidem sacellum Julius II opera Michaelis Angeli pingendi sculpendique scientia clarissimi admirabili exornavit pictura, quo opere nullem absolutius extare ætate nostra plerique judicant, moxque Leo X ingenio Raphaelis Urbinate architecti et pictoris celeberrimi auleis auro purpuraque intextis insignivit, quæ absolutissimi operis pulchritudine omnium oculos tenent."

## 15.

*Istruzione al Card<sup>l</sup> Rev<sup>mo</sup> di Farnese, che fu poi Paul III, quando ando legato all' Imperatore Carlo V dopo il sacco di Roma.*

I first found these instructions in the Corsini library, No. 467, and procured a copy in the hand-writing of the sixteenth century.

Pallavicini knew of this MS., and mentions it in his "Istoria del Concilio di Trento," lib. ii, c. 13. But he has made less use of it than his words imply, as will be seen in the following chapters; his narrative is drawn from other sources.

I have thought it better to print these instructions entire, as they are most im-

portant, not only with reference to papal affairs, but to the whole political state of Europe, in so momentous a period, and contain many remarkable facts which are not found elsewhere. No mere extract could satisfy the instructed reader. A few more pages are therefore devoted to them.

In June 1526 the pope had issued a brief, in which he succinctly enumerated all his griefs against the emperor, who replied with great vehemence in September 1526. The state-paper which then appeared, under the title "Pro Divo Carolo V..... apologetici libri," (Goldast's *Politica Imperialia*, p. 984,) gave a detailed contradiction of the pope's assertions. The following instruction is attached to these documents.

We shall find that these instructions consist of two different parts—the first, in which the pope is spoken of in the third person; probably composed by Giberto, or by some other confidential minister of the pope, and extremely important in details of the earlier events of the reigns both of Leo and Clement. The second part is smaller, and begins with the words, "per non entrare in le cause per le quali fummo costretti," in which the pope speaks in the first person, and which was probably composed by himself.

Both are intended to justify the measures of the court of Rome, and, on the other hand, to place the proceedings of the viceroy of Naples in the worst possible light. It is true, that in order to form a correct judgment, we ought to know the answer made by the imperial court.

"Ill<sup>mo</sup> Rev<sup>mo</sup> Signore. Nella difficoltà della provincia che è toccata alle mani di V. S. Ill<sup>ma</sup> e R<sup>ma</sup>, tanto grande quanto ella stessa conosce, et nella recodatione della somma et estrema miseria nella quale siamo, penso che non sarà se non di qualche rilevamento a quella, haver quella informatione che si può di tutte l'attioni che sono accadute tra N. Signore e la M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea et in esse conoscere che V. S. R<sup>ma</sup> va a principi del quale S<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ta</sup> et la casa sua è piu benemerito che nessun altra che nè per li tempi passati nè per li presenti si possa ricordare; et se qualche offensione è nata in quest' ultimo anno, non è causata nè da alienatione che S<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ta</sup> havessi fatto della solita volontà et amore verso sua Maestà o per disegni particolari d'aggrandire i suoi o altri, o per abbassare la reputatione o stato suo, ma solo per necessità di non comportare d'esser oppresso da chi haveva et autorità et forze in Italia, et per molte prove che sua B<sup>e</sup> havessi fatto per nuntii, lettere, messi et legati, non era mai stato possibile trovarci remedio. La S<sup>ta</sup> di N. Signore da che cominciò a esser tale da poter servir la corona di Spagna et la casa della Maestà Cesarea, il che fu dal principio del pontificato della S<sup>ta</sup> M<sup>ria</sup> di Leone suo fratello, con el quale poteva, quanto ogn' uno sa et la M<sup>ta</sup> sua ha provato, fu sempre di tanto studio et servitù della parte Spagnuola et imperiale che non si potrà numerar beneficio o gratia o sodisfattione di cosa alcuna che questa parte in ogni tempo habbia ricevuta dalla S<sup>ta</sup> M<sup>ria</sup> di Leone et della chiesa, nella quale non solo N. Signore stando in minoribus non si sia trovato o non adversario o consentiente solo, ma ancora autore, indirizzatore et conduttore del tutto. Et per toccare quelle cose che sono di piu importantia solamente: la lega che si fece il secondo et terzo anno della S<sup>ta</sup> M<sup>ria</sup> di Leone per adversare alla venuta prima che fece il christianissimo re Franceſco passò tutta per mano di S. S<sup>ta</sup>, et ella andò in persona legato per trovarsi in fatto con gli altri. Dove essendo riusciti li disegni diversamente da quello che s'era imaginato, et constretto papa Leone a fare quelli accordi che potè con el ch<sup>rmo</sup>, il cardinale de Medici hebbe quella cura di conservare il papa Spagnuolo che ogn' uno di quelli che all' hora vi si trovarono posson render testimonio, et usò tutta l'autorità che haveva col papa suo fratello, che la volontà et estremo desiderio che el christianissimo haveva di seguir la vittoria et passar con tanto esercito et favore nel regno, fussi raffrenato hor con una scusa et hor con un'altra, et tra le altre che essendo il re cattolico vecchio et per l'infermità già a gli ultimi anni, S. M<sup>ta</sup> aspettasse l'occasione della morte sua, nel qual tempo l'impresa riuscirebbe senza difficoltà alcuna. Et succedendo assai presto doppo questi ragionamenti la morte del re cattolico, che credo non ci fusse un mese di tempo, con quant' arte et fatica fussi necessario reprimere l' instantia grande che el christianissimo ne faceva, ne sarebber testimonio le lettere di pro-



pria mano di S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup>, se questi soldati, che tra le altre cose hanno ancor saccheggiato tutte le scritture, o ci le rendessero over le mandassero all' imperatore. Et queste cose con molte altre, che tutte erano in preparar quietà e stabile la heredità et successione della persona hora dell' imperatore et in assicurarlo etiam vivente l' avo de maestrali di Spagna, tutte faceva el cardinale de Medici non per privato commodo suo alcuno, anzi direttamente contro l' utile particolare, non havendo rendita alcuna di momento se non nel dominio di Francia, et non procurando mai d' haver ristoro in quel di Spagna. Successe la morte dell' imperatore Massimiliano, et essendo Leone inclinato alla parte del christianissimo per quella dignità et opponendosi alli conati delli M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea d' hora, non passò il termine dell' elezione che el cardinal de Medici condusse il papa a non contravenirvi, e doppo fatta l' elezione ad approvarla, assolverlo dalla simonia, dal pergiuro, che non poteva, essendo re di Napoli, sì come vuole la costituzione di papa ....., procurar d' essere imperatore, rinvestirlo et darli di nuovo il regno di Napoli: in che non so—se l' affetion grande et l' oppinione nella quale el cardinal de Medici era entrato della bontà, prudentia et religione della M<sup>ta</sup> sua non lo scusasse—se fusse piu o il servitio, che può molto apertamente dire d' haver fatto grandissimo alla M<sup>ta</sup> sua, overo il deservitio fatto al fratello cioè al papa et alla chiesa, favorendo et nutrendo uno potentia tanto grande e da considerare che un dì da questo fiume poteva erumpere una devastatione et oltraggio sì grande come hora è seguito. Ma vedendo il cardinale queste due potenze di Spagna et Francia divise di sorte che malamente non contrapesando l' una coll' altra si poteva sperar pace, andò prima con questo disegno d' aggiunger tanta autorità et forze al re di Spagna che essendo uguale al christianissimo dovessi haver rispetto di venire a guerra, ot se pur la disgratia portasse che non si potesse far dimeno, essendo l' oppinione d' anteporre il re di Spagna al christ<sup>mo</sup>, Spagna fussi in modo ferma et gagliarda che attaccandosi in un caso simile a quella parte si potesse sperarne buon esito et certa vittoria. Et questo lo provassi con altro che a parole, se forte le cose sopradette fusser così oscure che havesser bisogno di piu aperta fede; ne farà testimonio la coclusa lega con Cesare contra Francia, et tanto dissimili le conditioni che si promettevano da un lato a quelle dell' altro, che non solo Leone non doveva venire a legarsi coll' imperatore, essendo in sua libertà et arbitrio d' elegger quel che piu faceva per lui, ma essendo legato doveva fare ogni opera per spiccarsene: et per mostrar brevemente esser con effetto quanto io dico, l' imperatore si trovava in quel tempo che Leone fece lega seco, privo d' ogni autorità, nervo, amici et reputatione, havendo perduto in tutto l' obbedienza in Spagna per la rebellione di tutti i populi, essendo tornato dalla dieta che sua M<sup>ta</sup> haveva fatta in Vormatia, escluso d' ogni conclusion buona d' ajuti et di favori che si fussi proposto d' ottenere in essa,\* havendo la guerra già mosso ne suoi paesi in due lati, in Fiandra per via di Roberto della Marca et in Navarra, il qual regno già era tutto andata via et ridottosi all' obbedienza del re favorito da i Francesi: † li Suizzeri poco inanzi s' eron di nuovo allegati col christianissimo con una nuova conditione d' obbligarli alla defensione dello stato di Milano, che el re possedeva, cosa che mai per inanzi non havevon voluto fare: et il ser<sup>mo</sup> re d' Anglia, nel quale forse l' imperatore faceva fondamento per il parentado tra loro et per la nemistà naturale con Francia, mostrava esser per star a veder volentieri, come comprobò poi con li effetti, non si movendo a dar pure un minimo ajuto all' imperatore per molta necessità in che lo vedessi et per molta instantia che gli ne fusse fatta, salvo doppo la morte di Leone. Il christianissimo all' incontro, oltre la potentia grande unita da se et la pronta unione che haveva con l' Ill<sup>ma</sup> Signerìa et che haveva questa nuova lianza de Suizzeri, si trovava tanto piu superior nel resto quanto li causano la potentia sua, et la facevano maggiore li molti et infiniti disordini ne quali dico di sopra che l' imperatore si trovava. Le speranze et

\* Manifestly false. A subsidy of 20,000 M. z. F. and 4000 M. z. Pf. was voted to the emperor at Worms.

† Error in the date. The treaty with the emperor was dated the 6th of May. Du Mont. iv, iii, 97. The French arrived at Pampluna on the 29th Garibay, xxx, 523.

proposizioni dei premii et comodità del successo et prosperità che le cose havessero havuto eron molto diverse: il christianissimo voleva dar di primo colpo Ferrara alla chiesa inanzi che per sua M<sup>ta</sup> si facessi altra impresa, poi nell' acquisto del regno di Napoli S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> christianissima, per non venire a i particolari, dava tante comodità alla chiesa circa ogni cosa che gli tornava di piu comodo piu utilità et sicurtà assai, che non sarebbe stato se ce l' avesse lassato tutto; in quest' altra banda non era cosa nessuna se non proposito di metter lo stato di Milano in Italiani et far ritornar Parma et Piacenza alla chiesa: \* et nondimeno, essendo et nella facilità dell' impresa in una parte et nell' altra il pericolo così ineguale et aggiugnendovisi ancora la disparità de i guadagni sì grande, potette tanto la volontà del cardinale de Medici appresso al papa, et appresso a S. S. Rev<sup>ma</sup> l' opinione della bontà et religione della Maestà Cesarea, che mettendosi nella deliberatione che era necessaria di fare o in un luogo o in un altro questa imaginazione inanzi agli occhi, non volle dar parte della vista all' altro consiglio nè altro esame se non darsi in tutto et per tutto a quella parte donde sperava più frutti d' animo santo et christiano che da qualsivoglia altri premii che temporalmente havesser potuto pervenire per altra via. Et che sia vero chi non ha visto che non essendo successe le cose in quel principio come si sperava, et essendo consumati i danari che per la prima portion sua la M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea haveva dato, et vedendo male il modo che si facessi provisione per piu, la S<sup>ta</sup> M<sup>ria</sup> di Leone per sua parte et S. S. Rev<sup>ma</sup> molto piu per la sua non mancò mettervi la sustantia della patria sua et di quanti amici et servitori che havessi et per l' ultimo la persona sua propria, della quale conobbe l' importantia et il frutto che ne seguì.

“ Mori in quello papa Leone, et benchè S. S. Rev<sup>ma</sup> si trovasse nemico tutto il mondo, perche quelli che haveva offeso dalla parte francese tutti s'eron levati contro lo stato et dignità sua temporale et spirituale, gli altri della parte dell' Imp<sup>re</sup> parte non lo volsero ajutare, parte gli furon contrarij, come V. S. Rev<sup>ma</sup> et ogn' uno sa molto bene, non dimeno nè il pericolo o offerte grandi dei primi nè l' ingratitude o sdegno dei secondi bastorono mai tanto che lo facesser muovere pur un minimo punto della volontà sua, parendoli che sicome l' animo di Cesare et l' opinion d' esso era stato scopo et oggetto, così quello dovessi esser sua guida: et non si potendo imaginar che questo nascessi dall' animo suo nè potendo per il tempo breve suspicarlo, volse piu presto comportar ogni cosa che mutarsi niente, anzi come se fussi stato il contrario, di nessuna cura tenne piu conto che di fare un papa buono parimente per la M<sup>ta</sup> sua come per la chiesa: et che l' opinione anzi certezza fussi che non sarebbe quasi stato differenza a far papa Adriano o l' Imp<sup>re</sup> stesso, ogn' uno lo sa, sicome ancora è notissimo che nessuno fu piu autore et conduttore di quella creatione che 'l cardinal de Medici.

“ Hor qui fu il luogo dove il card<sup>le</sup> de Medici hebbe a far prova, se 'l giudicio el quale S. S. haveva fatto della M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea gli riusciva tale quale S. S. Rev<sup>ma</sup> s' era imaginato, perche inanzi l' ombra et in drizzo della S<sup>ta</sup> M<sup>ria</sup> di Leone haveva fatto che non si veniva a fare esperienza d' altro, et l' animo di S. S. tutto occupato a servir la M<sup>ta</sup> sua non haveva pensato di distraherlo in cura sua o di suoi particolari, nè era così avido o poco prudente che s' imaginasse i premii corrispondenti ai meriti, anzi in questo pareva d' haver perfettamente servito et meritato assai, non havendo oggetto nessun tale et essendosi rimesso in tutto et per tutto alla discretione et liberalità sua. È vero che trovandosi piu di due anni quasi prima che la M<sup>ta</sup> sua non pensava nè credeva poter ricever tanto beneficio et servito dalla casa de Medici, haver promesso per scritto di sua mano et disegnato et tenuto a tale instantia separatamente da quella uno stato nel regno di Napoli di 6 m. seudi et una moglie con stato in dote di X m. pur promesso a quel tempo per uno dei nipoti di papa Leone et di S. S. R<sup>ma</sup>, et non essendosi mai curati d' entrare in possesso del primo nè venir a effetto del secondo per parerli d' haver tutto in certissimo deposito in mano di sua Maestà, morto papa Leone et non

\* Utterly false. The 13th article of the treaty stipulates for the assistance of the emperor against Ferrara. Promittit Cæs<sup>a</sup> M<sup>tas</sup> omnem vim, omnem potentiam, ut ea (Ferraria) apostolica sedè recuperetur.

essendo rimasto segno alcuno di bene verso la casa de Medici, che gli facessi ricordo d' haver havuto tanto tempo un papa, se non questo, mandando S. S. R<sup>ma</sup> alla M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea a farli riverenza et dar conto di se, dette commissioni dell' espeditione di questa materia. che se ne facessi la speditione, la consignatione et li privilegii et venisse all' effetto. Ma successe molto diversamente da quello che non solo era l'opinion nostra ma d' ogn' uno: perche in cambio di vedere che si pensasse a nuovi premii et gratitudine per li quali si conoscesse la recognitione de beneficii fatti alla M<sup>ta</sup> sua, et la casa de Medici si consolasse vedendo non haver fatto molta perdita nella morte di Leone, si messe difficultà tale nell' espeditione delle cose dette non come si fusse trattato di uno stato già stabilito et debito per conto molto diverso et inferiore ai meriti grandi che s' erono aggiunti prima di disputare, non altrimenti che se la casa de Medici gli fusse stata nemica, facendo objectioni di sorte che ancorche fusse stata in quel termine, non si devono fare, perche la fede et quel che s' è una volta promesso si vuol serbare in ogni tempo, pure si replicò et mostrò il torto che si riceveva talmente che in cambio di sperar piu o di havere almeno interamente quello che era promesso d' uno stato di XVI m. scudi, VI di S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> propria et X m. di dote che si doveva dare, si risolvette in tre, nel qual tempo essendo il cardinale de Medici bene informato di tutto, se S. S. R<sup>ma</sup> non si mosse dalla devotione di S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> perseverando non come trattato ut supra ma come se fusse stato remunerato a satietà, si potrebbe dire che l' havessi fatto per forza, essendo la potenza dell' imperatore fermata di sorte che non poteva far altro, ovvero per mancarli partito con altri prencipi, ovvero per trovarsi in qualche gran necessità nella quale fussi piu pronto prestar ajuto all' imperatore che ad altri: ma chi si ricorda dello stato di quei tempi, che è facile essendo assai fresca la memoria, conoscerà che l' esercito e parte imperiale in Italia per el nuovo soccorso che i Francesi havean mandato reparando l' esercito et forze loro, con l' Ill<sup>ma</sup> Sig<sup>ria</sup>, era in grandissimo pericolo, et in mano d' alcuno era piu in Italia per l' opportunità del stato amici, parenti, dependentie, denari et gente, che del cardinale de Medici far cader la vittoria in quella parte dove gli fusse parso a S. S. R<sup>ma</sup> salda nella volontà verso l' imperatore, cercavono opprimerlo, non solo poteva sperare ajuto dalli Cesarei, ma essi male haverebbon fatto i fatti loro se da S. S. R<sup>ma</sup> non havesser ricevuto ogni sorte di ajuto tanto ad acquistar la vittoria quanto a mantenerla, essendosi spogliato fino all' ossa et se et la patria per pagare una grossa impositione che fu imposta per contribuire et pagar l' esercito et tenerlo unito. Direi volentieri, connumerando tutti i beneficii, officii et meriti infiniti del cardinale de Medici et di casa sua, qualche amorevol demonstratione o specie di gratitudine che S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> havessi usato inverso di loro, così per dire il vero come per scusare in questo modo questa perseverantia mai interrotta per alcun accidente verso S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> et difenderla da chi la volessi chiamare piu tosto ostinatione che vero giudizio, ma non vi essendo niente non lo posso far di nuovo, salvo se non si dicesse che in cambio di XXII m. sc. d' entrata perduti in Francia S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> gli ordinò sopra Toledo una pensione di X m. sc., dei quali ancora in parte ne resta creditore. È vero che nelle lettere che S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> scriveva in Italia a tutti li suoi ministri et oratori et capitani gli faceva honorifica mentione di S. S. R<sup>ma</sup>, et commetteva che facessin capo a quella et ne tenessero gran conto per insino a cometterli che se dio disponesse della S<sup>ta</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> d' Adriano, non attendessero a far papa altri che S. S. R<sup>ma</sup>: donde nasceva che tutti facevano nei negotii loro capo a Fiorenza et comunicavano le facende, et quando s' haveva a trattar di danari o altra sorte d' ajuti, a nessuno si ricorreva con piu fiducia che a S. S. R<sup>ma</sup>, favorendola gagliardamente contro la mala dispositione di papa Adriano per triste informazioni ingeste da Volterra che mostrava haver di S. S<sup>ma</sup>: nelle qual cose, non facendo ingiuria al buon animo che Cesare potesse havere con el cardinale, dirò bene che S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> si governava prudentissimamente in volere che si mantenessi una persona di tanta autorità in Italia, la quale per poca recognitione che gli fussi stata fatta non si era mai mutato un pelo del solito suo, et non possendo succedere, così in questo come negli altri stati, che mutando la forma et regimento se ne fusse potuto sentire evidentissimi frutti et commodità che faceva sua Maestà stando integro in Fiorenza el cardinale de Medici.

Morto Adriano fu il cardinale creato papa, dove ancorche i ministri et altri dependenti da Cesare havesser gagliarda commissione, parte si portoron come volsero, et alcuni che all' ultimo descesero poi a favorir la sua electione il primo protesto che essi volsero fu che non intendevono per niente che S. S<sup>ta</sup> conoscesse l' opera loro ad instantia dell' imperatore, ma che lo facevono per mera dispositione privata. Et nondimeno fatto papa ritenne S. S<sup>ta</sup> la medesima persona del cardinal de Medici, quanto comportava una union tale insieme con la dignità nella quale dio l' haveva posto: et se in pesar queste due parti del debito del pontefice et dell' affettion verso l' imperatore S. S<sup>ta</sup> non s' avesse lassato vincere et fatto pesar piu l' ultima, forse che il monde sarebbe piu anni fa in pace, et non patiremmo hora queste calamità. Perche trovandosi nel tempo che S<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ta</sup> fu papa, due esserciti gagliardi in Lombardia, di Cesare et del christianissimo, et il primo oppresso da molte difficoltà di potersi mantenere, se N. S. non l' ajutava, come fece con lassar le genti ecclesiastiche et Fiorentine in campo, con darli tante decime nel regno che ne cavavano 80 m. scudi, et farli dar contributioni di Fiorenza, et S<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ta</sup> ancora privatamente denari et infinite altre sorti d'ajuti, forse quella guerra havrebbe havuto altro esito et piu moderato et da sperar fine ai travagli et non principio a nuove et maggiori tribulationi, alle quali sperando N. S. tanto ritrovar forma quanto oltre all' autorità ordinaria che credeva haver coll' imperatore et per consigliarlo bene ci haveva ancora aggiunto queste nuove dimostrazioni, senza le quali non havrebbe potuto vincere, perche et me n' ero scordato senz' esse mai la Signoria faceva una l' esercito suo, non solo non fu dato luogo alcuno al suo consiglio, che dissuadeva di passare in Francia con l' esercito, anzi in molte occorentie si cominciò a mostrare di tenere un poco conto di S<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ta</sup>, et favorir Ferrara in dispreggio di quella, et, in cambio di lodarsi et ringratiarla di quanto haveva fatto per loro, querelarsi di quel che non s' era fatto a voglia loro, non misurando prima che tutto si facessi per mera dispositione senza obbligo alcuno, et poi se ben ce ne fossero stati infiniti, che molto maggior doveva esser quello che tirava S<sup>a</sup> Santità a fare il debito suo con Dio che con l' imperatore.

L' esito che hebbe la guerra di Francia mostrò se el consiglio di N. Sig<sup>e</sup> era buono, che venendo el christianissimo adosso all' esercito Cesareo, ch' era a Marsiglia, lo costrinse a ritirarsi, di sorte, e 'l re seguiva con celerità, che prima fu entrato in Milano ch' essi potesser provvedere, et fu tanto terrore in quella giornata del vicerè, secondo che l' huomo di S. S<sup>ta</sup> che era presso a S. Ecc<sup>za</sup> scrisse, che non sarebbe stato partito quale S. Signoria non avessi accettato dal re, et prudentemente: vedendosi in estrema rovina se la ventura non l' havessi ajutato con fare che el christianissimo andasse a Pavia et non a Lodi, dove non era possibile stare con le genti che vi s' eron ridotte. Hora le cose si trovavano in questi termini et tanto peggiori quanto sempre in casi così subiti l' huomo s' imagina, et N. S. in malissima intelligentia col chr<sup>mo</sup> et poca speranza di non haver a sperar se non male da S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> et rimanerli odiato in infinito, essendosi governata, come dirò appresso con quella verità che debbo et sono obbligato in qualsivoglia luogo, che piu potessi stringere a dirla di quel che io mi reputi al presente.

Fatto che fu N. Sig<sup>re</sup> papa, mandò el christianissimo di mandar subito messi a supplicare a S. S<sup>ta</sup>, che come dio l' haveva posta in luogo sopra tutti, così ancora si volessi metter sopra se stessa et vincer le passioni quali gli potesser esser rimaste o di troppa affettione verso l' imperatore o di troppo mala volontà verso di lui, et che rimarebbe molto obbligato a dio et a S. S<sup>ta</sup> se tenessi ogn' uno ad un segno, interponendosi a far bene, ma non mettendosi a favorir l' una parte contro l' altro, et se pure per suoi interessi o desegni S. B<sup>te</sup> giudicasse bisognarli uno appoggio particolare d' un prencipe, qual poteva avere meglio del suo, che naturalmente et a figliuolo della chiesa et non emulo, desiderava et era solito operar grandezza di essa et non diminutione, et quanto alla volontà poi da persona a persona, gli farebbe ben partiti tali che S. S<sup>ta</sup> conoscerebbe che molto piu ha guadagnato in farsi conoscere quanto meritava offendendo et deservendo lui, che ajutando et favorendo l' imperatore, venendo in particolari grandi.

Nostro Signore accettava la prima parte d' essere amorevole a tutti, et benche

poi con li effetti dependessi piu dall' imperatore, oltre alla inclinazione lo faceva ancora con certissima speranza di poter tanto con l' imperatore che facilmente lassandosi Sua M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea governare et muovere, a Sua S<sup>ta</sup> non fussi per essere sì grave quello che offendeva el christianissimo, quanto gli sarebbe comodo poi in facilitare et ajutare gli accordi che se havessero havuto a fare in la pace. Ma succedendo altrimenti et facendo il re, mentre che l' essercito Cesarea era a Marsiglia, resolutione di venire in Italia, mandò credo da Azais un corriere con la carta bianca a N. Sig<sup>re</sup> per mezzo de sig<sup>re</sup> Alberto da Carpi con capitulatione favorevole et amplissimi mandati et con una dimostration d' animo tale che certo l' haverebbe possuto mandare al proprio imperatore, perche di voler lo stato di Milano in poi era contento nel resto di riporsi in tutto et per tutto alla volontà et ordine di Nostro Signore: et non ostante questo Sua Santità non si volse risolvere mai se non quando non la prima ma la seconda volta fu certa della presa di Milano et hebbe lettere dall' huomo suo, che tutto era spacciato et che el vicerè non lo giudicava altrimenti. Mettasi qualsivoglia o amico o servitore o fratello o padre o l' imperatore medesimo in questo luogo, et vegga in questo subito et ancora nel seguente? che cosa havria potuto fare per beneficio suo che molto meglio S. S<sup>ta</sup> non habbia fatto? dico meglio: perche son certo che quelli da che forse S. M<sup>ta</sup> ha sperato et spera miglior volontà poiche si trovano obbligati havrebber voluto tenere altro conto dell' obbligo, che non fece la S. S<sup>ta</sup>, la quale havendo riposto in man sua far cessar l' arme per far proseguir la guerra nel regno di Napoli et infiniti altri comodi et pubblici et privati, non s' era obbligata ad altro in favor dell' christianissimo se non a farli acquirar quello che già l' essercito di Cesare teneva per perduto et in reprimerlo di non andare inanzi a pigliare il regno di Napoli, nel quale non pareva che fussi per essere molta difficoltà: et chi vuol farsi bello per li eventi successi al contrario, deve ringraziare dio che miracolosamente et per piacerli ha voluto così, et non attribuir nulla a se, et riconoscer che 'l papa fece quella capitulatione per conservar se et l' imperatore et non per mala volontà. Perche trovando poi per sua disgratia el re difficoltà nell' impresa per haverla presa altrimenti di quel che si doveva, N. S<sup>re</sup> lo lassò due mesi d' intorno a Pavia senza dar un sospiro di favore alle cose sue, et benche questo fusse assai beneficio delli Spagnuoli, non mancò ancora far per l' oro, dandoli del suo stato tutte le comodità che potevon disegnare, non mancando d' intersorsi per metter accordo quanto era possibile tra loro: ma non vi essendo ordine et sollecitando il re, che N. Sig<sup>re</sup> si scoprisse in favor suo per farli acquirare tanto piu facilmente lo stato di Milano, et instando ancora che i Fiorentini facessero il medesimo, a che parimente come S. S<sup>ta</sup> erano obbligati, fece opera di evitare l' haversi a scoprire nè dare ajuto alcuno salvo di darli passo et vettovaglia per el suo stato a una parte dell' essercito, che sua M<sup>ta</sup> voleva mandare nel regno per far diversione et ridur piu facilmente all' accordo gl' imperiali. Oh che gran servitio fu questo ai Francesi, concedendoli cosa la quale era in facoltà loro di torsela, ancorche non glie l' avesse voluto dare, trovandosi disarmato et parendo pur troppo strano che havendo fatto una lega con S. M<sup>ta</sup> christianissima non l' havendo voluto servir d' altro, gli negasse quello che non poteva, et una publicatione d' una concordia finta, come fu quella che si dette fuora all' hora per dare un poco di pastura a quella M<sup>ta</sup> et fare che di manco mal animo comportasse che S. S<sup>ta</sup> non osservasse ad unguem la capitulatione: et se si vorrà dire il vero, el christianissimo fu piu presto deservito che servito di quella separatione dell' essercito, perche furono le genti intertenute tanto in Siena et di poi in questo di Roma, che l' imperiali hebber tempo in Lombardia di far la prova che fecero a Pavia: la qual ottenuta, qualche ragione voleva, che l' imperatore nè i suoi agenti nè huomo al mondo di quella parte si tenesse offeso da Sua S<sup>ta</sup> o pensassi altro che farli servitio o piacere, se la religione non li moveva et il seguitare gli esempi degli altri prencipi, li quali non solo non hanno offeso i papi, che si sono stati a vedere, ma quando hanno ottenuto vittoria contro quella parte con la quale la chiesa si fussi adherita, gli hanno havuti in somma aderenza e riverenza e posto termine alla vittoria sua in chiederli perdono, honorarla et servirla. Lasciamo stare la religione da canto et mettiamo il papa et la chiesa in luogo di Moscovita, dove si trovò mai che a persona et stato che non ti occupa

niente di quello a che la ragione vuole, tu possa pretendere? anzi avendo una continuata memoria d' haver tanti anni col favore, ajuto et sustantia sua et particolarmente della persona ottenuto tante vittorie, et se hora si era adherito col re, lo fece in tempo nel quale non potendo ajutare, se ne altri gli parve d' avere una occasione divina di poter col mezzo dei nemici fare quel medesimo effetto, non gli pando piu di quello che o la forza loro o l' importantia dell' imperatore gli concedeva, et poi quando el corso della vittoria si fermò per i Francesi, haverla piu tosto arenata che ajutata a spignere inanzi: che inumanità inaudita, per non usar piu grave termine, fu quella, come se appunto non vi fusse stata alcuna di queste ragioni o fussero state al contrario, subito ottenuto la vittoria in Pavia et fatto prigionie il re, cercare di far pace con gli altri, dei quali meritamente potevasi presumere d' essere stati offesi, alla chiesa et alla persona del papa subito indir la guerra et mandarli uno esercito adosso? O gl' imperiali havevon veduti i capitoli della lega con el chr<sup>mo</sup> o non gli havevon veduti. Havendo gli visti, come siam certi, essendo andate in man loro tutte le scritture di S. M<sup>ta</sup>, dovevon produrli, et mostrando offensione in essi o nel tempo che furon conclusi overo nei particolari di cosa che fusse in pregiudicio alla M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea, giustificat con essi quello che contavano, se giustificazione alcuna pero vi potesse essere bastante. Non gli havendo visti, perche usar tale iniquità contra di — —? Ma nè in scriptis non havendo visto cosa tale nè in fatto non havendolo provato, non havevon sentito offensione alcuna. Nè restò N. Sig<sup>re</sup> per poco animo o per non potere, perche se l' ha dell' animo o del potere essi in loro beneficio l' havevon provato tanto tempo et del primo l' età non glien' haveva potuto levar niente et del secondo la dignità glien' haveva aggiunto assai, nè anche perche S. S<sup>ta</sup> havessi intercette alcune lettere di questi sig<sup>ri</sup> nelle quali si vedeva che stanno gonfi et aspettavano occasione di vendicarsi della ingiuria, che non riceverono da S. S<sup>ta</sup>, ma per non reputar niente tutte queste cose, rispetto alla giustizia et al dovere et buon animo della M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea, senza participatione della quale non pensò mai che si mettesse a tentare cosa alcuna, et non possendo mai persuadersi che S. M<sup>ta</sup> fusse per comportarlo. Pero accadde tutto il contrario, che subito senza dimora alcuna fecer passare l' esercito in quel della chiesa et constrinser S. S<sup>ta</sup> a redimer la vexatione con 100m. sc. et col far una lega con loro: la quale mandandosi in Spagna, la demonstratione che S. M<sup>ta</sup> ne fece d' haverlo a male fu che se in essa si conteneva qualche cosa che fusse in beneficio di N. Sig<sup>re</sup> et della chiesa, non la volse ratificare, non ostante che quanto fu fatto in Italia, fussi con li mandati amplissimi della M<sup>ta</sup> sua, et tra le altre cose v' era la reintegracione dei sali dello stato di Milano che si pigliasser dalla chiesa, et la restitutione di Reggio, di che non volse far nulla. Havendo N. Sig<sup>re</sup> veduto gabbari tante volte et sperando sempre che le cose dell' imperatore, ancorche alla presentia paressero altrimenti, in effetto poi fussero per riuscire migliori et havendo sempre visto riuscirli il contrario, cominciò a dare orcechie con tante prove che ne vedeva a chi glie l' haveva sempre detto et perseverava che la M<sup>ta</sup> sua tendessi alla oppressione di tutta Italia et volersene far sig<sup>re</sup> assoluto, parendoli strano che senza un' oggetto tale S. M<sup>ta</sup> si governasse per se et per li suoi di qua della sorte che faceva: et trovandosi in questa suspettione et mala contentezza di veder che non gli era osservato nè fede nè promessa alcuna, gli pareva che gli fusse ben conveniente adherire alla amicitia et pratiche di coloro li quali havessero una causa commune con la santità sua et fusser per trovar modi da difendersi da una violentia tale che si teneva: et essendo tra le altre cose proposto che disegnando Cesare levar di stato el duca di Milano et farsene padrone et havendo tanti indicii che questo era piu che certo non si doveva perder tempo per anticipar di fare ad altri quel che era designato di fare a noi, S. S<sup>ta</sup> non poteva recusare di seguitare il camino di chi come dico era nella fortuna commune. Et di qui nacque che volendosi il regno di Francia, la S. S<sup>ria</sup> di Venetia et il resto di Italia unire insieme per rilevamento delli stati et salute commune, N. S. dava intentione di non recusare d' essere al medesimo che gli altri s' offerivono. et confessa ingenuamente che essendoli proposto in nome et da parte del marchese di Pescara che egli come mal contento dell' imperatore et come Italiano s' offeriva d' essere in questa compagnia, quando s' avesse a venire

a fatti, non solamente non lo ricusò, ma havendo sperato di poterlo avere con effetti, gli haverebbe fatto ogni partito, perche essendo venuto a termine di temer dello stato et salute propria, pensava che ogni via che se gli fusse offerta da potere sperare ajuto non era da rifiutare. Hora egli è morto et dio sa la verità et con che animo governò questa cosa. E ben vero et certo questo che simile particolare fu messo a N. Signore in suo nome; et mandando S. S<sup>ta</sup> a dimandarnelo, non solo non lo ricusò, ma tornò a confermare egli stesso quel che per altri mezzi gli era stato fatto intendere: et benchè le pratiche procedesser di questa sorte, dio sa se N. Signore ci andava piu tosto per necessità che per elezione; et di cio possono far testimonio molte lettere scritte in quel tempo al nunzio di S. S<sup>ta</sup> appresso l' imperatore, per le quali se gli ordinava che facesse intendere alla M<sup>ta</sup> S<sup>a</sup> li mali modi et atti a rovinare il mondo che per quella si tenevano, et che per amor di dio volesse pigliarla per altra via, non essendo possibile che Italia, ancoreche si ottenesse, si potesse tenere con altro che con amore et con una certa forma la quale fusse per contentare gli animi di tutti in universale. Et non giovando niente, anzi scoprendosi S. M<sup>ta</sup> in quel che si dubitava, d' impatronirsi dello stato di Milano sotto il pretesto di Girolamo Morone et che il duca si fusse voluto ribellare a S. M<sup>ta</sup>, perseverava tuttavia in acconciarla con le buone, descendendo a quel che voleva S. M<sup>ta</sup> se ella non voleva quel che piaceva alla S<sup>ta</sup> Sua, purchè lo stato di Milano restasse nel duca, al quale effetto si erano fatte tutte le guerre in Italia; in che S. S<sup>ta</sup> hebbe tanto poca ventura che, andando lo spaccio di questa sua volontà all' imperatore in tempo che S. M<sup>ta</sup> voleva accordarsi col christianissimo, rifiutò far l' accordo: et potendo, se accettava prima l' accordo con il papa, far piu vantaggio et poi piu fermo quel del christianissimo, rifiutò far l' accordo con N. Signore, per fare che quanto faceva con il re fusse tanto piu [comodo] vano quanto non lo volendo il re osservare era per haver de' compagni mal contenti con li quali unendosi fusse per tenere manco conto della M<sup>ta</sup> Sua; et non è possibile imaginarsi donde procedesse tanta alienatione dell' imperatore di volere abbracciare il papa: non havendo ancora con effetto sentita offesa alcuna di S. S<sup>ta</sup>, havendo mandato legato suo nipote per honorarlo et praticare queste cose accioche conoscesse quanto gli erano a cuore, facendoli ogni sorte di piacere, et tra gli altri concedendoli la dispensa del matrimonio; la quale quanto ad unire l'amicitia et intelligentia di quei regni per ogni caso a cavargli denari della dote et ha verquesta successione\* era della importanza, che ogn' uno sa, et tamen non si movendo S. M<sup>ta</sup> niente, costrinse la S. S<sup>ta</sup> a darsi a chi ne la pregava, non volendo l' imperatore supplicarlo, et a grandissimo torto accettarlo: et avvenne che stringendosi N. Signore con il christianissimo et con l' altri prencipi et potentati a fare la lega per commune difensione et precipuamente per far la pace universale, quando l' imperatore lo seppe, volse poi unirsi con N. Signore et mandando ad offerirgli per il sig<sup>re</sup> Don Ugo di Moncada non solo quel che S. S<sup>ta</sup> gli aveva addimandato et importunato, ma quel che mai haveva sperato di potere ottenere. Et se o la M<sup>ta</sup> S. si vuol difendere o calunniare N. Sig<sup>re</sup>, che concedendoli per il sig<sup>re</sup> Don Ugo quanto dissì di sopra, non l' avesse voluto accettare, non danni la S<sup>ta</sup> S., la quale mentre che fu in sua potestà, gli fece istanza di contentarsi di manco assai, ma incolpi il poco giudicio di coloro che quanto è tempo et è per giovare non vogliono consentire a uno et vengono fuori d' occasioni a voler buttar cento. . . . non essendo (se non?) con somma giustificatione cio in tempo, che sua M<sup>ta</sup> negasse d' entrare in lega con honeste conditioni et che le imprese riuscissero in modo difficili che altrimenti non si potesse ottenere l' intento commune, et chi dubitassi che l' impresa del regno non fusse stata per essere facile, lo può mostrare l' esito di Frusolone et la presa di tante terre, considerando inassime che N. Sig<sup>re</sup> poteva mandare nel principio le medesime enti, ma non eron già atti ad havere nel regno in un subito tante preparazioni quante stentorono ad havere in molti mesi con aspettare gli ajuti di Spagna, et mentre non manca nell' inimicitia esser amico et voler usar piu presto ufficio di padre, minacciando che dando (offendendo!) e

\* We see that in 1525 the attack made by Portugal on Spain was already in contemplation.

procedendo con ogni sincerità et non mancando di discendere ancora ai termini sotto della dignità sua in fare accordo con Colonnesei sudditi suoi per levare ogni suspettione et per non mandar mai il ferro tanto inanzi che non si potessi tirandolo in dietro sanar facilmente la piaga, fu ordinata a S. S<sup>ta</sup> quella traditione, che sa ogn' uno et piu sene parla tacendo, nod si potendo esprimere, nella quale è vero che se S. M<sup>ta</sup> non ci dette ordine nè consenso, nè mostrò almeno gran dispiacere et non fece maggior dimostration, parendo che l' armata e tutti li preparatorii che potessi mai fare l' imperatore non tendessino ad altro che a voler vendicare la giustitia N. Sig<sup>re</sup> aveva fatta contro i Colonnesei di rovinarli quattro castelli. Non voglio disputar della tregua fatta qui in castello questo settembre per il sig<sup>re</sup> Don Ugo se teneva o non teneva: ma l' assolutione dei Colonnesei non teneva gia in modo N. Sig<sup>re</sup> che essendo suoi sudditi non gli potessi et dovessi castigare. Et se quanto all' osservantia poi della tregua tra N. Sig<sup>re</sup> et l' imperatore fussi stato modo da potersi fidare, si sarebbe osservata d' avanzo, benche N. Sig<sup>re</sup> non fusse mai el primo a romperla: ma non gli essendo osservate nè qui nè in Lombardia, dove nel tempo della tregua calando XII mila lanzichiniche vennero nella terra della chiesa, et facendosi dalle bande di qua el peggio che si poteva, et sollicitandosi el vicerè per lettere del consiglio di Napoli, che furono interette, che S. S<sup>ria</sup> accelerassi la venuta per trovare il papa sprovisto et fornir quel che al primo colpo non haveva potuto fare, non poté N. Sig<sup>re</sup> mancare a se stesso di mandare a tor gente in Lombardia, le quali, ancorche venissero a tempo di far fattione nel regno, non volse che si movesser dei confini—et la rovina de luoghi dei Colonnesei fu piu per l' inobbedienza di non haver voluto alloggiare che per altro—et similmente di dar licentia a Andrea Doria di andare ad impedir quell' armata della quale S. S<sup>ta</sup> haveva tanti riscontri che veniva alla sua rovina. Non si può senza nota di S. S<sup>ta</sup> di poca cura della salute et dignità sua dir, con quante legittime occasioni costretto non abbandonassi mai tanto tempo l' amore verso l' imperatore, e dipoiche cominciò a esservi qualche separatione, quante volte non solo essendoli offerti ma andava cercando i modo di tornarvi, ancorche et di questo primo proposito et di quest' altre reconciliationi gliene fussi seguito male. Ecco che mentre le cose son piu ferventi che mai, viene el padre generale dei Minori, al quale havendo N. Sig<sup>re</sup> nel principio della guerra andando in Spagna dette buone parole assai dell' animo suo verso l' imperatore et mostratoli quali sariano le vie per venire a una pace universale, la M<sup>ta</sup> sua lo rimandò indietro con commissioni a parole tanto ampie quanto si poteva desiderare, ma in effetto poi durissime: pur desiderando N. Sig<sup>re</sup> d' uscirne et venire una volta a chiarirsi facie ad faciem con l' imperatore, se vi era modo o via alcuna di far pace, disse di sì et accettò per le migliori del mondo queste cose che l' imp<sup>re</sup> voleva da sua santità et quello che la M<sup>ta</sup> sua voleva dare: et volendo venire allo stringere et bisognando far capo col vicerè, il quale si trovava anch' esso arrivato a Gaetta nel medesimo tempo con parole niente inferiori di quelle che el generale haveva detto, queste conditioni crescevano ogn' hora et erano infinite insoportabili da potersi fare: con tutto cio niente premeva piu a N. Signore che esser costretto a far solo accordo con l' imperatore in Italia, perche la causa che moveva a farlo, etiam con grandissimo danno et vergogna sua, era l' unione et pace in Italia et il potere andare all' imperatore, et se la Signoria di Venetia non gli consentiva, questo non poteva occorrere, et per praticare il consenso loro, stando il vicerè a Frusolone, si fece la sospensione dell' armi otto giorni, tra quali potesse venire la risposta di Venetia, et andando con esse il signor Cesare Pieramosca, non fu prima arrivato là che gia essendosi alle mani et liberato Frusolone dall' assedio non si poté far niente: nel qual maneggio è certo che N. Signore andò sinceramente et così ancora il rev<sup>mo</sup> legato, ma trovandosi gia l' inimici a posta et con l' armi in mano, non era possibile di trattare due cose diverse in un tempo medesimo. . . . Si potrebbe maravigliarsi che doppo l' aver provato l' animo di questa parte et restarsi sotto con inganno, danno et vergogna, hora volens et sciens, senza necessità alcuna libero dalla paura del perdere, sicuro di guadagnare, non sapendo che amicitia acquistassi, essendo certo della alienatione et nemicitia di tutto il mondo et di quei principali che di cuore amano la S<sup>ta</sup> sua, andasse a buttarsi in una pace o tregua di questa



sorte. Ma havendo sua S<sup>ta</sup> provato che non piaceva a dio che si facesse guerra, —perche ancorche havessi fatto ogni prova per non venire ad arme et di poi essendovi venuto con tanti vantaggi, il non haver havuto se non tristi successi non si può attribuire ad altro, venendo la povera christianità afflitta e desolata in modo insoffribile ad udirsi da noi medesimi, che quasi eravamo per lassar poca fatica al Turco di fornirla di rovinare, —giudicava che nessun rispetto humano dovessi per grande che fusse valer tanto che havessi a rimuovere la S<sup>ta</sup> sua da cercar pace in compagnia d'ogn' uno, non possendola haver con altri, farscla a se stessa, et massime che in questi pensieri tornomo a interporvisi di quelli avvisi, et nuove dell' animo et volontà di Cesare disposto a quello che suol muovere la S. S<sup>ta</sup> mirabilmente havendo havuto nel medesimo tempo lettere di man propria di S. M<sup>a</sup> per via del Sig<sup>re</sup> Cesare et per Paolo di Arezzo di quella sorte che era necessario; vedendo che d' accordarsi il papa col imperatore fusse per seguirne la felicità del mondo ovvero immaginarsi che uomo del mondo non potessi mai nascer di peggior natura che l' imperatore se fusse andato a trovare questa via per rovinare il papa, la qual fussi indegnissima d' ogni vilissimo uomo et non del maggiore che sia tra christiani, ma absit che si possa imaginar tal cosa, ma si reputa piu tosto che dio l' habbia permessa per recognition nostra et per dar campo alla M<sup>a</sup> sua di mostrar piu pietà, piu bontà e fede et darli luogo d' assettare il mondo piu che fusse mai concesso a prencipe nato. Essendo venute in mano di questi soldati tutte le scritture, tra l' altre gli sarà capitato una nuova capitulatione, che fece N. S<sup>re</sup> cinque o sei dì al piu prima che seguisse la perdita di Roma, per la quale ritornando S. S<sup>ta</sup> per unirsi con la lega et consentendo a molte condizioni che erano in pregiudicio della M<sup>a</sup> Cesarea, non penso che alcuno sia per volersene valere contro N. S<sup>re</sup> di quelli della parte di Cesare, perche non lo potrebbero fare senza scoprìr piu i difetti et mancamenti loro, li quali dato che si potessi concedere che non si fussi potuto ritrar Borbone dal proposito suo di voler venire alla rovina del papa, certo è che eron tanti altri in quel campo di fanti et uomini d' arme et persone principali che havrebbero obbedito a i comandamenti dell' imperatore se gli fussero stati fatti di buona sorte: et privato Borbone d' una simil parte, restava poco atto a proseguire el disegno suo. Et dato che questo non si fusse possuto fare, benche non si possa essere escusazione alcuna che vagli, come si giustificherà che havendo N. Sig<sup>re</sup> adempito tutte le condizioni della capitulatione fatta col vicerè, sicome V. S. R<sup>ma</sup> potria ricordarsi et vedere rileggendo la copia di essa capitulatione, che porterà seco, che domandando S. S<sup>ta</sup> all' incontro che se li osservasse il pagamento dei fanti et degli uomini d' arme, che ad ogni richiesta sua se li erano obbligati, non ne fussi stato osservato niente si che non essendo stato corrisposto in nessuna parte a N. Sig<sup>re</sup> in quella capitulatione, da un canto facendosi contro quello che si doveva, dall' altro non se li dando li ajuti che si doveva, non so con che animo possa mettersi a voler calunniare la S<sup>ta</sup> S. d' una cosa fatta per mera necessità indutta da loro et tardata tanto a fare, che fu la rovina di sua Beattitudine, e pigliare occasione di tenersi offesi da noi.

“ Dalla deliberatione che N. Sig<sup>re</sup> fece dell' andata sua all' imperatore in tempo che nessuno possava suspicare che si movessi per altro che per zelo della salute de christiani, essendo venuta quella inspiratione subito che si hebbe nuova della morte del re d' Ungheria et della perdita del regno, non lo negheranno li nemici proprii, havendo S. S<sup>ta</sup> consultato e risoluto in consistore due o tre dì inanzi l'entrata di Colonnese in Roma; nè credo che sia alcuno si grosso che pensi si vollessi fare quel atto di gratia coll' imperatore prevedendo forse quella tempesta, perche non era tale che se si fussi havuto tre hore di tempo a saperlo, non che tre dì, non si fusse con un minimo suono (sforzo?) potuto scacciare. Le condizioni che el padre generale di S. Francesco portò a N. Sig<sup>re</sup> furon queste: la prima di voler pace con S<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ta</sup>, et se per caso alla venuta sua trovasse le cose di S<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ta</sup> et della chiesa rovinate, che era contento si riducessero tutte al pristino stato et in Italia darebbe pace ad ogn' uno, non essendo d' animo suo volere nè per se nè per suo fratello pur un palmo, anzi lassar ogn' un in possesso di quello in che si trovava tanto tempo fa; la differentia del duca di Milano si vedessi in jure da giudici da deputarsi per S<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ta</sup> et S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>a</sup>, et venendo da assolversi si restituisse

dovendo esser condannato si dessi a Borbone, et Francia sarebbe contento far l'accordo a danari, cossa che non haveva voluto far fin qui, et la somma nominava la medesima che 'l christianissimo haveva mandato a offerire cioè due milioni d'oro; le quali condizioni N. Sig<sup>re</sup> accettò subito secondo che il generale ne può far testimonio, et le sottoscrisse di sua mano, ma non furono già approvate per gli altri, li quali V. S. sa quanto gravi et insopportabili petitioni gli aggiunsero. Hora non essendo da presumere se non che la M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea dicesse da dovero et con quella sincerità che conviene a tanto prencipe, et vedendosi per queste propositioni et ambasciate sue così moderato animo et molto benigno verso N. Sig<sup>re</sup>, in tanto che la M<sup>ta</sup> sua non sapeva qual fussi quello di S<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ta</sup> in verse se et che si stimava l'armi sue essere così potentissime in Italia per li lanzichineche et per l'armata mandata, che in ogni cosa havessi ceduto, non è da stimare se non che quando sarà informato che se la M<sup>ta</sup> sua mandò a mostrar buon animo non fu trovato inferiore quel di N. Sig<sup>re</sup>, et che alle forze sue era tal resistenza che S<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ta</sup> piu tosto fece beneficio a S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> in depor l'armi, che lo riceversi, come ho detto di sopra et è chiarissimo, et che tutta la rovina seguita sta sopra la fede et nome di sua M<sup>ta</sup>, nella quale N. Sig<sup>re</sup> si è confidato, vorrà non solamente esser simile a se, quando andrà sua sponte a desiderar bene et offerirsi parato rifarne a N. Sig<sup>re</sup> et alla chiesa, ma ancora aggiunger tanto piu a quella naturale disposition sua quanto ricerca il volere evitare questo carico, et d'ignominioso che (non) sarebbe per essere, (da?) passarsene di leggiero, voltarlo in gloria perpetua, facendola tanto piu chiara et stabile per se medesima quanto altri hanno cercato come suoi ministri deprimerla et oscurarla. Et gli effetti che bisognerebbe far per questo tantoprivatamente verso la chiesa et restauration sua quanto i beneficii che scancellassero le rovine in Italia et tutta la christianità, estimando piu essere imperatore per pacificarla che qualsivoglia altro emolumento, sarà molto facile a trovarli, purché la dispositione et giudizio di volere et conoscere il vero bene dove consiste vi sia.

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“Per non entrare in le cause per le quali fummo costretti a pigliar l'armi, per essere cosa che ricercarebbe piu tempo, si verrà solamente a dire che non le pigliammo mai per odio o mala volontà che havessimo contra l'imperatore, o per ambitione di far piu grande lo stato nostro o d'alcuno de nostri, ma solo per necessità nella quale ci pareva che fusse posta la libertà et stato nostro et delli comuni stati d'Italia, et per far constare a tutto il mondo et all'imperatore che se si cercava d'opprimerci, noi non potevamo nè dovevamo comportarlo senza far ogni sforzo di difenderci, in tanto che sua M<sup>ta</sup>, se haveva quell'animo del quale mai dubitavamo, intendesse che le cose non erano per riuscirli così facilmente come altri forse gli haveva dato ad intendere, ovvero se noi ci fussimo gabbati in questa opinione che S<sup>a</sup> M<sup>ta</sup> intendessi a farsi male, et questi sospetti ci fosser nati piu per modi dei ministri che altro, facendosi S. M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea intendere esser così da dovero, si venisse a una buona pace et amicitia non solo tra noi particolarmente et S. M<sup>ta</sup>, ma in compagnia degli altri prencipi o sig<sup>ri</sup> con li quali eravamo colligati non per altro effetto che solamente per difenderci dalla villania che ci fusse fatta o per venir con conditioni honeste et ragionevoli a mettere un'altra volta pace infra la misera christianità: et se quando Don Ugo venne S. M<sup>ta</sup> ci havesse mandato quelle resolutioni le quali honestissimamente ci parevan necessarie per venir a questo, ci haverebbe N. Sig<sup>re</sup> Iddio fatto la piu felice gratia che si potessi pensare, che in un medesimo di quasi che si presero l'armi si sarebbon deposte. Et che sia vero quel che diciamo che habbiamo havuto sempre in animo, ne può far testimonio la dispositione in che ci trovò il generale di S. Francesco, con el quale comunicando noi, hora è un'anno che era qui per andare in Spagna, le cause perche noi et gli altri d'Italia havevamo da star mal contenti dell'imperatore, et dandogli carico che da nostra parte l'esponesse tutte a quella, con farli intendere che se voleva attendere ai consigli et preghiere nostre, le quali tutte tendevano a laude et servitio di dio et beneficio così suo come nostro, ci troverebbe sempre di quella amorevolezza che ci haveva

provato per inanzi, et essendosi di là alquanti mesi rimandatoci il detto generale da S. M<sup>ta</sup> con risponderci humanissimamente che era contenta, per usar delle sue parole, accettar per comandamento quello che noi gli havevamo mandato a consigliare; et per dar certezza di cio, portava tra l' altre risoluzioni d' esser contento di render li figliuoli del christianissimo con quel riscatto et taglia che gli era stata offerta da S. M<sup>ta</sup>, cosa che sin qui non haveva voluto mai fare; oltre che prometteva che se tutta Italia per un modo di dire a quell' hora che 'l generale arrivassi a Roma, fussi in suo potere, era contenta, per far buggiardo che l' avesse voluto calunniare che la volessi occupare, di restituir tutto nel suo pristino stato et mostrar che in essa nè per se nè per il ser<sup>mo</sup> suo fratello non ci voleva un palmo di piu di quello che era solito di possidervi anticamente la corona di Spagna: et perche le parole s' accompagnassero con i fatti, portava di cio amplissimo mandato in sua persona da poter resolver tutto o con Don Ugo o con el vicerè, se el tempo che ci capitava, in Italia fussi arrivato. Quanto qui fussi il nostro contento, non si potrebbe esprimere, e ci pareva un' hora mill' anni venire all' effetto di qualche sorte d' accordo generale di posar l' arme: et sopraggiungeudo quasi in un medesimo tempo il vicerè et mandandoci da San Steffano, dove prima prese porto in questo mare, per el comandante Pignalosa a dire el miglior parole del mondo et niente differenti da quanto ci haveva detto el generale, rendemmo gratie a iddio che il piacere che havevamo preso per l' ambasciata del generale non fusse per havere dubbio alcuno, essendoci confermato il medesimo per il signor vicerè, il quale in farci intendere le commissioni dell' imperatore ci confortava in tutto, et pur ci mandava a certificare che nessuno potrebbe trovarsi con migliore volontà di mettersi ad eseguirle. Hora qualmente ne succedesse il contrario, non bisogna durare molta fatica in dirlo, non essendo alcun che non sappia le durissime, insoportabili et ignominiose conditioni che ne furono dimandate da parte del vicerè, non havendo noi posta dimora alcuna in mandarlo a pregare che non si tardasse a venire alla conditione di tanto bene. Et dove noi pensavamo ancora trovar meglio di quel che ne era stato detto, essendo l' usanza di farsi sempre riservo delle migliori cose per farle gustare piu gratamente, non solo ci riuscì di non trovare niente del proposto, ma tutto il contrario, et prima: non havere fede alcuna in noi, come se nessuno in verità possa produrre testimonio in contrario; et per sicurtà domandarci la migliore et piu importante parte dello stato nostro et della S<sup>ria</sup> di Fiorenza, dipoi somma di denari insoportabile a chi avesse havuto i monti d' oro, non che a noi, che ogn' uno sapeva che non havevamo un carlino; volere che con tanto ignominia nostra, anzi piu dell' imperatore, restituissimo coloro che contra ogni debito humano et divino, con tanta tradizioni, vennero ad assalire la persona di N. Signore, saccheggiare la chiesa di San Pietro, il sacro palazzo; stringerne senza un minimo rispetto a volere che ci obbligassimo strettamente di piu alla M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea, sapendo tutto il mondo quanto desiderio ne mostrammo nel tempo che eravamo nel piu florido stato che fussimo mai, et, per non dire tutti gli altri particolari, volere che soli facessimo accordo, non lo potendo noi fare se volevamo piu facilmente condurre a fine la pace universale, per la quale volevamo dare questo principio. Et così non si potendo il vicerè rimuoversi da queste sue dimande tanto insoportabili et venendo senza niuna causa ad invader lo stato nostro, havendo noi in ogni tempo et quei poche mesi inanzi lasciato stare quello dell' imperatore nel regno di Napoli, accadde la venuta di Cesare Fieramosca: il quale trovando il vicerè gia nello stato della chiesa, credemmo che portasse tali commissioni da parte dell' imperatore a S. S<sup>ria</sup> che se si fossero eseguite, none si sarebbero condotte le cose in questi termini. Et mentre S. S<sup>ria</sup> volse fare due cose assai contrarie insieme, una mostrare di non haber fatto male ad esser venuto tanto inanzi overo non perdere le occasioni che gli pareva havere di guadagnare il tutte, l' altro di obbedire alli comandamenti dell' imperatore, quali erano che in ogni modo si facesse accordo, non successe all' hora nè l' uno nè l' altro: perche S. S<sup>ria</sup> si trovò gabbata, che non potette fare quello che si pensava. Et tornando il signor Cesare con patti di far tregua per otto di, fintanto che venisse risposta se la Sig<sup>ria</sup> di Venetia vi voleva entrare, quando arrivò in campo trovò gli eserciti alle mani et non si andò per all'

hora piu inanzi: salvo che non ostante questo successo et conoscendo certo che stassimo sicurissimi in Lombardia et in Toscana per le buone provisioni et infinita gente di guerra, che vi ere di tutta la lega, et che le cose del reame non havessero rimedio alcuno come l' esperienza l' aveva cominciato a dimostrare, mai deponemmo dall' animo nostro il desiderio et procuratione della pace. Et in esser successe le cose così bene verso noi, non havevamo altro contento se non poter mostrare che se desideravamo pace, era per vero giudicio et buona volontà nostra et non per necessità, et per inostrare all' imperatore che, se comandò con buono animo, come crediamo, al padre generale che ancorche tutto fusse preso a sua devotione si restituisse, che quel che ella si imaginava di fare quando il caso avesse portato di esserlo, noi essendo così in fatto lo volevamo eseguire. A questo nostro desiderio ci aggiunsero un ardore estremo piu lettere scritte di mano dell' imperatore, tra l' altre due che in ultimo havemmo da Cesare Pieramosca et da Paolo di Arezzo nostro servitore, le quali sono di tal tenore che non ci pareria havere mai errato se in fede di quelle lettere sole non solo havessimo posto tutto il mondo ma l'anima propria in mano di S. M<sup>te</sup>; tanto ci scongiura che vogliamo dar credito alle parole che ne dice, et tutte esse parole sono piene di quella satisfatione di quelle promesse et quell' ajuto che noi a noi non lo desideravamo migliore. Et come in trattare la pace finche non eravamo sicuri che corrispondenza s' era per havere, non si rimetteva niente delle provisioni della guerra, così ci sforzavamo chiarirci bene essendo due capi in Italia, Borbone et il signor vicerè, s'era bisogno trattare con un solo et quello sarebbe rato per tutti, ovvero con tutti due particolarmente; accioche se ci fusse avvenuto quel che è, la colpa che è data d' altra sorte ad altri, non fusse stata a noi di poeca prudentia: et havendo trovato che questa facultà di contrattare era solo nel vicerè, ce ne volemmo molto ben chiarire et non tanto che fussi così come in effetto il generale, il signor Cesare, il vicerè proprio, Paulo d'Arezzo et Borbone ne dicevano, ma intender dal detto Borbone non una volta ma mille et da diverse persone se l'era per obbedirlo, et proposto di voler fare accordo particolarmente con lui et recusando et affermando, che a quanto appuntarebbe el vicerè non farebbe replica alcuna. Hora fu facil cosa et sarà sempre ad ogn' uno adombrar con specie di virtù un suo disegno, et non lo potendo condurre virtuosamente nè all' aperta, tirarlo con fallacia, come—venghi donde si voglia, ci par esser a termine che non sappiamo indovinar donde procedeva—ci par che si sia stato fatto a noi, li quali si vede che tutte le diligentie che si possono usare di non esser gabbati, sono state usate per noi, et tanto che qual chevolta ci pareva d'esser superstiziosi et di meritarme reprehensione. Perche havendo el testimonio, et di lettere et di bocca dell' imperatore, del buon animo suo, et che Borbone obbedirebbe al vicerè, et a cautela dando S. M<sup>te</sup> lettere nuove a Paulo sopra questa obbedientia al vicerè dirette a esso Borbone, et facendosi el trattata con el poter si ampio di S. M<sup>te</sup> che doveva bastare, et havendo Borbone mostrato di remettersi in tutto nel vicerè, et contentandosi poi esso di venire in poter nostro, fu una facultà tanto grande a tirarci allo stato ove siamo che non sappiamo gia che modo si potrà piu trovare al mondo di credere alla semplice fede d' un privato gentil huomo, essendovi qui intervenute molte cose e riuscito a questo modo. Et per non cercare altro che fare i fatti proprii, era molto piu lecito et facile a noi senza incorrer non solo in infamia di non servator di fede, ma nè anche d' altro, usar dell' occasione che la fortuna ci haveva portato, di starsi sicurissimo in Lombardia come si stava che mai veniva Borbone inanzi, se l' esercito della lega non si fusse raffreddato per la stretta prattica anzi conclusion della pace, et valuto di quella commodità seguir la guerra del reame, et da due o tre fortezze in poi levarlo tutto, e di poi andare appresso in altri luoghi, dove si fosse potuto far danno et vergogna all' imperatore, et stando noi saldi in compagnia dei confederati rendere tutti li disegni suoi piu difficili. Ma parendoci che el servitio di dio et la misera christianità ricercasse pace, ci proponemmo a deporre ogni grande acquisto o vittoria che fussionsi stati per havere, et offender tutti li prencipi christiani et Italiani, senza saper quodanmodo che haver in mano, ma assai pensavamo d' havere se l' animo dell' imperatore era

tale come S. M<sup>a</sup> con tante evidentie si sforzava darci ad intendere. Et molto poco stimavamo l'offensione degli altri prencipi christiani, li quali di li a molto poco ci sarebber restati molto obbligati se si fusse seguito quello che tanto amplamente S. M<sup>a</sup> ci ha con argomenti replicato, che sarebbe, accordandosi noi seco, per rimettere in nostra mano la conclusion della pace et assenso con li prencipi christiani. Et se alcuno volesse pensare che fussino andati con altro oggetto, costui conoscendoci non può piu mostrare in cosa alcuna la malignità sua; non ci conoscendo et facendo diligentia di sapere le attioni della vita nostra, troverà che è molto consentiente che noi non habbiamo mai desiderato se non bene et operato virtuosamente et a quel fine postposto ogni altro interesse: et se hora ce n' è successo male ricevendo di mano di N. Sig<sup>re</sup> dio quanto giustamente gli piace con ogni humiltà, non è che da gli huomini non riceviamo grandissimo torto et da quelli massime che se ben fino a un certo termine posson coprirsi con la forza et con la disobbedienza d' altri, benchè quando s' havessi a discutere si troverebbe da dire assai, hora et un pezzo fa et per honor loro et per quel che sono obbligati secondo dio et secondo il mondo si potrebbor portare altrimenti di quel che fanno. Noi siamo entrati nel trattato poi fatto a Fiorenza con quelli di Borbone per mano del sig<sup>re</sup> vicerè et dipoi non osservato, perche non vogliamo parer d' haver tolto assunto di fare il malo contra chi è stato causa di trattarci così, li quali dio giudichi con el suo giusto giudicio; doppo la misericordia del quale verso di noi et della sua chiesa non speriamo in altro che nella religione, fede et virtù dell' imperatore; che essendoci noi condotti dove siamo per l' opinione che havevamo di esso con el frutto che s' aspetta a tal parte ci ritragga et ponga tanto più alto quanto siamo in basso. Dalla cui M<sup>a</sup> aspettiamo della ignominia et danni patiti infinitamente quella satisfattione che S. M<sup>a</sup> ci può dare eguale alla grandezza sua et al debito, se alcuna se ne potesse mai trovare al mondo che bastusse alla minima parte. Non entraremo esprimendo i particolari a torre la gratia dei concetti, che doviam sperare che havrà et che ci manderà a proporre. Diciamo che mettendoci al piu basso grado di quel che si possi domandare et che è per esser piu presto vergogna a S. M<sup>a</sup> a non conceder piu et a noi a non domandare che parer duro a farlo, che da S. M<sup>a</sup> dovrebbero venire queste provisioni:

“Che la persona nostra, el sacro colleggio et la corte dello stato tutto temporale et spirituale siamo restituti in quel grado ch' era quando furon fatte l' indutie col sig<sup>re</sup> vicerè, et non ci gravare a pagare un denaro dell' obbligato.

“Et se alcuno sentendo questo si burlerà di noi, rispondiamo che se le cose di sopra son vere, et si maraviglia che ci acquietiamo di questo, ha gran ragione; ma se gli paresse da doverlo strano, consideri con che bontà lo giudica o verso Cesare o verso noi: se verso Cesare, consideri bene che ogni volta che non si promette di S. M<sup>a</sup> e questo e molto piu, che lo fa gia partecipe di tutto quel male che qui è passato: ma se verso noi diciamo che iniquamente ci vuole detrarre quello che nessuno mai ardis rebbe di far buona mente. Nè si deve guardare che siamo qui, ma si bene come si siamo, et che è pur meglio far con virtù et giudicio quello che finalmente el tempo in ogni modo ha da portare, se non in vita nostra, in quella d' altri.”

## 16.

*Sommario dell' Istoria d' Italia dall' anno 1512 insino a 1527. Scritto da Francesco Vettori.*

This is a most remarkable work, written by an able man, well versed in the affairs of the Medici, and indeed of Italy in general, a friend also of Machiavelli and Guicciardini. I found it in the Corsini library at Rome, but could only make extracts. I should otherwise have requested leave to print it, which it well deserves.

The plague drove Vettori out of Florence in the year 1527, and he wrote this review of recent occurrences at his villa.

He chiefly concerns himself with Florentine affairs. His opinions approxi-

mate very nearly to those of his friends; when he treats of the sort of government given to his native town by the Medici in 1512, by which cardinal de' Medici, afterwards Leo X, reduced everything into his own power, ("si ridusse la città, che non si faceva se non quanto voleva il card<sup>i</sup> de Medici,") he adds, "This is called tyranny, but I, for my part, know of no state, whether it be a monarchy or a republic, which has not something tyrannical." "Tutte quelle repubbliche e principati de' quali io ho cognitione per historia o che io ho veduto mi pare che sentino della tirannide." People might quote the example of France or of Venice; but he would reply that in France the nobility enjoyed a preponderance of power in the state, and had the church patronage in their hands; and that in Venice, three thousand men ruled, and not always justly, over one hundred thousand: there was no difference between a king and tyrant, save that a good ruler deserved to be called a king, and a bad one, a tyrant.

Notwithstanding the intimate terms on which he stood with both the popes of the house of Medici, he is little convinced of the christian character of the papal power. "Chi considera bene la legge evangelica, vedrà i pontefici, ancora che tenghino il nome di vicario di Christo, haver indutto una nova religione, che non ve n' è altro di Christo che il nome; il qual comanda la povertà e loro vogliono la ricchezza, comanda la humiltà e loro vogliono la superbia, comanda la obedientia e loro vogliono comandar a ciascuno." We see how much the temporal power of the papacy, and the contrast it exhibited to the spiritual nature of Christianity, prepared the way for protestantism.

The choice of Leo as pope is ascribed by Vettori chiefly to the opinion generally entertained of his good nature. The people had had enough of the two awful popes who had preceded him, and chose Medici. "Haveva saputo in modo simulare che era tenuto di ottimi costumi." Bibbiena had the greatest share in this election, as he knew the inclinations of all the cardinals, and had the art of winning them over contrary to their own interests. "Condusse fuori del conclave alcuni di loro a promettere, e nel conclave a consentire a detta elezione contra tutte le ragioni."

He relates admirably the expedition of Francis I in 1515, and Leo's conduct during it; and attributes it chiefly to the talent displayed by Tricarico, who arrived in the French camp as the king was mounting his horse to go to oppose the Swiss at Marignano, that the consequences were not more disastrous to the pope: after the battle Tricarico conducted the negotiations with consummate prudence.

Next follows the revolt of Urbino; I have already given the motives to which Vettori ascribes Leo's conduct. "Leone disse, che se non privava il duca dello stato, el quale si era condotto con lui e preso danari et in su l'ardore della guerra era convenuto con li nemici nè pensato che era suo suddito, nè ad altro, che non sarebbe sì piccolo barone, che non ardisse di fare il medesimo o peggio; e che havendo trovato il ponteficato in riputatione lo voleva mantenere. Et in verità volendo vivere i pontefici come sono vivuti da molte diecine d'anni in qua, il papa non poteva lasciare il delitto del duca impunito."

Vettori likewise wrote a life of Lorenzo de' Medici; and praises him more than any other author. He places his government of Florence in a new and peculiar light; his biography and our summary mutually complete and illustrate each other.

He also treats of the election of the emperor of Germany, which occurred about that time; and says that Leo only supported the pretensions of the king of France, because he knew that the Germans would not elect him. His calculation was that Francis I would give the weight of his influence to some German prince, if it was only to prevent Charles from succeeding. I meet with the unexpected assertion, which indeed I do not wish to guarantee, that the king in fact endeavored at last to further the election of Joachim of Brandenburg. "Il re.....haveva volto il favore suo al marchese di Brandenburg, uno delli electori, et era contento che li danari prometteva a quelli electori che eleggevano lui, dargli a quelli che eleggevano dicto marchese." At any rate, the proceedings of

Joachim during this election were very extraordinary. The whole history of this event, strangely perverted as it has been, with or without design, is at any rate worthy of investigation.\*

Vettori thinks the treaty of Leo with Charles imprudent beyond belief: "La mala fortuna di Italia lo indusse a fare quello che nussuno uomo prudente avrebbe facto;" and attributes it chiefly to the persuasions of Geronimo Adorno. He never mentions the natural considerations which influenced the house of Medici.

He narrates some of the particulars of the pope's death, which I have used in the text, and does not believe in his being poisoned. "Fu detto che morì di veneno, e questo quasi sempre si dice delli uomini grandi e maxime quando mojonno di malattie acute." His opinion is that we should rather wonder that Leo had lived so long.

He confirms the report that Adrian at first refused to do anything against the French, and that it was only after a pressing despatch from the emperor that he consented to afford some very small assistance.

It would lead us too far to repeat here all the remarks which this summary contains, of the further course of events: it is remarkable, even in the passages where the author only expresses his own sentiments, which are very similar to those of Machiavelli, whom he resembles in his bad opinion of mankind. "Quasi tutti gli uomini sono adulatori e dicono volentieri quello che piaccia agli uomini grandi, benche sentino altrimenti nel cuore." Francis I's violation of the treaty of Madrid he pronounces the noblest and best deed which had been performed for centuries. "Francesco," he says, "fece una cosa molto conveniente, a promettere assai con animo di non osservare, per potersi trovare a difendere la patria sua." This is a view of the subject worthy of the 'Principe.'

But in other respects, also, Vettori shows himself to be imbued with the same spirit as the other great authors of that epoch. The work under our review is full of originality and talent, and the more attractive from its brevity. The author says only as much as he knows, but that is very important. It would require a more minute account than I can give to do him justice.

## 17.

*Sommario di la relatione di S. Marco Foscari, venuto orator del sommo pontefice a di 2 Marzo 1526. In Sanuto, vol. 41.*

Marco Foscari formed one of that embassy which swore allegiance to Adrian, and appears to have remained in Rome till 1526.

He says something of the times of Adrian, but is better informed concerning Clement VII from having been in constant and animated intercourse with that pope during the strict alliance then existing between Clement and the Venetians.

He thus describes Clement: "Hom prudente e savio, ma longo a risolversi, e di qua vien le sue operation varie. Discorre ben, vede tutto, ma è molto timido: niun in materia di stato pol con lui, alde tutti e poi fa quello li par: homo justo et homo di dio: et in signatura, dove intravien tre cardinali e tre referendarii, non farà cosa in pregiuditio di altri, e come el segna qualche supplicacion, non revocha piu, come feva papa Leon. Questo non vende beneficii, nè li da per symonia, non tuo officii con dar beneficii per venderli, come feva papa Leon e li altri, ma vol tutto passi rectamente. Non spende, nè tuol quel di altri: onde è reputa mixero. E' qualche murmuration in Roma, etiam per causa del card<sup>l</sup> Armelin, qual trouva molte invention per trovar danari in Roma e fa metter nove angarie e fino a chi porta tordi a Roma et altre cose di manzar.....E' continentissimo, non si sa di alcuna sorte di luxuria che usi.....Non vol buffoni, non musici,

\* Since writing the above I have tried to come nearer to the truth in my German history. (Notes to the 2d edition.)

non va a cazare. Tutto il suo piacere è di rasconar con inzegneri e parlar di aque.”

He then mentions his chief advisers. To his nephew the pope allowed not the least influence; even Giberto had not much power in affairs of state: “il papa lo alde, ma poi fa al suo modo.” He also thinks that Giberto is for the French, although “devoto e savio;” and that Schomberg, “libero nel suo parlar,” is for the emperor. Zuan Foietta was also a steady adherent of the emperor; and was less intimate with the pope from the time he entered into alliance with France. Foscarei also mentions the pope’s two secretaries, Jacopo Salviati and Fr. Vizardini (Guicciardini), and esteems the latter the abler man, but thoroughly French.

It is remarkable that the pope was not on better terms with the French, than with the imperialists, and well knew what he had to expect at their hands. It was only with Venice that he felt his alliance to be cordial and secure. “Conosce, se non era la Signoria nostra, saria ruinado e caza di Roma.”

They mutually strengthened each other in their regard for Italian interests, and saw that their honor consisted in maintaining them. It was a matter of pride to the pope that he had prevented Venice from coming to terms with the emperor: on the other hand, Foscarei positively asserts that it was he, through whose means Italy had been freed; that the pope had determined to recognise Bourbon as duke of Milan, but that he had so earnestly dissuaded him, that he had at length given way.

He affirms that the pope would grant the emperor the dispensation essential to him for the solemnisation of his marriage, only under certain conditions—a circumstance which the above instructions do not mention. The emperor however had attained his object by other means.

There is one very remarkable thing relating to this report. When the ambassadors were afterwards requested to make and send in their reports in writing, Marco Foscarei did like the others. But it is striking how much feebler the second report is than the first which was written immediately after the occurrence of the facts recorded, out of the fulness of a fresh memory; but so many other great events had subsequently occurred, before the composition of the second, that the vividness of the former impressions had been effaced. This shows how much we owe to the indefatigable activity of Sanuto. This is the last report, for a knowledge of which I am indebted exclusively to his chronicle. Others follow which have been preserved in copies made and revised by their authors.

#### 18.

*Relatione riferita nel consiglio di pregadi per il clarissimo Gaspar Contarini ritornato ambasciatore del papa Clemente VII e dal imp<sup>re</sup> Carlo V, Marzo, 1530. Informationi Politiche XXXV. In the Berlin Library.*

This is the same Gaspar Contarini of whom we have so much reason to speak with admiration in the course of our history. After he had already filled the office of ambassador to the court of Charles V, (the report of this embassy is extremely rare; I have only seen one copy of it in the Albani collection at Rome,) Contarini was deputed to attend the pope in 1528, just before he returned to Rome after such a succession of misfortunes and so long an absence. He accompanied Clement from Viterbo to Rome, and from thence to the coronation of the emperor at Bologna, where he took a considerable part in the negotiations.

He gives an account of all that he had witnessed in Viterbo, Rome, and Bologna; and the only fault we can find with it, is its extreme brevity.

Contarini’s embassy fell just at that important period, when the pope was gradually leaning to a renewal of the alliance with the emperor, on the same terms as that formerly concluded by the Medici. The ambassador saw with wonder that the pope, notwithstanding the many subjects of complaint against



the imperialists, still retained greater confidence in them than in the allies; in which he was principally strengthened by Musettola, "huomo," as Contarini says, "ingegnoso e di valore assai, ma di lingua e di audacia maggiore;" as long as the fortune of war was doubtful, the pope would not declare himself; but when the French were beaten, and the imperialists prepared to evacuate the strong places they held, he no longer hesitated. As early as the spring of 1529 the pope was again on good terms with the emperor; and in June they signed their treaty, of the conditions of which, Contarini had the greatest difficulty in obtaining a sight.

Contarini also describes the persons of the actors in these events.

The pope was rather tall and well made, but had not yet wholly recovered from the effects of his accumulated misfortunes, nor from a severe illness. "He is neither capable of strong love," says Contarini, "nor of violent hatred; he is passionate, but has such command over himself that none would think him so. He wishes, indeed, to relieve the church from the evils which press upon her, but takes no effectual measures for that purpose. It is not easy to judge of his inclinations. It has for some time appeared as if he were indifferent to the state of Florence, and he now allows an imperial army to march upon that city."

Many reforms were introduced during the ministry of Clement VII.

The datario Giberto possessed, more than any other man, the entire confidence of his master, but retired of his own accord after the bad success which attended measures proposed under his administration, and devoted his attention to his bishopric of Verona. On the other hand, Niccolo Schomberg was again employed in the most important matters, in consequence of his mission to Naples. Contarini describes him as a thorough imperialist, a man of good understanding, beneficent but irritable. Jacopo Salviati also had considerable influence, and was regarded as inclined to the French faction.

Short as this narrative is, it gives us much valuable information.

## 19.

*Instructio data Cæsari a revmo Campeggio in dicta Augustana, 1530. (MS. Roma.)*

Until this time political events had been the most important, but by degrees ecclesiastical affairs forced themselves on the pope's attention, At the very beginning we meet with that bloodthirsty scheme for the destruction of the protestants which I have mentioned in my text; it is here called an instruction.

The cardinal states that, in conformity with the office he held and with the commission of the apostolical see, he desired to prescribe those measures which, according to his judgment, ought to be taken.

He thus describes the state of affairs. "In alcuni luoghi della Germania per le suggestioni di questi ribaldi sono abrogati tutti li christiani riti a noi dagli antichi santi padri dati: non piu si ministrano li sacramenti, non si osservano li voti, li matrimonii si confondono e nelli gradi prohibiti della legge"—and so on—for it would be superfluous further to transcribe this *capucinate*.

He reminds the emperor that the protestant sect would by no means contribute to the increase of his power, as he had been led to believe. He promised him his spiritual assistance if he would follow the advice he gave him. "Et io, se sarà bisogno, con le censure e pene ecclesiastiche li proseguirò, non pretermettendo cosa a far che sia necessaria, privando li heretici beneficiati delli beneficii loro e separandoli con le excommunicazioni dal cattolico gregge, e V. Cels. col suo bando imperiale justo e formidabile li ridurrà a tale e si horrende estermio che ovvero saranno costretti a ritornare alla santa e cattolica fede ovvero con la loro total ruina mancar delli beni a della vita. .... Se alcuni ve ne fossero, che dio nol voglia, li quali obstinatamente perseverassero in questa diabolica via, .... quella (V. M.) potrà mettere la mano al ferro et al foco et radicitus extirpare queste male e venenose piante."

He also recommends the kings of England and France to confiscate the property of heretics.

But his attention is mainly directed to the affairs of Germany: he shows how the articles of the treaty of Barcelona, to which he constantly refers, should be interpreted. "Sarà al proposito, poiche sarà ridotta questa magnifica e cattolica impresa a buono e dritto camino, che alcuni giorni dipoi si eleggeranno inquisitori buoni e santi, li quali con summa diligentia et assiduità vadino cercando et inquirendo, s'alcuni, quod absit, perseverassero in queste diaboliche et heretiche opinioni nè volessero in alcun modo lasciarle, .... et in quel caso siano gastigati e puniti secundo le regole e norma che si osserva in Spagna con li Marrani."

It is fortunate that all were not of his opinion. Indeed such projects are not very frequent in the documents to which we have had access.

## 20.

*Relatio viri nobilis Antonii Suriani doctoris et equitis, qui reversus est orator ex curia Romana, presentata in collegio 18 Julii 1533. (Archivio di Venetia.)*

Suriano begins by observing that "among the most important objects which envoys have to study, are the characters of those princes to whose courts they are accredited."

He therefore first describes the character of Clement VII: he remarks, that when we observe the regular manner of life of this pope, the assiduity with which he gave audiences, and his devout attention to the ceremonies of the church, we should naturally imagine him to be of a melancholy disposition; but those who knew him better, said he was of a sanguine temperament, but that his heart was cold; so that he was slow in coming to a decision, but was easily persuaded to change his resolution. "Io per me non trovo che in cose pertinenti a stato la sia proceduta cum grande dissimulatione. Ben cauta: et quelle cose che S. S<sup>ta</sup> non vole che si intendano, piu presto le tace che dirle sotto falso colore."

Those among the ministers of Clement of whom the earlier reports make chief mention, no longer play an important part; for they are never once spoken of: on the other hand, Jacopo Salviati comes most prominently forward, as administering the affairs of Romagna and the territory of the church generally. The pope had the utmost reliance upon him. It is true that Clement perceived that he had his own interests too much at heart, and had complained of this even in Bologna, but Salviati still continued to be employed.

Salviati hence became an object of hatred to the other kinsmen of the pope. They thought he stood in their way, and attributed it to his influence, when Clement was less liberal to them than usual: "pare che suadi al papa a tener strette le mani nè li subministri danari secundo è lo appetito loro, che è grande di spender e spander."

But they were all at variance among themselves. Cardinal Ippolito Medici wished to be a temporal prince. The pope contented himself with occasionally saying of him, "he is a mad devil; the fool wishes not to be a priest."—"L'è matto diavolo, el matto non vole esser prete." He was, however, highly incensed when Ippolito really made attempts to drive duke Alexander out of Florence.

Cardinal Ippolito lived on the most intimate terms of friendship with the young Catherine of Medici, who is called the "duchessina." She is his "cucina in terzo grado, con la quale vive in amor grande, essendo anco reciprocamente da lei amato, nè piu in altro lei si confida nè ad altri ricorre in li sui bisogni e desiderj salvo al dicto card!"

Suriano describes the girl who was fated to fill so important a station, in the following terms: "Di natura assai vivace, monstra gentil spirito, ben accostumata: è stata educata e gubernata cum le monache nel monasterio delle murate in Fiorenza, donne di molto bon nome e saneta vita; è piccola de persona, scarna, non de viso delicato, ha li occhi grossi proprj alla casa de' Medici."

She received offers of marriage from every quarter. The duke of Milan, the duke of Mantua, and the king of Scotland wished to marry her, but were refused for various reasons; the French marriage was not then definitively settled. "According to his irresolute nature," says Suriano, "the pope spoke sometimes with more, sometimes with less cordiality concerning this marriage."

He thinks that the reason why the pope decided in favor of the French alliance, was for the sake of winning over the French party in Florence to his side. In other respects he treats of the foreign relations of Rome in a very reserved and brief manner.

## 21.

*Relatione di Roma d'Antonio Suriano 1536. MS. Foscar. Vienna. St. Marc. Bibl. Venice.*

The transcripts of this report vary in their dates from 1535 to 1539; but I hold 1536 to be the correct date; first, because it mentions the return of the emperor to Rome, which occurred in April, 1536; and also because a letter of Sadolet to Suriano is extant, dated Rome, Nov. 1536, which proves that the ambassador had already left that city.

This letter (Sadoleti Epp. p. 383.) is highly flattering to Suriano: "Mihi ea officia præstitisti quæ vel frater fratri, vel filio præstare indulgens pater solet, . . . nullis meis provocatus officiis."

Three days after the former report had been communicated to the Venetian government, on the 21st July, 1533, Suriano was again named ambassador to Rome.

The later report now before us follows out the course of events mentioned in the former, more especially the conclusion of the French marriage, which, however, was not agreeable to all the connections of the pope,—“Non voglio tacere che questo matrimonio fu fatto contra il volere di Giac. Salviati e molto piu della S<sup>ra</sup> Lucrezia sua moglie, la quale etiam con parole ingiuriose si sforzò di dissuadere S. S<sup>ta</sup>,” doubtless because the Salviati were now of the imperialist party; it further treats of that remarkable meeting between the emperor and the pope which we have already mentioned. The pope acted with the utmost foresight, and gave no promise in writing. “Di tutti li desiderii s’accommodò Clemente con parole tali che gli facevano credere S. S<sup>ta</sup> esser disposta in tutte alle sue voglie senza pero far provisione alcuna in scritte.” The pope had no wish for war, at least in Italy, and only wanted to hold the emperor in check: “con questi spaventanti assicurarsi del spavento del concilio.”

Gradually the convocation of a general council became the chief matter of interest to the papal policy. Suriano discusses the points of view under which this was considered at the commencement of the reign of Paul the III by the court of Rome. Schomberg said that a council would be granted only on condition that all the topics which it was proposed to discuss there should first be submitted to the pope and the cardinals in Rome, and be considered and settled by them.

## SECTION II.

## CRITICISM OF SARPI AND PALLAVICINI.

A LARGE portion of the history of the sixteenth century is occupied by the Council of Trent, its preliminaries, convocation, dissolution at two separate intervals, and its last convocation, with all the motives which contributed to these events. It is not necessary for me to insist here on the incalculable effect this council had on the definitive establishment of the catholic religion, and on the relations in which it stood to the protestant faith. It was the very keystone of that theologico-political schism which marked the century.

This remarkable event has come down to us in two elaborate historical pictures, which would be interesting even from their originality. Not only are these representations diametrically opposed to each other, but the world is as much divided with regard to the historians themselves, as to the subject of their history; so that to this very day, Sarpi is esteemed by one party veracious and authentic, Pallavicini false and unworthy of credit; while by the other, Pallavicini is declared worthy of implicit confidence, and Sarpi mendacious to a proverb.

We are seized with a kind of dread on approaching these voluminous works. It would be difficult to master the contents of their histories, even had they contained nothing but credible matter: how much more difficult does our task become when we have to use the greatest caution at every step we take, not to be deceived by falsehoods either on the one hand or the other, or entangled in a labyrinth of systematic deceptions!

Nevertheless it is impossible to test their accuracy, step by step, by means of better informed or more credible authorities; for where are we to look for impartial details of these events? Even were they to be found, fresh folio volumes would be required to sift their testimony, and to pass judgment upon them.

Nothing then remains but to make an attempt to attain to a clear insight into the respective methods of our authors. For we cannot regard as his own all that appears in the works of an historian, especially in those so rich in matter, and so full of digressions; he is the mere receiver of the mass of his facts. It is his manner of apprehending and handling his stuff that shows the man, whose individual character it is, that gives originality and unity to his work. Even in these folios, before which industry itself stands aghast, the soul of a poet may be traced.

*Storia del concilio Tridentino di Pietro Soave Polano. The first edition, free from extraneous editions. Geneva, 1629.*

This work was first published in England, by Domini of Spalatro, an archbishop converted to protestantism. Although Fra Paolo Sarpi never avowed this work, there can be no doubt that he was the author of it. We perceive from his own letters that he was busied with a history of this sort; for we find a manuscript copy of it in Venice, which he caused to be made for him, with corrections by his own hand; it may also be affirmed that he was the only man who, at any time, could have written such a history as the one now before us.

Fra Paolo was the leader of a catholic opposition to the pope. The hostility

of this party to the papacy originated in political questions; but they approximated, on many points, to protestant views, in consequence of their adoption of certain principles of St. Augustine, and indeed occasionally fell under the reproach of protestantism.

The veracity of Sarpi's work, however, is not to be suspected in consequence of these opinions. There were then to be found only decided adherents and decided opponents of the council of Trent; from the former, nothing but eulogy, from the latter, nothing but utter condemnation, was to be expected. Sarpi was placed altogether out of the circle of these hostile feelings. He had no motive for defending the council throughout, nor was he under the necessity of utterly condemning it. On the other hand his position procured him the means of forming an unprejudiced judgment; for it was only in the midst of an Italian catholic republic, that he could collect the materials requisite for his purpose.

If we would form a just conception of his manner of handling these materials, we must call to our recollection how the great historical works of that time were composed.

Men had not then thought it incumbent on them to collect together materials in a complete and uniform body, an undertaking which is always extremely difficult; nor to sift them with critical accuracy; nor to explore original authorities; nor to work them out philosophically. How few indeed impose that task upon themselves even now!

The writers of that time were contented not only to take as groundwork those historians who were generally reckoned trustworthy, but quoted entire passages, and amplified narratives, whenever it suited their purpose to adopt them: or they interpolated newly discovered manuscript notices in appropriate places. Their chief care then was, to give to all this matter an even and continuous style.

Thus Sleidan composed his work out of the documents relating to the history of the reformation, as he could get them; he then strung them together without much critical labor, and imparted to the whole a uniformity of style, by the coloring of his latinity.

Thuanus without scruple inserted long passages from other historians; we find extracts from Buchanan's History of Scotland worked up with the various parts of Thuanus's History; the English history he has derived from materials sent to him by Camden, the German from Sleidan and Chytræus, the Italian from Adriani, and the Turkish from Busbequius and Leunclavius.

This is a method in which indeed originality is little regarded, and which often gives us the work of one author under the name of another. It is now once more adopted by the manufacturers of French memoirs, who are wholly without excuse; they would render a much better service by giving to the world the originals unaltered.

But to return to Sarpi. He gives the following unvarnished account of his situation and intentions in the first pages of his work.

"My object is to write the history of the council of Trent. For although many celebrated historians of our day have touched upon insulated points of this matter in their works, and John Sleidan, a most accurate historian, has detailed with the greatest industry the antecedent causes thereof; yet all these put together would not present a complete narrative. As soon as I began to concern myself with the affairs of mankind, I had the greatest desire thoroughly to know this history. After I had collected all that had been written on the subject, as well as the documents which existed in print, or had been handed about in manuscript, I began to seek out the notices which existed among the papers of deceased prelates and others who had taken part in the council of Trent; as well as the votes which they had given, recorded by themselves or others, and the correspondence which had been sent from that city. I have spared no trouble nor labor, and have had the good fortune to see whole collections of notes and letters from persons who took a great share in those transactions. And as I had brought

together matter which afforded me such abundant materials for my history, I determined to arrange them in a connected narrative."

Sarpi has here described his position with great simplicity. We see him placed between the historians whose narratives he strings together, but who are not sufficient for his purpose, on the one side; and on the other, provided with manuscript materials from which he supplies their deficiencies.

Sarpi has unfortunately given no accurate list of either the former or the latter, nor was this the custom of his predecessors. It was his whole aim, as it had been theirs, to weave out of the records he had found, a history which should be well written, agreeable and complete.

We can, however, without any such particular information, easily discover what were the printed histories from which he drew; for the former part of his book, Jovius and Guicciardini; for the latter, Thuanus, Adriani, but above all, the only historian whom he mentions by name, Sleidan.

For example, in the whole of the account of the state of affairs at the time of the Interim, and after the council was transferred from Trent to Bologna, he has Sleidan, and (but very rarely) the sources from which that author drew, constantly before his eyes.

It is worth while to follow him still further, and to observe how he proceeds.

It is by no means rare for him merely to translate Sleidan, freely indeed, nevertheless he does translate; for example, in the passage concerning the negotiations of the emperor with the other sovereigns, touching their preliminary submission to the council of Trent.

"Et Palatinus quidem territus fuit etiam, nisi morem gereret, ob recentem anni superioris offensionem, uti diximus, cum vix ea cicatrix coaluisset; Mauricius, qui et socerum landgravium cuperet liberari et nuper admodum esset auctus a Cæsare, faciendum aliquid sibi videbat. Itaque cum Cæsare eis proluxe de sua voluntate per internuncios promitteret, et ut ipsius fidei rem permitterent flagitaret, illi demum octobris die vigesimo quarto assentiuntur. Reliquæ solum erant civitates: quæ magni rem esse periculi videbant submittere se concilii decretis indifferenter. Cum iis Granvellanus et Hasius diu multumque agebant; atque interim fama per urbem divulgata fuit, illos esse præfractos, qui recusarent id quod principes omnes comprobassent: auditæ quoque fuerunt comminationes, futurum ut acrius multo quam nuper plectantur. Tandem fuit inventa ratio ut et Cæsari satisfaceret et ipsis etiam esset cautum. Etenim vocati ad Cæsarem, ut ipsi responsa principum corrigant non suum esse dicunt, et simul scriptum ei tradunt, quo testificantur quibus ipsi conditionibus concilium probent. Cæsar, eorum audito sermone, per Seldium respondet, sibi pergratum esse quod reliquorum exemplo rem sibi permittant et cæteris consentiant." Sleidan, lib. xix, p. 50.

"Con l' elettore Palatino le preghiere havevano specie di minacce rispetto alle precedenti offese perdonate di recente. Verso Maurizio duca di Sassonia erano necessiti, per tanti benefici nuovamente havuti da Cesare, e perche desiderava liberare il landgravio suo suocero. Perilche promettendo loro Cesare d' adoperarsi che in concilio havessero la dovuta sodisfattione e ricercandogli che si fidassero in lui, finalmente consentirono, e furono seguiti dagli ambasciatori dell' elettore di Brandeburg e da tutti i principi. Le città ricusarono come cosa di gran pericolo il sottomettersi indifferentemente a tutti i decreti del concilio. Il Granvela negotiò con gli ambasciatori loro assai e longamente, trattandogli anco da ostinati a ricusar quello che i principi havevano comprobato, aggiungendo qualche sorte di minacce di condannargli in somma maggiore che la già pagata: perilche finalmente furono costrette di condescendere al voler di Cesare, riservata però cautione per l' osservanza delle promesse. Onde chiamate alla presenza dell' imperatore, et interrogate se si conformavano alla deliberatione de' principi, risposero che sarebbe stato troppo ardire il loro a voler correggere la risposta de' principi, e tutti insieme diedero una scrittura contenente le condizioni con che

avrebbero ricevuto il concilio. La scrittura fu ricevuta ma non letta, e per nome di Cesare dal suo cancellario furono lodati che ad esempio degli altri avessero rimesso il tutto all' imperatore e fidatisi di lui; e l'istesso imperatore fece dimostrazione d'haverlo molto grato. Così l' una e l' altra parte voleva esser ingannata." Sarpi, lib. iii, p. 283.

We cannot help remarking in this translation, that Sarpi does not adhere exactly to the facts as he found them stated. It is not asserted by Sleidan that Granvella had threatened the cities; but the Italian puts into the mouth of that minister the threat which the German only mentions as currently imputed to him. The agreement with the cities is more clearly stated in the original than in Sarpi's translation. This may be taken as a sample of innumerable other passages.

In this case we should have nothing further to remark; we should only have to bear in mind that we were reading a somewhat arbitrary paraphrase of Sleidan's work; but occasionally we meet with still more material changes.

In the first place, Sarpi had no accurate conception of the constitution of the empire: he had always present to his mind a constitution consisting of three estates, viz. the clergy, temporal lords, and cities. Accordingly he frequently alters the expressions of his author in accordance with his own erroneous notion. For example, in lib. xx, p. 108, Sleidan gives the votes concerning the Interim in the three colleges. 1. The electoral. The three spiritual electors are for the Interim, the temporal ones against it; "reliqui tres electores non quidem ejus erant sententiæ, Palatinus imprimis et Mauricius, verum uterque causas habebant cur Cæsari non admodum reclamarent;" 2, the college of princes: "cæteri principes, qui maxima parte sunt episcopi, eodem modo sicut Moguntinus atque collegæ respondent;" 3, "civitatum non ita magna fuit habita ratio." This Sarpi turns as follows, in lib. iii, p. 300: the spiritual electors give their opinion as described by Sleidan. "Al parer de' quali s' accostarono tutti i vescovi: i principi secolari per non offendere Cesare tacquero: et a loro esempio gli ambasciatori delle città parlarono poco, nè di quel poco fu tenuto conto." What Sleidan asserts of two electors, is thus applied by Sarpi to all the temporal princes. It would appear as if the bishops had given their votes separately, and the whole odium is thrown upon them. The high importance to which the council of the princes of the empire attained in those times is completely underrated. Thus in the passages quoted above, Sarpi says, that the princes acceded to the judgment of the electors. But the fact was, that they had already pronounced one of their own, which differed on many points from that of the electors.

But it is a still more important fact, that while Sarpi inserts the statements which he finds, and mixes with them what he has met with in other places, and extracts and translates, he at the same time interweaves the whole narrative with his own observations. Let us observe of what nature these are; for it is extremely remarkable.

For instance, the worthy Sleidan (lib. xx, p. 58) repeats, with guileless simplicity, a proposal of the bishop of Trent, wherein three things are demanded; the removal of the council back to Trent; the mission of a legate to Germany; and a resolution by which the proceedings should be regulated in the event of a vacancy in the holy see. Sarpi translates this passage word for word, but then inserts this observation, "The third point was added in order to remind the pope of his advanced age and approaching death, and to induce him to be more yielding, as he could not wish to leave as a legacy to his successor, the resentment of the emperor."

His observations are chiefly of this character, thoroughly imbued with bitterness and gall. "The legate convoked the assembly, and first gave his opinion: for the Holy Ghost, which usually moves the legates to follow the wishes of the pope, and the bishops those of the legates, now inspired them after its wonted manner."

According to Sleidan, the Interim was sent to Rome, "and it contained some

concessions to the protestants." According to Sarpi, the German bishops insisted on this, "because they have always endeavored to maintain the reverence due to the papal authority as a counterpoise to that of the emperor, against which, without the pope, they could not stand; especially if the emperors should ever endeavor to compel them to live according to the usages of the primitive Christian church, in the practice of their duty, and should restrain within due bounds the abuses of so-called ecclesiastical freedom."

We see how widely Sarpi differs from the compilers who had preceded him. His manner of extracting is full of vivacity and spirit. In spite of the foreign materials he employs, his style has a light, agreeable, and even flow; so that we cannot distinguish when he passes from one author to another. But his narrative bears the color of his opinions—of his systematic opposition, dislike and hatred to the Roman court; and its effect is the more impressive.

But, as we have seen, Paolo Sarpi had to work with materials very different from printed authors; and by far the most important portion of his book is compiled from such documents.

He distinguishes the interconciliar and the preparatory events from the real history of the council. He says he would treat the former more in the manner of annals, the latter rather in that of a journal. Another difference is, that as regarded the latter he had kept chiefly to the current and well-known historians; for the former, on the contrary, he had ransacked new and original documents.

The first question is, of what kind these documents were.

I do not believe that he gained much information from men like Oliva, the secretary to the first legate at the council; or the French ambassador at Venice, Ferrier, who was also present at the council of Trent: indeed, in regard to Oliva, Sarpi is guilty of a great error, for he makes him leave the council before he really did so. The French documents were soon afterwards printed: the influence which these two men, who belonged to the discontented party, necessarily exercised over Sarpi, had the effect of increasing his hatred against the council. The Venetian collections, on the other hand, afforded to him the genuine acts of the council in great completeness, consisting of letters of legates, e. g., Monte; secret envoys, like Visconti; reports from nuncios, such as Chiericato, and minute journals which had been kept at the council; there were also the Lettere d'Avisi, and numerous other more or less authentic documents. In this respect he was fortunate enough to have access to some manuscripts which have never since come to light; which Pallavicini, notwithstanding the powerful assistance he received, had not been able to procure, and which later historians are compelled to seek in the pages of Sarpi.

The next question is, in what manner he employed these documents.

He doubtless embodied a portion in his work, with but slight alterations.—Courayer asserts, that he had seen a manuscript report upon the congregations of the year 1563, which had been used and almost copied by Sarpi; "que notre historien a consultée et presque copiée mot pour mot."

I have in my possession a manuscript *Historia del S. Concilio di Trente scritta per M. Antonio Milledonne, Secr. Veneziano*, which was also known to Foscarini (*Lett. Venez. i, p. 351*) and to Mendham—written by a contemporary and well-informed author, which, notwithstanding its brevity, is still by no means unimportant towards a knowledge of the later portion of the sitting of the council of Trent.

I find that Sarpi has occasionally inserted it nearly word for word in his text. For example, these are the words of Milledonne: "Il senato di Norimbergo rispose al nontio Delfino, che non era per partirsi dalla confessione Augustana, e che non accettava il concilio, come quello che non aveva le conditioni ricercate da' protestanti. Simil risposta fecero li senati d' Argentina e Francfort al medesimo nontio Delfino. Il senato di Augusta e quello di Olma risposero, che non potevano separarsi dalli altri che tenevano la confessione Augustana."

These, on the other hand, are Sarpi's words, p. 450: "Il nontio Delfino nel ritorno espose il suo carico in diverse città. Dal senato di Norimbergo hebbe ris-



posta, che non era per partirsi dalla confessione Augustana, e che non accetterà il concilio, come quello che non aveva condizioni ricercate da' protestanti.— Simili risposte gli fecero li senati d'Argentina e di Francfort. Il senato d'Augusta e quello d'Olma risposero, che non potevano separarsi dagli altri che tengono la lor confessione."

Sarpi only does not follow Milledonne when he praises the council, even where his praise is not liable to suspicion.

Milledonne says, "Il c<sup>l</sup> Gonzaga pratico di negotii di stato per aver governato il ducato di Mantova molti anni dopo la morte del duca suo fratello fino che li nepoti erano sotto tutela, gentiluomo di bell' aspetto, di buona creanza, libero e schietto nel parlare, di buona mente, inclinato al bene. Scripando era Napolitano, arcivescovo di Salerno, frate eremitano, grandissimo teologo, persona di ottima coscienza e di singolar bontà, desideroso del bene universale della christianità."

Sarpi is far more niggardly in his praise of these men; for he says, p. 456: "Destinò al concilio fra Girolamo, C<sup>l</sup> Scripando, theologo di molta fama;" this is sufficient for him.

The letters of Visconti, which Sarpi had before him, have since been printed; and it easy to see on the first comparison that he occasionally kept very close to them. Vol. II., p. 174, (Visconti, *Lettres et Négotiations*,) affords us an example: "Ci sono poi stati alcuni Spagnuoli, li quali parlando dell' istituzione de' vescovi e della residenza havevano havuto ordine di affermare queste opinioni per vere come li precetti del decalogo. Segovia seguì in queste due materie l' opinione di Granata, dicendo ch' era verità espressa la residenza ed istituzione delli vescovi essere de jure divino e che niuno la poteva negare, soggiungendo che tanto più si dovea fare tal dichiarazione per dannare l'opinione de gli heretici che tenevano il contrario. Guadice, Aliffi e Montemarano con molti altri prelati Spagnuoli hanno aderito all' opinione di Granati e di Segovia: ma piacque al signore dio che si fecero all' ultimo di buona risoluzione."

Sarpi VIII, 753: "Granata disse, esser cosa indegna haver tanto tempo deriso li padri trattando del fondamento dell' istituzione de' vescovi e poi adesso tralasciandola, e ne ricercò la dichiarazione de jure divino, dicendo maravegliarsi perche non si dichiarasse un tal punto verissimo et infallibile. Aggiunse che si dovevano prohibire come heretici tutti quei libri che dicevano il contrario. Al qual parer adherì Segovia, affermando che era espressa verità che nessuno poteva negarla, e si doveva dichiarare per dannare l'openione degli heretici che tenevano il contrario. Seguivano anco Guadice, Aliffi et Monte Marano con gli altri prelati Spagnuoli, de' quali alcuni dissero, la loro openione esser così vera come li precetti del decalogo."

We perceive here that Sarpi is no common transcriber; the more we compare him with the original sources he drew from, the more we perceive how well he knew the art of incorporating into his own narrative that of the author from whom he copied, and of elevating the style by some elegant turn of expression; but at the same time, his anxiety to strengthen the impression most unfavorable to the council is extremely evident.

And, as might naturally be expected, he treats the manuscript documents precisely as he does the printed.

It is obvious that this occasionally influences very strongly his mode of viewing facts; as, for instance, in his representation of the most important of the German religious conferences, that of Ratisbon in 1541.

In the account of that event, he keeps again very closely to Sleidan; he must also doubtless have had before him Bucer's report.

In the use he makes of these German authorities, he falls into the old errors. At that diet the estates gave the emperor, at two separate times, their answer to his proposals; but on neither occasion were they unanimous. The electoral college was favorable, the college of princes was opposed, to the intentions of the emperor. The difference was, that the princes gave way the first time, and did not the second time, when they sent in a refusal.

Sleidan endeavors to account for the opposition of the college of princes, by remarking that it contained so many bishops; a most important feature in the constitution of the empire. Sarpi destroys the whole meaning of this passage, by calling the college of princes, bishops. He states on the occasion of the first answer, "I vescovi rifiutarono;" of the second, "I vescovi con alcuni pochi principi cattolici;" which, as we have observed, completely changes the view of the constitution of the empire.

But we will no longer detain our readers on this point. The chief object is, to ascertain how he makes use of the more secret sources to which he alone had access, and which he had reason to believe would still remain unknown for some time.

Among the materials for the history of that diet he had the instruction addressed to cardinal Contarini, which cardinal Quirini afterwards printed from a Venetian MS.

Here we must first remark, that he interwove into his narrative of the conferences which the legate held with the emperor, the materials he found in that instruction.

It contains the following words: "Eos articulos in quibus inter se convenire non possunt, ad nos remittant, qui in fide boni pastoris et universalis pontificis dabimus operam ut per universale concilium vel per aliquam viam æquivalentem non præcipitanter, sed mature et quemadmodum res tanti momenti exigit, finis his controversiis imponatur, et remedium quod his malis abhibendum est quam diutissime perdurare possit."

Sarpi makes Contarini require, "ogni cosa si mandasse al papa, il qual prometteva in fede di buon pastore et universale pontefice di fare che il tutto fosse determinato per un concilio generale o per altra via equivalente con sincerità e con nissun affetto humano, non con precipitio, ma maturamente."

The instruction proceeds in another place: "Si quidem ab initio pontificatus nostri, ut facilius hoc religionis dissidium in pristinam concordiam reduceretur, primum christianos principes ad veram pacem et concordiam per literas et nuntios nostros sæpissime hortati sumus, . . . mox ob hanc eandem causam concilium generale . . . christianis regibus et principibus etiam per proprios nuntios significavimus, . . . multaque in Germania religionis causa non ea qua decuit auctoritatem nostram, ad quam religionis iudicium cognitio et examen spectat, reverentia tractari et fieri non absque gravi dolore animi intelleximus, tum temporum conditione moti, tum Cæsareæ et regię majestatum vel earum oratorum pollicitationibus persuasi quod ea quæ hic fiebant boni alicujus inde secuturi causa fierent, partim patientes tulimus, etc."

Sarpi adds to this: "Sicome la S<sup>a</sup> S. nel principio del pontificato per questo medesimo fine haveva mandato lettere e nuntii a principi per celebrar il concilio, e poi intimatolo, e mandato al luogo i suoi legati, e che se haveva sopportato che in Germania tante volte s'haveva parlato delle cose della religione con poca riverentia dell' autorità sua, alla quale sola spetta trattarle, l'haveva fatto per essergli dalle M<sup>te</sup> S. data intentione e promesso che cio si faceva per bene."

In short, it is evident that the declarations which Sarpi puts into the mouth of Contarini, are exactly taken from his instructions; and when once we are aware of this, we can easily excuse it, though we cannot deny that the truth occasionally suffers by this proceeding. The daily changes in events caused fresh instructions to be constantly despatched to the legate. Sarpi makes him propose reasons for referring only the unsettled points to Rome, at a time when he was required to refer every thing, even the points upon which an agreement had already been come to, to the judgment and approbation of the Roman court.

Sarpi, however, departs still more widely from his original, in applying words of the instructions to a case upon which they were never intended to bear.

The pope declares himself in the instructions with peculiar emphasis against a national council: ". . . Majestati Cæsareæ in memoriam redigas, quantopere concilium illud sit semper detestata, cum alibi tum Bononiæ palam diceret nihil æque perniciosum fore et apostolicæ et imperiali dignitatibus quam Germanorum

nationale concilium, illi nulla meliore via quam per generale concilium obviam iri posse confiteretur: quin imo etiam S. M. post Ratisbonensem dietam anno d<sup>ni</sup> 1532 habitam pro sua singulari prudentia omni studio semper egit ne qua imperialis dieta hactenus sit celebrata ac ex ea occasione ad concilium nationale deveniretur."

Sarpi quotes this literally, and as if it were taken from the instructions; but with a remarkable addition: "Che raccordasse all' imperatore quanto egli medesimo avesse detestato il concilio nazionale essendo in Bologna, conoscendolo pernicioso all' autorità imperiale: poiche i sudditi preso animo dal vedersi concessa potestà di mutare le cose della religione pensarebbono ancora a mutare lo stato: e che S. M. dopo il 1532 non volse mai più celebrare in sua presenza dieta imperiale per non dar occasione di domandar concilio nazionale."

Who would not believe that the emperor himself had expressed the opinion, that a nation which had once changed its religion, would easily alter its form of government? But in this matter I cannot believe the author simply on his own affirmation; nothing of the sort is to be found in the instructions. This is an idea which first obtained currency after the events of a later period.

I do not think that my criticisms will appear too minute or captious. The only way to arrive at the conclusion whether an author speaks the truth or not, is to compare him with the originals from which he has drawn.

I find Sarpi deviating from his authorities on a point even more important than any of those already cited.

In the very first conference which he mentions as taking place between the emperor and Contarini, he interweaves the words of the instruction:—those important words to which we have referred.

The pope excuses himself for not having given the cardinal such extensive powers as the emperor and the king had desired: "primum quia videndum imprimis est, an protestantes ..... in principiis nobiscum conveniant, eujusmodi est hujus sanctæ sedis primatus tanquam a Deo et Salvatore nostro institutus, sacros. ecclesiæ sacramenta, et alia quædam quæ tum sacrarum literarum auctoritate tum universalis ecclesiæ perpetua observatione hactenus observata et comprobata fuere et tibi nota esse bene scimus: quibus statim initio admissis omnis super aliis controversiis concordia tentaretur."

Sarpi makes Contarini say: "che S. S<sup>ta</sup> gli aveva data ogni potestà di concordare co' protestanti, purché essi ammettino i principii, che sono il primato della sede apostolica instituito da Christo, et i sacramenti siccome sono insegnati nella chiesa Romano, e le altre cose determinate nella bolla di Leone, offerendosi nelle altre cose di dar ogni sodisfattione alla Germania."

We see what a difference here is. In the vagueness of the pope's words lay the sole possibility of a successful issue; the conference would have no conceivable aim, had not this opening been left: in Sarpi, however, this is wholly lost sight of. The pope does not mean, "quædam quæ tibi nota esse bene scimus," but requires the recognition of the decrees of the bull of Leo X, that is, the condemnation of the doctrines of Luther; a measure which it was impossible to carry into effect.

Sarpi will by no means allow that the papal see had shown any symptom of a disposition to give way. Contarini, according to him, was obliged to assert the papal authority in its sternest form. According to Sarpi, he began by affirming that "the pope could not impart the authority to decide upon doubtful points of faith: to him alone was the privilege of infallibility granted in these words—Ego rogavi pro te, Petre." These are circumstances of which there is not a word to be found in the instruction. For Sarpi looked at the papacy in the same light as his contemporaries. After its restoration, it became far more despotic and inflexible, than it had been in its days of danger and depression. But Sarpi beheld it in the fulness of power and unbroken self-confidence. What he witnessed and felt, he set down as belonging also to the papacy of the earlier times. All the reports and documents which he found, whether printed or in manuscript, were interpreted by him in conformity with this impression, which

was natural to him, and which had its origin in the position of his native city, of the party in it to which he belonged, and to his own personal situation.

We have another historical work from the pen of Paolo Sarpi, on the subject of the quarrel between Venice and Rome in 1606. *Historia particolare delle cose passate tra 'l summo pontefice Paolo V e la Serma Repa di Venetia*; Lion, 1624: which is on the whole written in a similar spirit. It is a masterpiece of vivid delineation—true in the main, but yet the work of a partisan. Sarpi tells us little or nothing of the contentions existing among the Venetians themselves, which broke out on that occasion, forming so important an event in their domestic history. According to him it would appear as if only one opinion prevailed in Venice. He is always speaking of the “princeps,” which is his name for the Venetian government. This fiction of his does not tend to inspire confidence in the accuracy of his representation of the internal affairs of Venice. He glides lightly over those things which were little to the honor of Venice; for instance, in the curious case of the delivering up of the prisoners, mentioned in our text; as if he did not know why they were first given up to the ambassador, and then, with another form of words, to the cardinal. Nor does he mention that the Spaniards were for the exclusion of the Jesuits. He had vowed against both an inextinguishable hatred; and will not deign to notice the separation of their interests on this occasion.

The same is very nearly the case with regard to Sarpi's history of the council of Trent. The authorities are brought together with diligence, are well handled, and used with consummate talent: we cannot exactly say they are falsified, or that they are frequently or materially altered; but the whole work is colored with a tinge of decided enmity to the papal power.

Sarpi thus opened a new path to the historian, by giving to compilation the utility of a prevailing tendency; his work is condemnatory and hostile; and is the first example of a history which accompanies the whole development of its subject with incessant blame; it has a far more decided character than the history of Thuanus, who was the first to make a slight and occasional use of a style in which Sarpi has found innumerable followers.

*Istoria del concilio di Trento scritta dal padre Sforza Pallavicino della compagnia di Gesù, 1664.*

A book like the history of Sarpi, so rich in details which had never before come to light, so full of talent and sarcasm, relating to so important an event, and one, the consequences of which had a predominant influence over the age, must necessarily have produced a very great impression. The first edition appeared in 1619. A Latin translation ran through four editions before the year 1622; there were besides a German and a French translation.

The court of Rome was the more anxious to have it confuted, since it contained many errors, obvious to all who were accurately acquainted with the public affairs of that period.

A Jesuit of the name of Terentio Alciati, Prefect of the Studies in the Collegio Romano, immediately employed himself in collecting materials for a reply, which might also serve as a complete history of the subject: his book bears the title of “*Historiæ concilii Tridentini a veritatis hostibus evulgatæ elenchus*;”\* he got together an enormous mass of materials; but he died in 1651, before he had completed his work.

Goswin Nickel, the general of the Jesuits, selected Sforza Pallavicini, another member of his order, one who had already shown some literary talent, to finish it, and set him free from his other occupations; the general had appointed him to this work, “as a condottiere appoints one of his soldiers,” to use Pallavicini's own expressions.

Pallavicini published his work about 1656, in three thick quartos.

\* This is the title it bears in Mazzuchelli.

This work contains an enormous mass of matter, and is of the greatest importance to the history of the sixteenth century, since it commences from the very origin of the reformation. The archives were all opened to him; he had access to all the available materials which the Roman libraries contained; not only the acts of the council, but the correspondence of the legates with Rome, and an immense variety of other matter, were placed at his disposal; he is far from concealing his authorities, and rather makes a parade of their titles on the margin of his book: their number is prodigious.

His principal object was to refute Sarpi. He places at the end of each volume a catalogue of errors of which he had convicted him, and reckons them to amount to 361. But numberless others remain, he says, which he had also refuted, although they are not mentioned in these catalogues.

He states in his preface, "that he would not enter into trifling skirmishes; whoever wished to attack him, might do so with regular forces, and overthrow his whole book, as he had overthrown Sarpi." What a strange work would such an one have been! We are not tempted to accept his challenge.

We must be satisfied with giving, by a few examples, an idea of the method of Pallavicini.

As he had so many unpublished sources to draw from, and in fact compiled his whole book from these documents, the most important thing is to inquire in what mode he converted them to his use.

This will be easier, wherever the authorities he used have been since printed. It has been my good fortune to see a whole series of documents which have never been printed, and which are quoted by him: we must compare the originals with his text.

This I will do on a few points, as follows:

1. We must first acknowledge that the extracts which Pallavicini makes from the instructions and papers at his disposal, and the use he puts them to, are often quite satisfactory; for instance, I have collated his extracts with an instruction which the Spanish minister received from his court in 1562, the answer which the pope gave him in March, 1563, and the fresh instructions which the nuncio received from the pope, and have found him to agree in all particulars with the originals he quotes. Pall. xx, 10; xxiv, 1. He has used an undoubted right, in making some transpositions which do not at all affect the truth. It is true he softens some strong expressions; for example, when the pope says, that he had re-opened the council, relying solely on the support of the king, and in the belief that he would be his right arm, and his pioneer and guide in all his thoughts and actions; "il fondamento che facessimo nella promessa di S. M<sup>a</sup> e de' suoi ministri di doverci assistere ci face entrare arditamente nell'impresa, pensando di avere S. M<sup>a</sup> per nostro braccio dritto e che avesse a esserci guida o conduttiero in ogni nostra azione e pensiero;" he only makes him say that he would not have opened the council, had he not cherished the hope that the king would be his right hand and guide. As the substance is the same, we cannot make this a ground of censure. Sarpi (viii, 61) thinks that the mission of Visconti to Spain, and of another minister to the emperor, was only a blind, and that they were not really charged to propose another conference; but this is an excess of suspicion in Sarpi: the proposal of a congress, or a conference as it was then called, is one of the points which was most insisted upon in the instructions, and Pallavicini is doubtless right in his assertion to that effect.

2. But Pallavicini is not always the better informed of the two. He devotes a whole chapter to refute the assertion of Sarpi, that Paul III had proposed at the conference of Busseto, to Charles V, to invest his nephew, who had married a natural daughter of the emperor, with the duchy of Milan. He refuses to believe the historians by whom this fact is stated. "How would the pope have dared to write letters to the emperor in the tone in which these are written?" "Con qual petto avrebbe arditto di scrivere a Carlo lettere così risentite?" The emperor might well have reproached him with his shameless dissimulation (simulazione sfacciata). Pallavicini is so vehement, that we cannot help be-

lieving that he writes *bonâ fide*. Nevertheless the facts as related by Sarpi are correct. This appears most clearly from the despatches of the Florentine minister: (Dispaccio Guicciardini 26 Giugno 1543.)

Still more minute details are to be found in a manuscript life of Vasto. We may mention a Discorso of cardinal Carpi which touches upon this point. Even in the year 1547 the pope had not given up the project. "Le cardinal de Bologne au roy Henry II, Ribier II, 9. L'un—le pape—demande Milan, qu'il jamais n'aura; l'autre—l'empereur—400,000 sc., qu'il n'aura sans rendre Milan." Notwithstanding this, pope Paul III actually wrote the letters we have mentioned.

3. But the question still remains, whether Pallavicini generally errs *bonâ fide*. It certainly does not appear that this was the case in every instance. We find occasionally that the documents are not so orthodox and so catholic as he is himself. Whilst affairs were still in progress, and were seen on all sides, and under every possibility of a change in their character and results, it was impossible to take the same precise view of them, as after the final decision of the whole transaction. The orthodoxy of the seventeenth century could by no means approve a treaty such as that of the peace of Augsburg. Pallavicini laments the "detrimenti gravissimi" which were brought upon the Roman see; he compares the treaty to a palliative medicine, which only produces a more dangerous crisis. Nevertheless he meets with the report of a nuncio on this subject, who foresaw its necessity. This nuncio was Delfino bishop of Liesina. Pallavicini quotes the report which that bishop made to cardinal Caraffa, and in fact uses it. But how does he do this?

He converts all the arguments with which Delfino proves the absolute necessity of this treaty, into excuses put forward by Ferdinand for himself.

The nuncio says, that at that time there was neither prince nor city which had not had some dispute with their neighbors; and he names them:—the whole country was going to ruin;—Brandenburg, Hesse, and Saxon-Naumburg, declared, as if constituting an opposition diet, that they would hold together. The king had besought the emperor rather to make peace with France, and to direct his attention to Germany; but this he refused to do: in the midst of all these disorders the estates met; the king then confirmed the points upon which both parties had agreed: this they did so joyfully ("si allegramente"), that since Maximilian's time Germany had never been so quiet.

Pallavicini touches upon all these matters (lib. xiii, c. 13), but weakens their effect by placing these observations in the mouth of a prince who is only trying to exculpate his actions.

"Seusavasi egli di cio con addurre che haveva richiesto d'ordini specificati, l'imperatore confortandolo alla pace di Francia...ed havergli ricordato esser questa l'unica arme per franger l'orgoglio de' protestanti etc." Let us place in opposition to these ambiguous phrases, the words of Delfino: "Il sermo re vendendo questi andamenti [the religious dissensions] scrisse a S. M<sup>te</sup> Cesarea esortandola alla pace col christianissimo accioche ella possa attendere alle cose di Germania e farsi ubedire etc."

It is doubtless a wide, and, in an author who glories so much in his authority, an insufferable departure from his original, to place the narrative of a nuncio as a self-exculpation in the mouth of a king; but the worst is, that it obscures the true view of the event.

The whole of the documents indeed are used, translated from the style of the sixteenth into that of the seventeenth century; but they are used disingenuously.

4. We have other observations to make when we turn to the connection subsisting between the pope and Ferdinand I. It is well known that the emperor of Germany insisted upon a reform which was by no means agreeable to the pope. During the first months of the year 1563, Pius twice sent his nuncio, first Commendone, then Morone, to Inspruck, where the emperor then was, to persuade him to relinquish this opposition: these were remarkable missions and productive of the most weighty consequences to the council. It is very interest-

ing to observe in what manner Pallavicini (XX. 4.) gives the reports of them. We have before us Commendone's report, 19th February, 1563, which Pallavicini also used.

The first point upon which we must remark is, that he immeasurably weakens the expressions which were used at the imperial court, and the objects which were there contemplated. He makes Commendone say of the alliance then subsisting between the emperor, the French, and the cardinal of Lorraine; "renderesi credibile che scambievolmente si conferirebbono nel parer e si prometterebbono ajuto nell' operare." It is possible that they would come to some degree of unanimity of opinion, and would assist each other in their undertakings. Commendone expresses himself very differently; the imperial court had not only determined to endeavor to pursue measures of reform in common with the French: "pare che pensino trovar modo e forma di haver più parte et autorità nel presente concilio per stabilire in esso tutte le loro petitioni giunta-mente con Francesi."

Pallavicini entirely omits many other things. It was the opinion prevalent at the imperial court, that much more might have been done with the protestants by a union of concessions and of real reforms: "La somma è che a me pare di haver veduto non pur in S. M<sup>ta</sup> ma nelli principali ministri, come Trausen e Seldio, un ardentissimo desiderio della riforma e del progresso del concilio con una gran speranza quod remettendo aliquid de jure positivo et reformando mores et disciplinam ecclesiasticam non solo si possono conservare li cattolici ma guadagnare e ridurre degli heretici, con una opinione et impressione pur troppo forte che qui siano molti che non vogliono riforma." I shall not endeavor to find out who the protestants were, who might have been expected to return to the catholic faith, if due reforms took place, but the conversation was much too offensive to have been reported by him to a courtly prelate. Mention being made of the difficulties which were experienced in the council, Seld answered shortly; "Oportuisset ab initio sequi sana consilia." Pallavicini also mentions the complaints of the difficulties, but omits the answers.

On the other hand, he gives a decision of the chancellor in favor of the Jesuits, in extenso.

In short, he dwells upon what is agreeable to him, but ignores whatever might be unpalatable to himself and to the curia.

5. This cannot fail to have a disadvantageous effect upon our knowledge of the subject.

For example, in the year 1547, the Spaniards produced some articles of reform, known under the title of Censures. Shortly afterwards followed the transfer of the council to another city, and there can be no doubt that the Censures were the chief cause of that event. It was certainly a most important fact that the immediate supporters of the emperor Charles, at the very moment when he was victorious, made such extravagant demands. Sarpi states them in their full extent, lib. ii, p. 262, and also briefly gives the answers of the pope. But it is not convenient to Pallavicini to admit that orthodox prelates could have made such outrageous demands. He says that Sarpi tells many things concerning this of which he can find nothing; the only thing he can find is, an answer of the pope to certain proposals for reform, made by numerous monks, and which had been shown to him by the president; lib. ix, c. 9, "sopra varie riformazioni proposte da molti de' padri." He takes good care not to insert them. They might have weakened his refutation of the worldly motives which Sarpi alleges for the transfer of the council.

6. Here he gives admirable proofs of his talent for silence, and of his art of letting alone what is not agreeable to him.

In the third book, for example, he occasionally quotes a Venetian report by Suriano, and states that the author asserts that he possessed a peculiar and unquestionable knowledge of the treaties between Francis and Clement—an assertion which he does not attempt to combat, (iii, c. 12, n. 1): he inserts passages of this report in his narrative; for example, that Clement had shed tears of grief

and indignation at the news of the capture of his nephew by the emperor;—in short, it is evident that he attaches credit to it. He also affirms that this Venetian is directly at variance with his countryman Sarpi, who says, “Il papa negotiò confederazione col re di Francia, la quale si concluse e stabilì anco col matrimonio di Henrico secondogenito regio e di Catharina.” Upon this Pallavicini exclaims, “The pope did not ally himself with the king, as P. Soave so boldly maintains;” and appeals to Guicciardini and Soriano. But what does Soriano say? He traces at length, how and where the preference of the pope for the French had begun; how completely political it was; and lastly, he speaks of the negotiations at Bologna. He certainly denies that they had amounted to a positive treaty; but what he really meant to deny was, that the terms were committed to writing. “Di tutti li desiderii (del re) s’accommodò Clemente con parole tali che gli fanno credere, S. S<sup>ia</sup> esser disposta in tutto alle sue voglie, senza però far provisione alcuna in scrittura.” He afterwards relates that the king had pressed the pope to fulfil the promises which had been there made: “S. M<sup>ta</sup> chr<sup>ma</sup> dimandò che da S. S<sup>ia</sup> li fussino osservate le promesse;”—which, according to the same author, was one cause of the pope’s death. Here we have the extraordinary case in which falsehood is, in a certain sense, truer than truth itself. There can be no doubt that Sarpi is incorrect in stating that a treaty had been made, since what was so called never came to anything; and Pallavicini is perfectly right in denying the existence of this treaty; yet on a general view of the facts, Sarpi is much nearer to the truth. The pope and the king entered into the most intimate alliance, only it was conducted by word of mouth and not in writing.

7. We find similar facts with regard to the use he makes of Visconti’s letters. Sarpi sometimes takes more from them than they contain; e. g. he says vii, 657, concerning the decree enforcing residence, that the cardinal of Lorraine spoke very diffusely and indistinctly, and that people could not make out whether he was friendly to such a decree or not. Pallavicini breaks out with the greatest violence at this, “Si scorge apertamente il contrario” (xix, c. 8.); and quotes Visconti in support of his confutation. Let us hear Visconti himself: “Perchè s’allargò molto non poterò seguire se non pochi prelati” (Trento, X Dec. Mansi, Misc. Baluzii III, p. 454). It is therefore true that people could not follow him, and did not properly understand his meaning. Further, Pallavicini is angry that Sarpi gives it to be understood that the cardinal did not appear in one of the congregations, because he wished to leave the French an opportunity of expressing themselves in full freedom; and that he used the news of the death of the king of Navarre as a pretext. Pallavicini vehemently protests that this was the true and only ground. “Ne io trovo in tanto memorie piene di sospetto, che ciò capitasse in mento a persona.” (ib.) What! Nobody conceived a suspicion in consequence of this absence? Visconti says in a published letter of Mansi, “Lorena chiamò questi prelati Francesi e gli commise che havessero da esprimere liberamente tutto quello che haveano in animo senza timor alcuno.—E sono di quelli che pensano che il cardinal se ne restasse in casa per questo effetto.” Visconti certainly says nothing of the cardinal having used the death of the king of Navarre as a pretext; it must have been found in other letters, (since we see that Sarpi had other sources before his eyes); but it is certain that these letters contain a literal assertion that it was suspected that the cardinal remained at home designedly. What then shall we say, since Pallavicini without doubt saw them?

8. But Pallavicini’s sole aim is throughout to confute his opponent, without caring much to bring the truth to light. This is nowhere more apparent than in the part relating to the conference of Ratisbon, concerning which we have treated so much at length in the text. Pallavicini knew of the instruction in question, as we may conceive, but held it to be more secret than it really was. His manner of treating it affords us great insight into his character. He contradicts Sarpi with great vehemence, and abuses him for making the pope assert that he would satisfy the demands of the protestants, in as far as they would agree with



him on those points of the catholic religion which were already established: "ehe ove i Luterani convenissero ne' punti già stabiliti della chiesa romana, si offeriva nel resto di porger ogni sodisfattione alla Germania." This he thinks directly at variance with the truth. "Questo è dirimpetto contrario al primo capo dell'istruzione." What! Does he mean that the contrary was the fact? The pope's instruction says: "Videndum est an in principiis nobiscum conveniant, . . . quibus admissis omnis super aliis controversiis concordia tentaretur," and the other words which we have quoted before. It is certainly true, that Sarpi is here in error, for he restricts the powers of the legate more than the fact warrants; he says too little of the yielding disposition of the pope: Pallavicini, without discovering this most obvious mistake, asserts that Sarpi states too much; he enters into a distinction between articles of faith and others, which does not exist in the bull; he brings together a number of things which are perfectly true, but are not the whole truth, and which do not invalidate the words which stand in the instruction. In unimportant matters he is accurate, but he completely distorts what is essential. In short, Pallavicini acts like an advocate who has undertaken to defend a client laboring under a heavy accusation, in all points and at all hazards. He endeavors to place him in the best light, and brings forward what may benefit his case, and not only leaves out what, according to his view of the matter, might be injurious, but flatly denies it.

It would be impossible to follow him through all the lengthy discussions in which he engages; it is sufficient for us to have shown, in some measure, his manner of treating his subject.

Truly we gather from our researches not the most agreeable results for the history of the council of Trent.

It has been said, that the truth is to be obtained from the collective results of these two works. Perhaps, as regards a very general view, this may be the case; it is certainly not so as to particulars.

They both wander from the paths of truth, which certainly lies between them: but truth cannot be seized by conjecture; truth is too positive and too original, and is only to be got at by a review of facts, and not by an attempt to reconcile conflicting statements.

Thus we have already seen that Sarpi asserts that a treaty had been concluded at Bologna, and that this is denied by Pallavicini: now no conjecture in the world could bring to light the fact, that the treaty had been made by word of mouth, and not in writing,—a fact which affords the solution of this contradiction.

They both of them falsify the instruction given to Contarini; their contradictions can never be reconciled; and the truth is only to be come at by referring to the original documents.

Their minds were of a completely opposite cast. That of Sarpi is acute, penetrating, and sarcastic: his arrangement is most skilful, his style pure and unaffected; and although the Crusca will not admit him into the catalogue of the classics, (probably on account of a few provincialisms of which he is guilty,) his work is very refreshing after the many pompous authors through whom we have to wade; his style suits his subject, and his manner of relating his facts places him certainly second among the modern historians of Italy; I should put him immediately after Macchiavelli.

Pallavicini is certainly not without talent, and frequently draws admirable parallels; and he is a skilful partisan. But his intellect was somewhat heavy and cumbrous; his was a talent for turning phrases and inventing subtleties; his style was too wordy. Sarpi is clear and transparent to the very bottom; Pallavicini is not without a certain easy flow of words, but muddy, flat, and shallow.

Both of them are complete partisans, and are deficient in that spirit of an historian, which seizes upon circumstances and objects in their full truth, and brings them distinctly to view. Sarpi certainly had the power to do so, but his

only aim was to attack; Pallavicini had infinitely less of the requisite talent, and his object was to defend his party at all hazards.

Even with the aid of both these works, we cannot thoroughly master the subject. It is a remarkable circumstance, that Sarpi contains much matter, which Pallavicini, with all the facilities which he enjoyed, could never discover. I will only mention a memoir of the nuncio Chierigato on the deliberations at the court of Adrian VI, which is most important, and against which Pallavicini makes unmeaning exceptions. Pallavicini also passes over much from incapacity to perceive its importance, and therefore leaves it out altogether. On the other hand, many documents escaped Sarpi, which Pallavicini possessed: e. g. Sarpi only saw a very small portion of the correspondence of the Roman court with the legates. His errors chiefly arise from want of authentic information.

However, both of them are occasionally ignorant of important documents. A short report of cardinal Morone, who was entrusted with the decisive mission to Ferdinand I, is most important for the whole history of the latter portion of the council; yet neither of our authors has made any use of it.

It is not to be imagined that Rainaldus or Le Plat completely supply the deficiencies. Rainaldus often merely makes extracts from Pallavicini. Le Plat follows him or Sarpi frequently word for word, and takes out of the Latin translations of their works what he cannot find otherwise authenticated. He has also used fewer MSS. than we could have expected. There is much which is new and good in Mendham's memoirs of the council of Trent; (for instance, we find, p. 181, an extract from the acts of Paleotto, as well as his introduction to several distinct sessions, as for example, the 20th session;) but he has not devoted sufficient study to his subject.

Should any one wish to undertake a new history of the council of Trent, (which indeed cannot be expected, as subjects of this nature have now lost much of their interest,) he must begin afresh from the very commencement. He must collect the several negotiations, and the discussions of the congregations,—very little of which is known authentically: he must also obtain the despatches of the several ministers who were present at the council. Then indeed he would be able to master his subject, and to understand completely the two rival historians. This is a labor which will never be performed: those who have the power, will not do it; and those who have the will, have not the means.

## SECTION III.

PERIOD OF THE RESTORATION OF CATHOLICISM DOWN TO THE  
REIGN OF SIXTUS V.

WE return to our manuscripts, the information in which, though fragmentary, is at any rate authentic and unfalsified.

## 22.

*Instructio pro causa fidei et concilii data episcopo Mutinæ, Pauli III, ad regem Romanorum nuntio destinato. 24. Oct. 1536. (MS. Barb. 3007. 15 leaves.)*

This document clearly shows how necessary the court of Rome found it, to collect its strength, and take heed to its reputation. The following rules were, among others, given to the nuncio. He was neither to be too liberal, nor yet parsimonious; neither too grave nor too gay; he was not to make known his spiritual authority by posting it on the church doors, which might render him ridiculous; whoever wanted him would find him out without that: he was, though only under peculiar circumstances, entirely to remit his dues, and was never to show rapacity in collecting them; he was to contract no debts, and to pay all his bills at inns. “*Nec hospitii pensione nimis parce vel fortasse etiam nequam soluta discedat, id quod ab aliquibus nuntiis aliis factum plurimum animos eorum populorum in nos irritavit.—In vultu et colloquiis omnem timorem aut causæ nostræ diffidentiam dissimulet.—Hilari quidem vultu accipere se fingant invitationes, sed in respondendo modum non excedant, ne id forte mali iis accidat quod cuidam nobili Saxoni, camerario secreto q. Leonis X, (Miltitz), qui ob Lutheranam causam componendam in Saxoniam missus, id tantum fructus reportavit, quod sæpe, perturbatus vino, ea effutire de pontifice et Romana curia a Saxonibus inducebatur, non modo quæ facta erant, sed quæ ipsi e malæ in nos mentis affectu imaginabantur et optabant; et ea omnia scriptis excipientes postea in conventu Vormatiensi nobis publice coram tota Germania exprobrabant.*”

We also see in Pallavicini, I, 18, that Miltitz left behind him a very bad reputation at the Roman court.

This instruction is remarkable, as it names several less known defenders of catholicism in Germany, such as Leonh. Marstaller, Nicol. Appel, Joh. Burchard, the preacher of his order, “*qui etsi nihil librorum ediderit contra Lutheranos, magno tamen vitæ periculo ab initio usque hujus tumultus pro defensione ecclesie laboravit.*” Among those who were better known, Ludwig Berus, who had fled from Basle to Freiburg in the Breisgau, and was recommended to the nuncio, was the most celebrated, “*tum propter sanam et excellentem hominis doctrinam et morum probitatem, tum quia sua gravitate et autoritate optime operam navare poterit in causa fidei.*” It is well known that Ber understood how to make himself respected even by the protestants.

## 23.

*Istruzione mandata da Roma per l'elezione del luogo del concilio. (1537.) Informazioni Politt. T. XII.*

It was unquestionably now the intention of Paul III to convoke a council. In this instruction he asserts that he was firmly resolved to do so (tutto risoluto); only his wish was to hold it in Italy. He leaned to Piacenza or Bologna, cities belonging to the church, the common mother of all; or at all events, to some city belonging to the Venetians, as they were friends to all parties. His reason was that the protestants had no real wish for a council; as was evident from the conditions which they sought to impose. Here we trace the thought which afterwards acquired so great an historical importance—that the council was only an affair of the catholics among themselves.

Lastly, he informs the emperor of his attempts at internal reforms. “Sarà con effetto e non con parole.”

## 24.

*Istruzione data da Paolo III al c<sup>l</sup> Montepulciano destinato all' imperatore Carlo V sopra le cose della religione in Germania. 1539. (Bibl. Corsini No. 467.)*

Nevertheless it is apparent that the necessity of a reconciliation first manifested itself in Germany. Occasionally both parties were brought into collision with the pope. At the convention of Frankfort, the imperial ambassador Johann Wessel, archbishop of Lund, made most important concessions to the protestants:—a truce for fifteen months, during which time all judicial proceedings of the Kammergericht were to be suspended; and a promise of a conference touching religious matters, without interference on the part of the pope. This was of course intensely odious to Paul III: cardinal Montepulciano, afterwards Marcellus II, was therefore sent to Germany, in order to throw impediments in the way of so uncatholic a proceeding.

This instruction accuses the archbishop of Lund of corrupt personal motives for his proceedings; and of being influenced by presents, promises, and ulterior views. “La comunità d'Augusta gli donò 2500 fiorini d'oro, poi gli fu fatta promissione di 4000 f. singulis annis sopra il frutto del suo arcivescovato di Lunda occupato per quel re Luterano (of Denmark).” He wished to be on good terms with the Duke of Cleves and queen Maria of Hungary: for that sister of the emperor, who was then Governess of the Netherlands, was especially suspected of a considerable leaning towards the protestants. “Secretamente presta favore alla parte di Luterani, animandogli ove può, e con mandarli huomini a posta disfavoreggia la causa de' cattolici.” She had sent a minister to Smalealde, and had expressly warned the elector of Trèves not to enter into the catholic league.

Maria and the archbishop were the leading representatives of the anti-French and anti-Roman line of policy of the imperial court. They wished to see Germany united under the emperor. The archbishop declared that it depended only on certain religious concessions: “che se S. M<sup>a</sup> volesse tolerare che i Luterani stassero nei loro errori, disponeva a modo e voler suo di tutta Germania.”

The pope replied that there existed very different means of settling affairs with Germany. Let us have his own words.

“Annichilandosi dunque del tutto per le dette cose la dieta di Francordia, et essendo il consiglio di S. M<sup>a</sup> Cesarea et altri principi christiani. che per la mala dispositione di questi tempi non si possa per hora celebrare il concilio generale non ostante N. S. già tanto tempo lo habbia indetto et usato ogni opera e mezzo per congregatio, pare a S. B<sup>ae</sup> che sarebbe bene che S. M<sup>a</sup> pensasse alla celebratione di una dicta imperiale, per prohibire quelli inconvenienti che potriano nascere massimamente di un concilio nationale, il quale facilmente si potria fare per cattolici e Luterani per la quiete di Germania quando i cattolici havendo

visto infiniti disordini seguiti per causa di alcun ministro della Cesarea e Regia M<sup>a</sup> vedessero anche le Maestà loro esser tardi alli rimedj: nè detto concilio nazionale sarebbe meno dannoso alla Cesarea e Regia Maestà, per le occulte cause, che sanno che alla sedia apostolica non potria non partorire scisma in tutta la christianità così nel temporale come nello spirituale. Ma S. S<sup>ta</sup> è di parere che si celebri tal dieta in evento che S. M<sup>a</sup> si possa trovare presente in Germania o in qualche luogo vicino a la congregazione: altrimenti se S. M<sup>a</sup> Cesarea dis-tratta da altre sue occupationi non potesse trovarsi così presto, è d'opinione che la dieta non s'indichi, nè che S. M<sup>a</sup> si riposi nel giudicio altrui, quantunque sufficienti e buoni che procurassero e sollecitassero fare detta dieta in assenza di S. M<sup>a</sup>, per non incorrere in quei disordini che sono seguiti nelle altre diete particolari ove non si è trovato S. M<sup>a</sup> e tra questo mezzo con fama continuata da ogni banda di voler venire in Germania e fare la dieta e con honeste vie et esecutioni trattenere quei principi che la sollecitano e l'addimandano: mentre che S. M<sup>a</sup> venendo da buon senno la indichi poi e celebri, et interea vedendo S. M<sup>a</sup> quanto bene et utile sia per portare la propagatione della lega cattolica, attenda per hora a questa cosa principalmente, e scriva al suo oratore in Germania e parendoli ancora mandì alcun' altro che quanto più si può procurino con ogni diligenza e mezzo d'acrescere detta lega cattolica acquistando e guadagnando ogn' uno, ancora che nel principio non fossero così sinceri nella vera religione, perche a poco a poco si potriano poi ridurre, e per adesso importa più il togliere a loro che acquistare a noi: alla quale cosa gioveria molto quando S. M<sup>a</sup> mandasse in Germania quella più quantità di denari ch'ella potesse, perche divulgandosi tal fama confirmarebbe gli altri, che più facilmente entrassero vedendo che li priuni nervi della guerra non mancariano. E per maggiore corroboratione di detta lega cattolica S. S<sup>ta</sup> si risolverà di mandare una o più persone a quei principi cattolici per animarli, similmente con promissioni di ajuto, di denari et altri effetti, quando le cose s'incammineranno di sorte, per il beneficio della religione e conservazione della dignità della sede apostolica e della Cesarea M<sup>a</sup>, che si veda da buon senno la spesa dover fare frutto: nè in questo si partirà dal ricordo di S. M<sup>a</sup>: nè sarebbe ma trale questo mezzo sotto titolo delle cose Turchesche mandare qualche numero di gente Spagnuola et Italiana in quelle bande con trattenerli nelle terre del re de' Romani suo fratello, accioche bisognando l'ajuto fosse presto in ordine."

Pallavicini knew of this instruction as well as of the former (lib. iv, c. xiv.) We learn from him that the information concerning Germany, contained in the latter of the two instructions, is chiefly taken from the letters of Aleander, who has earned for himself so dubious a reputation in these transactions.

## 25.

*Instruktionen pro rev<sup>mo</sup> dom<sup>no</sup> episcopo Mutinensi apostolico nuntio interfuturo conventui Germanorum Spirae 12 Maji 1540 celebrando. (Barb. 3007.)*

The religious conferences now took place, and we shall see here in what light they were regarded at Rome.

"Neque mirum videatur alicui si neque legatis neque nuntiis plenaria facultas et auctoritas decidendi aut concordandi in causa fidei detur, quia maxime absurdum esset et ab omni ratione dissentaneum, quin imo difficile et quam maxime periculosum, sacros ritus et sanctiones per tot annorum censuras ab universali ecclesia ita receptas ut si quid in his innovandum esset id non nisi universalis concilii decretis vel saltem summi pontificis ecclesiae moderatoris mature et bene discussa deliberatione fieri debeat, paucorum etiam non competentium iudicio et tam brevi ac praecipiti tempore et in loco non satis idoneo committi.—

"Debet tamen rev. dom. nuntius domi suae seorsim intelligere a catholicis doctoribus ea omnia quae inter ipsos et doctores Lutheranos tractabuntur, ut suum consilium prudentiamque interponere et ad bonum finem omnia dirigere possit, salva semper sanctissimi Domini Nostri et apostolicae sedis auctoritate et dignitate, ut saepe repetitum est, quia hinc salus universalis ecclesiae pendet, ut inquit

D. Hieronymus. Debet idem particulariter quadam cum dexteritate et prudentia catholicos principes, tam ecclesiasticos quam saeculares, in fide parentum et majorum suorum confirmare et ne quid in ea temere et absque apostolicae sedis auctoritate, ad quam hujusmodi examen spectat, innovari aut immutari patiantur, eos commonefacere.”

## 26.

*Instructio data rev<sup>mo</sup> card<sup>li</sup> Contarino in Germaniam legato 28 Jan. 1541.*

This has been already printed, and often mentioned. The Roman court was at length induced to make some concessions.

Between 1541 and 1551, a very considerable number of important letters, notices, and instructions follow in our collection of authorities; these embrace all Europe, and frequently throw a new light upon public affairs: we cannot, however, here enter upon a minute examination of them, as the book which these extracts would illustrate, is not intended to give a complete picture of that period. I therefore, without much scruple, use only the most important.

## 27.

*1551 die 20 Junii in senatu Matthaeus Dandulus eques ex Roma orator.*

This is the title of the report which Matt. Dandolo, the brother-in-law of Gaspar Contarini—as we see by the letters of cardinal Pole (ed Quir. ii, p. 90)—made, after a sojourn of twenty-six months at Rome. He promises to be brief: “alle relationi non convengono delle cose che sono state scritte se non quelle che sono necessarie di esser osservate.”

He first treats of the latter days of Paul III, concerning which I have already extracted the most important facts; he then mentions the conclave, and names all the cardinals. Dandolo asserts that he had come to Rome with certain members of the college belonging to the university of Padua; we see therefore how well-informed he must have been. He then gives a table of the papal finances: “Il particular conto, io l’ho avuto da essa camera.”

“I. La camera apostolica ha d’entrata l’anno: per la thesaureria della Marca 25000 sc., per la salara di detta provincia 10000, per la thesaureria della città d’Ancona 9000—d’Ascoli 2400—di Fermo 1750—di Camerino 17000—di Romagna e salara 31331—di Patrimonio 24000—di Perugia e Umbria 35597—di Campagna 1176, per Norsia 600, per la salara di Roma 19075, per la donna di Roma 92000, per la gabella de cavalli in Roma 1322, per le lumiere 21250, per l’ancoraggio di Civita Vecchia 1000; per il sussidio triennale: dalla Marca 66000, da Romagna, 44331, da Bologna 15000, da Perugia e Umbria 43101, da Patrimonio 18018, da Campagna 21529; da censi di S. Pietro 24000, dalla congreg<sup>ae</sup> de frati 23135, da vigesima de Hebrei 9855, da malefici di Roma 2000.

Summa	-	559473.
Da dexime del stato ecclesiastico quando si pongono 3000 sc., da dexime di Milano 40000—del regno 37000, dalla gabella della farina 30000—della gabella de contratti 8000.	=	220(?)000.
Ha il datario per li officii che vacano compositioni et admissioni		(?)
131000, da spoglie di Spagna 25000	=	147000

Summa delle entrate tutte 706(?)473

senza le 5 partite non tratte fuora, che stanno a beneplacito di N. Signore.

“II. La camera ha di spesa l’anno: a diversi governatori, legati, roche 46071 scudi, alli officiali di Roma 145815, a diverse gratie 58192, in Roma al governatore Bargello, guardie camerale et altri officii 66694, al capitano generale 39600, alle gallere 24000, al populo Romano per il capitolio 8950, al maestro di casa, il vitto della casa 60000, a diversi extraordinarii in Roma 35485, al signor Balduino cameriere 17000, al signor Gioan Battista 1750, alla cavalleria quando si

teneva l'anno 30000. al N. S. per suo spendere et per provisioni da a cardinali e tutto il datariato 232000. Summa in tutto questo exito 70(6?)5557 sc.”

He ends with remarks on the person of Julius III.

“Papa Giulio, Ser<sup>ma</sup> Sigr<sup>ria</sup>, gravissimo e sapientissimo cons<sup>o</sup>, è dal Monte Sansovino, picciol luogo in Toscana, come già scrissi alle Ecc<sup>ze</sup> V<sup>e</sup>. Il primo che diede nome e qualche riputatione alla casa sua fu suo avo, dottore e molto dotto in legge, e fu al servizio del duca Guido de Urbino, dal quale mandato in Roma per negotii del suo stato li acquistò gratia molta, sicche col molto studio che in detta facultà fece il suo nepote, acquistò tanto di gratia et riputatione che el fu il cardinal de Monte: de chi po fu nipote questo. Arrivato in corte per il primo grado camerier di papa Julio secondo, fu poi arcivescovo di Siponto, et in tal grado venne qui alle Ecc<sup>ze</sup> V<sup>e</sup> a dimandargli Ravenna et Cervia quandoche elle le hebbero doppo il sacco di Roma: et col multo suo valore nel quale el si dimostrò et nelle lettere di legge et nei consigli havuti molti et per l'autorità molta di sua zio che fu il cardinal de Monte, doppo morto lui, fu fatto cardinal questo. Et fatto papa si prese subito il nome di Julio, che fu il suo patron, con una perfettion (presuntion?) di volerlo imitare.

“Ha Sua S<sup>ta</sup> 64 anni a 21 di Ottobre, di natura collerica molto, ma ancho molto benigna, sicche per gran collera che l'abbi la gli passa inanzi che compisse di ragionarla, sicche a me pare di poter affermare lui non portar odio nè ancho forse amore ad alcuno, eccetto però il cardinal di Monte, del quale dirò poi. A Sua Santità non volsero mai dar il voto li cardinali nè di Marsa (?) nè di Trento, et furono li subito et meglio premiati da lei che alcun' altro di quei che la favorirono. Il più favorito servitore di molti anni suo era lo arcivescovo di Siponto, che lei essendo cardinale gli diede l'arcivescovato e da lui fu sempre ben servita, sicche si credea che subito la lo farebbe cardinale, ma lui si è rimasto in minoribus quasi che non era quandoche lei era cardinale, che poi fatto papa o poco o nulla si è voluta valer di lui, sicche el poverino se ne resta quasi come disperato.—” The manuscript is unfortunately too defective to make it desirable for us to copy further; especially as the information it contains frequently becomes trivial.

28.

*Vita di Marcello II scritta di propria mano del signor Alex. Cervini suo fratello.*  
(Alb. Nr. 157.)

There exists a very useful work by Pietro Polidoro, 1744, on pope Marcellus II. The very first of the documents which that author mentions having used, is the biography of Alex. Cervini. But unfortunately this MS. was most materially injured in the year 1598, by a fire which occurred in the house belonging to the family at Montepulciano. Only a fragment remains. I insert the following extract, which refers to the attempt made to reform the calendar in the time of Leo X, and which is not quoted by Polidoro:—

“Havendolo adunque il padre assuefatto in questi costumi et esercitatolo nella grammatica, rettorica, aritmetica, e geometria, accadde che anche fu esercitato nell' astrologia naturale più ancora che non haverebbe fatto ordinatamente, e la causa fu questa: la S<sup>ta</sup> di N. Sig<sup>te</sup> in quel tempo, Leone X, per publico editto fece intendere che chi aveva regola o modo di correggere l'anno trascorso fino ad all' hora per undici giorni, lo facesse noto a S. S<sup>ta</sup>: onde M<sup>r</sup> Riccardo già detto (the father of the pope), siccome assai esercitato in questa professione, volse obbedire al pontefice, e però con longa e diligente osservatione e con suoi stromenti trovò il vero corso del sole, siccome apparisce nelli suoi opusculi mandati al papa Leone, con il quale e con quella gloriosissima casa de Medici teneva gran servitù e specialmente con il magnifico Giuliano, dal quale aveva ricevuti favori et offerte grandi. Ma perche la morte lo prevenne, quel Signore non seguì più oltre il disegno ordinato che M<sup>r</sup> Riccardo seguitasse, servendo la persona Sua Ecc<sup>za</sup> in Francia e per tutto dove essa andasse, come erano convenuti. Nè la santità di N. Signore potette eseguire la publicatione della correctione dell'

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anno per varii impedimenti e finalmente per la morte propria, che ne seguì non molto tempo dopo.”

We see how the minds of the Italians in the time of Leo X were employed upon this subject; and that the bishop of Fossombrone, who in the year 1513 recommended in the council of the Lateran the work of reforming the calendar, was not the only one who thought on that subject.

## 29.

*Antonio Caracciolo Vita di Papa Paolo IV. (2 vol. fol.)*

Antonio Caracciolo, a theatin, and a Neapolitan, a compiler all his life, could not fail to devote his whole energies to the biography of the most celebrated Neapolitan pope, Paul IV, the founder of his order. We owe him our best thanks for it. He has collected an enormous mass of information, which, but for him, would have perished. His book forms the groundwork of the elaborate work written by Carlo Bromato: “Storia di Paolo IV Pontefice Massimo, Rom. 1748,” which contains in two thick, closely printed quartos, a remarkably rich collection of materials for history.

But, as was inevitable from the severity of the censorship existing in the territories of the church of Rome, Bromato dared on no account insert in his work all the information which the original documents afforded.

I have frequently mentioned a detailed report of J. P. Caraffa to Clement VII on the condition of the church, drawn up in the year 1532. Bromato makes, I, p. 205, a long extract from it. But he leaves out much of what is in fact the most important; for example, where he treats of the spread of Lutheran doctrines in Venice.

“Si supplica S. S<sup>ta</sup> che per l’honore di dio e suo, non essendo, questa città la più minima nè la più vil cosa de della christianità et essendovi nella città e nel dominio di molte e molte migliara d’anime commesse a S. S<sup>ta</sup>, sia contenta da persona fedele ascoltare qualche cosa del loro bisogno, il quale, anchorche sia grande, pure se ne dirà per hora qualche parte. E perche, come l’apostolo dice, sine fide impossibile est placere deo, cominciarete da questa, et avisarete S. S<sup>ta</sup> come si sente degli errori e dell’ heresie nella vita e nei costumi di alcuni, come è in non fare la quaresima e non confessarsi etc., e nella dottrina di alcuni, che pubblicamente ne parlano e tengono e communicano ancora con gli altri de’ libri prohibiti senza rispetto. Ma sopra tutto direte che questa peste, tanto dell’ heresia Luterana quanto d’ogni altro errore contra fidem et bonos mores, da due sorti di persone potissimamente si va disseminando et aumentando, cioè dagli apostati e da alcuni frati massime conventuali, e S. S<sup>ta</sup> deve sapere di quella maledetta nidata di quelli frati minori conventuali, la quale per sua bontà fermando alcuni suoi servi ha incominciato a mettere in iscompiglio: perche essendo loro stati discepoli d’un frate heretico già morto, han voluto far onore al maestro. . . . E per dire quello che in cio mi occorre, pare che in tanta necessità non si debba andare appresso la stampa usata: ma siccome nell’ ingruente furore della guerra si fanno ogni di nuove provisioni opportune, così nella maggior guerra spirituale non si deve stare a dormire. E perche S. S<sup>ta</sup> sa che l’officio dell’ inquisitione in questa provincia sta nelle mani de’ sopradetti frati minori conventuali, li quali a caso s’abbattono a fare qualche inquisitione idonea, come è stato quel maestro Martino da Treviso, della cui diligenza e fede so che il sopradetto di buona memoria vescovo di Pola informò S. S<sup>ta</sup>, et essendo hora lui mutato da quello in altro officio, è successo nell’ inquisitione non so chi, per quanto intendo, molto inetto: e però bisognerà che S. S<sup>ta</sup> provvedesse parte con eccitar gli ordinarj, che per tutto quasi si dorme, e parte con deputare alcune persone d’autorità, mandare in questa terra qualche legato, se possibile fosse, non ambizioso nè cupido, e che attendesse a risarcire l’honore e credito della sede apostolica e punire o almeno fugare li ribaldi heretici da mezzo de’ poveri christiani: perche dovunque anderanno, porteranno seco il testimonio della propria nequitia e della bontà de’ fedeli cattolici, che non li vogliono in lor compagnia. E perche la peste dell’ heresia



si soule introdurre e per le prediche e libri hereticali c'per la lunga habitatione nella mala e dissoluta vita, della quale facilmente si viene all' heresia, par che S. S<sup>ia</sup> potria fare in cin una santa, honesta et utile provvisione."

This work of Caracciolo's contains various other information of greater or less importance, which nevertheless has remained unknown, but in a book of greater detail than the present, ought not to be overlooked. The Italian Biography is entirely distinct from another of his writings, "Collectanea historica de Paulo IV.," and is a very different and far more useful book. There are, however, some things in the Collectanea which recur in the "Vita;" e.g. the description of the changes meditated by Paul IV, after the dismissal of his kinsmen.

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*Relatione di M. Bernardo Navagero alla Sma Repca di Venetia tornando di Roma ambasciatore appresso del pontefice Paulo IV. 1558.*

This is one of the Venetian reports which became universally disseminated; even Pallavicini made use of it, and was attacked on that account. Rainaldus also (Annales eccles. 1557, No. 10) mentions it, as well as other later authors.

Undoubtedly it well deserves this honor. Bern. Navagero enjoyed the reputation of learning in Venice. We see from Foscarini (della lett. Ven. p. 255), that he was proposed as historiographer to the republic. During his earlier embassies to Charles V, Henry VIII, and Soliman, he had become practised both in the management of difficult affairs, and in the observation of remarkable characters.

He came to Rome immediately after the election of Paul IV.

Navagero arranges the business of an ambassador under three heads: understanding, which requires penetration; negotiating, which requires address; and reporting, which requires judgment to decide on what it is useful and necessary to say.

He begins with the election and power of the pope, and says that if the popes would strive to imitate the example of Christ, they would be far more feared; he then describes "le conditioni," as he says, "di papa Paulo IV, e di chi lo consiglia," i. e. above all, of his three kinsmen. I have made use of his descriptions, but in his general conclusions I cannot entirely concur. He thought that the only object even of Paul IV himself was the aggrandizement of his house. Had he written somewhat later, after the expulsion of the nepotes, he would not have expressed such an opinion. That event marked the grand turn in the papal policy, from worldly to spiritual views. From individuals, Navagero proceeds to the description of a war between Paul IV and Philip II, equally happy as to style and to acuteness of observation. This is followed by a consideration of the foreign relations of the court of Rome, and the probable results of the next election. Navagero mentions this subject with the greatest discretion: "più," says he, "per sodisfare alle SS. VV. EE. che a me in quella parte." He guessed very nearly right, for one of the two he mentioned as most probable, was actually chosen; it was, however, Medighis, whilst he had rather expected the election of Puteo.

"Now, however," he says, "I am again here, I again behold the countenance of my sovereign, the illustrious republic, in whose service nothing is so great that I would not attempt it, nothing so insignificant that I would not undertake it." This expression of devotedness renders the descriptions still more animated.

## 31.

*Relazione del C<sup>lmo</sup> M. Aluise Mocenigo Cav<sup>re</sup> ritornato della corte di Roma 1560.*  
(Arch. Ven.)

Mocenigo remained seventeen months longer with Paul IV; the conclave lasted for four months and eight days; he then conducted the embassy at the court of Pius IV for seven months.

He describes first the ecclesiastical and secular policy, the administration of justice, and the court under Paul IV. He makes a remark on this, which I did not venture to avail myself of, although it contains much that is important: "I cardinali," he says, "dividono fra loro le città delle legationi (nel conclave): poi continuano in questo modo a beneplacito delli pontefici." May we suppose this to be the origin of the administration of the government by the clergy, which was gradually introduced?

He does not forget the antiquities in which Rome was richer at that time than at any other, as is proved by the description of Bôissard and Gamucci. "In cadaun loco, habitato o non habitato che si scava in Roma, si ritrovano vestigie e fabbriche nobili et antiche, et in molti luoghi si cavano di bellissime statue. Di statue marmoree, poste insieme, si potria fare un grandissimo esercito."

He then proceeds to the subject of the disturbances which broke out at the death of Paul IV, and which, even after they appeared to have been quelled, were renewed in a thousand fresh disorders. "Cessato e'ebbe il popolo, consorsero nella città tutti falliti e fuorusciti, che non si sentiva altro che omicidii, si ritrovavano alcuni che non 8, 7 e fin 6 scudi si pigliavano il carico d'amazzar un' uomo, a tanto che ne furono in pochi giorni commesse molte centenara, alcuni per inimicizia, altri per lite, molti per ereditar la sua roba et altri per diverse cause, di modo che Roma pareva, come si suol dire, il bosco di Baccaro."

The conclave was very jovial—banquets every day; Vargas was often there whole nights; at least "alli busi del conclave:"—the person, however, who really created the pope, was duke Cosmo of Florence. "Il duca di Firenze l'a fatto papa: lui l'a fatto poner nei nominati del re Filippo e poi con diversi mezzi raccomandandar anco dalla regina di Franza, e finalmente guadagnatogli con grand' industria e diligenza la parte Carafesca." How entirely do we perceive the nothingness of all the intrigues described in the histories of the conclaves! The writers of these histories, who were usually themselves members of the conclaves, saw only the mutual relations of the individuals with whom they were acquainted, and were ignorant of all foreign influences.

This report concludes with a description of Pius IV, so far as his peculiarities had then shown themselves.

## 32.

*Relazione del C<sup>lmo</sup> M. Marchio Michiel Kr e Proc. ritornato da Pio IV sommo pontefice, fatta a 8 di Zugno, 1560.*

Report of an embassy of congratulation, which was absent from Venice only thirty-nine days, and cost 13,000 ducats; as a report, very poor. Michiel exhorts to submissiveness towards Rome. "Non si tagli la giurisdiction del papa, e li sig<sup>ri</sup> avogadori per non turbare l'animo di S. S<sup>is</sup> abbino tutti quelli rispetti che si conviene, i quali ho visto che molto volte non si hanno."

## 33.

*Dispacci degli ambasciatori Veneti 18 Maggio—21 Sett. 1560. Inform. Politt. Tom. VIII, 272 leaves. Ragguagli dell' ambasciatore Veneto in Roma, 1561. Inform. Politt. Tom XXXVII, 71 leaves.*

The Ragguagli also are despatches of January and February, 1561; all from Marc. Anton de Mula, who filled the post of ambassador. (S. Andreae Mau-

roceni Hist. Venet. lib. viii, tom. ii, 153.) They are very instructive and contain much information as to the times and the character of Pope Pius;—the final fate of the Carafeschi is particularly described, and it appears that Philip II then wished to save his old enemies. At the court of Rome it was even imputed to him as a crime. Vargas answered that Philip II had pardoned them: “quel gran re, quel santo, quel cattolico non facendo com voi altri.” The pope on the other hand uttered the most violent reproaches against them: “havere mosse l’arme de Christiani, de Turchi e degl’ eretici, ..... e che le lettere che venivano da Francia e dagli agenti in Italia, tutte erano contrafatte,” etc. The pope said he would have given 100,000 ducats that they were innocent, but horrors such as they had committed could not be endured in Christendom.

I will not, however, give any more extracts from these letters; it is sufficient to have indicated their contents.

## 34.

*Extractus processus cardinalis Caraffæ. Inff. Tom. II. f. 465 to 516. With the addition: Hæc copia processus formati contra cardinalem Caraffam reducta in summam cum imputationibus fisci eorumque reprobationibus perfecta fuit de XX Nov. 1560.*

From the ninth article of the defence, s. v. Hæresis, we find that Albert of Brandenburg sent a certain colonel Friedrich to Rome, to negotiate a treaty with Paul IV. The colonel had an audience of the pope himself: but the cardinal of Augsburg (Otho of Truchsess) raised so many objections to him, that he was at last dismissed from Rome. To this is added: “El successo de la muerte de los Garrafas con la declaracion y el modo que murieron y el di y hora, 1561. Inform. II.”

## 35.

*Relazione di Girolamo Soranzo del 1563. Roma. (Arch. Ven.)*

The date of 1561, which is on the copy in the archives, is certainly incorrect. According to the authentic report of the embassies, Gir. Soranzo was, it is true, chosen, 22 September, 1560, because Mula had accepted a place from Pius IV, and had thus fallen into disgrace with the republic; but he was forgiven, and it was only after Mula had been named cardinal, in the year 1562, that he was superseded by Soranzo. He therefore frequently alludes to the council, which was no longer sitting in 1561.

Girolamo Soranzo observes, that the reports were both useful and entertaining to the senate (“e volentieri udite e maturamente considerate”); he composed his own with satisfaction and diligence; it is quite worth while to read his description of Pius IV.

“Delle qualità dell’ animo di Sua Beatitudine dirò sinceramente alcune particolari proprietà, che nel tempo della mi a legatione ho potuto osservare in lei et intender da persone che ne hanno parlato senza passione. Il papa, como ho detto di sopra, ha studiato in leggi; con la cognitione della quali e con la pratica di tanti anni nelli governi principali, che ha havuto, ha fatto un giudicio mirabile nelle cause così di giustitia come di gratia che si propongono in segnatura, in modo che non s’apre la bocca che sa quello si può concedere e quello si deve negare, la quale parte è non pur utile ma necessaria in un pontefice per le molte et importanti materie che occorre trattar di tempo in tempo. Possiede inolto bene la lingua latina e s’ ha sempre dilettrato di conoscer le sue bellezze, in modo che, per quanto mi ha detto l’ illustrissimo Navagiero, che na ha così bel giudicio, nei concistorj, dove è l’ uso di parlar latino, dice quello che vuole e facilmente e propriamente. Non ha studiato in theologia, onde avviene che non vuole mai propria autorità pigliar in se alcuna delle cause commesse all’ ufficio dell’ inquisitione: ma usa di dire che non essendo theologo si contenta rimettersi in tutte le cose a chi si ha il carico: e se bene si conosce non esser di sua

satisfazione il modo che tengono gl' inquisitori di procedere per l' ordinario con tanto rigore contra gl' inquisiti, e che si lascia intendere che più gli piaceria che usassero termini da cortese gentilhuomo che da frate severo, nondimeno non ardisce o non vuole mai oppondersi ai giudicii loro nei quali interviene poche volte, facendosi per il più congregazioni senza la presenza sua. Nelle materie e deliberazioni di stato non vuole consiglio d' alcuno, in tanto che si dice non esser stato pontefice più travagliato e manco consigliato di S. S<sup>ta</sup>, non senza meraviglia di tutta la corte che almeno nelle cose di maggior importantia ella non voglia avere il parere di qualche cardinale, che pur ve ne sono molti di buon consiglio: e so che un giorno Vargas lo persuase a farlo, con dirle che se bene S. S<sup>ta</sup> era prudentissima, che però unus vir erat nullus vir, ma ella se lo levò d' inanzi con male parole: et in effetto si vede che, o sia che ella stima esser atta di poter resolver da se tutte le materie che occorrono, o che pur conosca esser pochi o forse niuno cardinale che non sia interessato con qualche principe, onde il giudicio non può esser libero e sincero, si vede, dico, che non si vuole servire d'altri che dal card<sup>l</sup> Borromeo e dal sig<sup>re</sup> Tolomeo, i quali essendo giovani di niuna o poca sperienza et essequenti ad ogni minimo cenno di S. S<sup>ta</sup>, si possono chiamar piuttosto semplici esecutori che consiglieri. Da questo mancamento di consiglio ne nasce che la Beat<sup>e</sup> Sua, di natura molto presta per tutte le sue attioni, si risolve anco molto presto in tutte le materie, per importanti che le sieno, e presto si rimuove da quello che ha deliberato: perche quando sono pubblicate le sue deliberazioni e che li venga poi dato qualche advertimento in contrario, non solo le altera, ma fa spesso tutto l' opposto al suo primo disegno, il che a mio tempo è avvenuto non una ma molte volte. Con i principi tiene modo immediate contrario al suo predecessore: perche quello usava di dire il grado del pontefice esser per metter sotto i piedi gl' imperatori et i re, e questo dice che senza l' autorità de' principi non si può conservare quella del pontefice: e perciò procede con gran rispetto verso di cadauno principe e fa loro volentieri delle gratie, e quando le nega, lo fa con gran destrezza e modestia. Procede medesimamente con gran dolcezza e facilità nel trovar i negotii indifferentemente con tutti: ma se alcuna volta segli domanda cosa che non sente, se mostra vehemente molto e terribile, nè patisce che segli contradica: nè quasi mai è necessaria con S. S<sup>ta</sup> la destrezza, perche quando si è addolcita, difficilmente nega alcuna gratia: è vero che nell' essecutione poi si trova per il più maggior difficoltà che nella promessa. Porta gran rispetto verso i rev<sup>mi</sup> card<sup>li</sup>, e fa loro volentieri delle gratie, nè deroga mai ai soi indulte nelle collationi de' beneficii, quello che non faceva il suo predecessore. E' vero che da quelli di maggior autorità par che sia desiderato che da lei fusse dato loro maggior parte delle cose che occorrono a tempo di tanti travagli di quelle che usa di fare la S. S<sup>ta</sup>: onde si dogliono di vedere deliberazioni di tanta importantia passar con così poco consiglio, e chiamano felicissima in questa parte la Serenità Vostra. Alli ambasciatori usa S. Beat<sup>e</sup> quelle maggior dimostrazioni d' amore et honore che si possi desiderare, nè lascia adietro alcuna cosa per tener li ben satisfati e contenti: tratta dolcemente i negotii con loro, e se alcuna volta s' altera per causa di qualche dimanda ch' ella non senta o altra occasione, chi sa usare la destrezza, l' acquieta subito, e fa in modo che se non ottiene in tutto quanto desidera, ha almeno in risposta parole molto cortesi; dove quando segli vuol opponere, si può esser certo di non aver nè l' uno nè l' altro: e però Vargas non è mai stato in gratia di S. S<sup>ta</sup>, perche non ha proceduto con quella modestia ch' era desiderata da lei. Finito che ha di trattar li negotii con li ambasciatori, fa loro parte cortesemente, parla delli avvisi che ha di qualche importantia, e poi entra volentieri a discorrere de lo presente stato del mondo: e con me l' ha fatto in particolare molto spesso, come si può ricordar V. S<sup>ta</sup> che alcune volte ho empito i fogli dei suoi ragionamenti. Con i suoi famigliari procede in modo che non si può conoscere che alcuno ha autorità con lei, perche li tratta tutti egualmente, non li dando libertà di far cosa alcuna che non sia conveniente, nè permettendo che se la piglino da loro medesimi, ma li tiene tutti in così bassa e povera fortuna che dalla corte saria desiderato di veder verso quelli più intimi

camerieri et altri servitori antichi dimostrazione di maggior stima et amore. Fa gran professione d'esser giudice giusto, e volentieri ragiona di questo suo desiderio che sia fatto giustizia, e particolarmente con gli ambasciatori de' principi, con li quali entra poi alle volte con tal occasione a giustificarsi della morte di Caraffa e delle sententie di Napoli e Monte come fatte giustamente, essendoli forse venuto alle orecchie esser stato giudicato della corte tutta ch'esse sententie e particolarmente quella di Caraffa siano state fatte con severità pur troppo grande et extraordinaria. E' naturalmente il papa inclinato alla vita privata e libera, perche si vede che difficilmente si può accomodare a procedere con quella maestà che usava il predecessore, ma in tutte le sue attioni mostra piuttosto dolcezza che gravità, lasciandosi vedere da tutti a tutte l' hore et andando a cavallo et a piedi per tutta la città con pochissima compagnia. Ha una inclinazione grandissima al fabbricare, et in questo spende volentieri e largamente, sentendo gran piacere quando si lauda le opere che va facendo; e par che habbi fine lasciar anco per questa via memoria di se, non vi essendo ormai luogo in Roma che non habbi il nome suo, et usa di dire il fabbricare esser particolarmente inclinazione di casa de' Medici, nè osserva S. Beat<sup>o</sup> quello che è stato fatto dalli altri suoi predecessori, che hanno per il più incominciato edificii grandi e magnifici lasciandoli poi imperfetti, ma ella ha piuttosto a piacere di far acconciar quelli che minacciano rovina e fuir gl' ir cominciati, con farne anco de' nuovi, facendo fabbricar in molti luoghi dello stato ecclesiastico: perche fortifica Civita vecchia, acconcia il porto d' Ancona, vuol ridur in fortezza Bologna: in Roma poi, oltre la fortificatione del borgo e la fabbrica di Belvedere e del palazzo, in molte parti della città fa acconciar strade, fabbricar chiese e rinovar le porte con spesa così grande che al tempo mio per molti mesi nelle fabbriche di Roma solamente passava 12 m. scudi il mese e forse più di quello che si conviene a principe, in tanto che viene affermato da più antichi cortigiani non esser mai le cose passate con tanta misura e così strettamente come fanno al presente. E' perche credo non habbia ad esser discaro l' intendere qualche particolare che tiene S. Beat<sup>o</sup> nel vivere, però satisfarò anche a questa parte. Usa il pontefice per ordinario levarsi, quando è sano, tanto di buon' hora così l' inverno come l' estate ch' è sempre quasi inanzi giorno in piedi, e subito vestito esce a far esercizio, nel quale spende gran tempo: poi ritornato, entrano nella sua camera il rev<sup>mo</sup> Borromeo e mons<sup>r</sup> Tolomeo, con i quali tratta, come ho detto, S. S<sup>ta</sup> tutte le cose importanti così pubbliche come private, e li tiene per l' ordinario seco doi o tre hore: e quando li ha licentiati, sono introdutti a lei quei ambasciatori che stanno aspettando l' audientia: e finito che ha di ragionar con loro, ode S. S<sup>ta</sup> la messa, e quando l' hora non è tarda, esce fuori a dare audientia ai cardinali et ad altri; e poi si mette a tavola, la qual, per dir il vero, non è molto splendida, com' era quella del predecessore, perche le vivande sono ordinarie e non in gran quantità et il servizio è de' soliti soi camerieri. Si nutrisce di cibi grossi e di pasta alla Lombarda bene più di quello che mangia, et il vino è greco di somma molto potente, nel quale non si vuole acqua. Non ha piacere che al suo mangiare si trovino, secondo l' uso del predecessore, vescovi et altri prelati di rispetto, ma piuttosto ha caro udir qualche ragionamento di persone piacevoli e che habbino qualche umore. Ammette alla sua tavola molte volte di cardinali e degli ambasciatori, et a me in particolare ha fatto di questi favori con dimostrazioni molto amorevoli. Dapoi che ha finito di mangiare, si ritira nella sua camera, e spogliato in camicia entra in letto, dove vi sta per l' ordinario tre o quattro hore: e svegliato si ritorna a vestire, e dice l' ufficio et alcune volte da audientia a qualche cardinale et ambasciatore, e poi se ne ritorna al suo esercizio in Belvedere, il quale non intermette mai l' estate fin l' hora di cena e l' inverno fin che si vede lume."

Soranzo also gives several other passages of importance as regards the history of this time. For instance, he fully explains the otherwise scarcely intelligible secession of the king of Navarre to catholicism. Assurances had been given to this prince at Rome, that if Philip II did not yield Sardinia to him as an indemnification for the lost part of Navarre, the pope would at all events

bestow Avignon upon him. Divines, says the ambassador, were not employed to bring about the change in his opinions; negotiation was sufficient.

## 36.

*Istruzione del re cattolico al Cr Mr d'Alcantara suo ambasciatore di quello ha da trattar in Roma. Madr. 30 Nov. 1562. (MS. Rom.)*

Together with the answers of the pope. All the necessary extracts are given by Pallavicini xx, 10, except the following passage, which he seems to have misunderstood. "Circa l'articolo della comunione sub utraque specie non restaremo di dire con la sicurtà che sapemo di potere usare con la M<sup>a</sup> Sua, che ci parono cose molto contrarie il dimandar tanta libertà e licenza nel concilio et il volera in un medesimo tempo che noi impediamo detto concilio e che proibiamo all' imperatore, al re di Francia, al duca di Baviera at ad altri principi che non possano far proponere et questo et molti altri articoli che ricercano attento, che essi sono deliberati et risolti di farli proponere da suoi ambasciatori e prelati, etiam che fosse contro la volontà dei legati. Sopra il che S. M<sup>a</sup> dovrà fare quella consideratione che le parerà conveniente. Quanto a quello che spetta a noi, havemo differita la cosa fin que, e cercaremo di differirla più che potremo, non ostante le grandi istanze che circa cio ne sono state fatte: e tuttavia se ne fanno dalli sudetti principi, protestandoci che se non se gli concede, perderanno tutti li loro sudditi, quali dicono peccar solo in questo articolo e nel resto esser buoni cattolici, e di più dicono che non essendogli concesso, li piglieranno da se, e si congiungeranno con li settarii vicini e protestanti; da quali quando ricorrono per questo uso del calice, sono astretti ad abjurare la nostra religione: sicche S. M<sup>a</sup> può considerare in quanta molestia travaglio siamo. Piacesse a dio che S. M<sup>a</sup> cattolica fosse vicina e potissimo parlare insieme en anche abboccarsi con l'imperatore—havendo per ogni modo S. M<sup>a</sup> Cesarea da incontrarsi da noi—che forse potriamo acconciare le cose del mondo, o nessuno le acconcerà mai se non dio solo, quando parerà a Sua Divina Maestà."

## 37.

*Istruzione data al sr Carlo Visconti mandato da papa Pio IV, al re cattolico per le cose del concilio di Trento. Signed, Carolus Barromæus ultimo Oct. 1563.*

In the collection of the nuncio's letters coming down to September, 1563, but not including that month; remarkable, as explaining the motives for closing the council. Pallavicini xxiv, 1, 1, has incorporated in his book the greater part of this instruction, although in an order different to that in which it was written. Perhaps the most remarkable thing was the design of bringing the affairs of England before the council; regard for Philip II alone prevented its execution. "Non abbiamo voluto parlare sin ora nè lasciar parlare in concilio della regina d'Inghilterra (Mary Stuart), con tutto che lo meriti, nè meno di quest' altra (Elizabeth), e cio per rispetto di S. M<sup>a</sup> Cattolica. . . . Ma ancora a questa bisognerebbe un di pigliare qualche verso, e la M<sup>a</sup> S. dovrebbe almeno fare opera che li vescovi et altri cattolici non fossero molestati." It is easy to see that it was imposed upon Philip II as a duty, to take the English catholics under his protection.

## 38.

*Relatione in scriptis fatta dal Commendone ai sri legati del concilio sopra le cose ritratte dell' imperatore; 19 Feb. 1563.*

"La somma è che a me pare di aver veduto non pur in S. M<sup>a</sup> ma nelli principali ministri, come Trausen e Seldio, un ardentissimo desiderio della riforma e del progresso del concilio con una gran speranza quod rimettendo aliquid de jure posiivo et reformando mores et disciplinam ecclesiasticam non solo si possono conservare li cattolici ma guadagnare e ridurre degli heretici, con una

opinione o impressione pur troppo forte che qui siano molti che non vogliono riforma." The activity of the Jesuits in particular had made an impression. "Seldio disse, che li Gesuiti hanno hormai mostrato in Germania quello che si può sperare con effetto, perche solamente con la buona vita e con le prediche e con le scuole loro hanno ritenuto e vi sostengono tuttavia la religione cattolica."

## 39.

*Relatione sommaria del cardinal Morone sopra la legatione sua 1564 Januario.*  
(*Bibl. Altieri VII. F. 3.*)

This ought properly to be given word for word. Unfortunately, I was so circumstanced as not to be able to make a copy. The extract which I have inserted in the third book, must therefore suffice.

## 40.

*Antonio Canossa: On the attempt to assassinate Pius IV. Compare I. p. 359.*

## 41.

*Relatione di Roma al tempo di Pio IV. e V. di Paolo Tiepolo ambasciatore Veneto; found first in manuscript at Gotha, afterwards in many other collections. 1568.*

In almost all the copies this report is spoken of as belonging to the year 1567; as, however, Paolo Tiepolo expressly says that he resided at the court of Pius V thirty-three months, and as the latter was elected in January 1566, its true date is clearly September 1568. To this year also refer the despatches of this ambassador—the first which were preserved in the Venetian archives.

Tiepolo describes Rome, the states of the church and their administration, as well as the ecclesiastical power, which, as he says, punishes with interdicts and rewards with indulgences. He then compares Pius IV and V, their piety, justice, generosity, and generally their respective characters and dispositions. The former pope had shown great mildness to Venice, the latter great severity. Pius V made constant complaints of the invasion of ecclesiastical rights by the Venetian government; such as the taxing of monasteries, and the summoning of priests before the civil tribunals; and of the conduct of the Avogadori. Notwithstanding these disagreements, the comparison instituted by Tiepolo ends entirely in favor of the sterner pontiff. It is evident that the personal qualities of Pius V had produced the same impression on this ambassador, as on the catholic world at large.

This report is, as we have noticed, frequently to be met with. It has even occasionally appeared in print; in what manner, however, should be observed. In the *Tesoro Politico*, i, 19, there is a *Relatione di Roma*, in which everything said by Tiepolo of Pius V is applied to Sixtus V. Traits of character, even particular actions, decrees, &c., are transferred from the one pope to the other. This account, thus entirely falsified, has since appeared in the *Republica Romana*, published by Elzevir, in which, at p. 494, we find it word for word, under the title, "De statu urbis Romæ et pontificis relatio tempore Sixti V, papæ, anno 1585.

## 42.

*Relatione di Roma del Cl<sup>mo</sup> Sr Michiel Suriano K ritornato ambasciatore da N. S. papa Pio V. 1571.*

Michael Suriano, in whom, according to Paruta, (*Guerra di Cipro*, i. p. 28,) the study of literature cast a still more brilliant lustre over talents for business, was the immediate successor of P. Tiepolo.

He describes Pius V in the following manner:

"Si vede che nel papato S. Santità non ha atteso mai a delitie nè a piaceri, come altri suoi antecessori, che non ha alterato la vita nè i costumi, che non ha

lasciato l' essercitio dell' inquisitione che haveva essendo privato. et lasciava più presto ogn' altra cosa che quella, riputando tutte l' altre di manco stima et di manco importantia: onde benche per il papato fosse mutata la dignità et la fortuna, non fu però mutata nè la volontà nè la natura. Era S. S<sup>ta</sup> di presenza grave, con poca carne magra, et di persona più che mediocre ma forte et robusta: havea gl' occhi piccولي ma la vista acutissima, il naso aquilino, che denota animo generoso et atto a regnare, il colore vivo et la canitie veneranda, caminava gagliardissimamente, non temeava l' aere, mangiava poco e bevea pochissimo, andava, a dormire per tempo: pativa alcune volte d' orina, et vi rimediava con usar spesso la cassia et a certi tempi il latte d' asina et con viver sempre con regola et con misura. Era S. S<sup>ta</sup> di complexion colerica et subita, et s' accendeva in un tratto in viso quando sentiva cosa che le dispiacesse: era però facile nell' audientie, ascoltava tutti, parlava poco et tardo et stentava spesso a trovar le parole proprie et significanti al suo modo. Fu di vita esemplare et di costumi irreprensibili con un zelo rigoroso di religione, che haveria voluto che ogn' un l' avesse, et per questo corregea gl' ecclesiastici con riserve et con bolle et i laici con decreti et avvertimenti. Facea professione aperta di sincerità et di bontà, di non ingannare, di non publicar mai le cose che gli eran dette in segretezza et d' esser osservantissimo della parola, tutte cose contrarie al suo predecessore: odiava i tristi et non poteva tollerarli, amava i buoni o quei che era persuasa che fosser buoni: ma come un tristo non potea sperar mai di guadagnare la sua gratia, perche ella non credea che potesse diventar buono, così non era senza pericolo un buono di perderla quando cadea in qualche tristezza. Amava sopra tutte le cose la verità, et se alcuno era scoperto da S. S<sup>ta</sup> una sol volta in bugia, perdeva la sua gratia per sempre, et fu visto l' essemplio nel sig<sup>r</sup> Paolo Ghisilieri suo nipote, il quale scaccio da se per averlo trovato in bugia, come S. S<sup>ta</sup> medesima mi disse, et per officii che fusser fatti non volse mai più riceverlo in gratia. Era d' ingegno non molto acuto, di natura difficile et sospettosa, e da quella impression che prendeava una volta non giovava a rimuoverlo niuna persuasione di ragione di rispetti civili. Non avea isperienza di cose di stato per non averle mai praticate se non ultimamente: onde nei travagli che portan seco i maneggi di questa corte et nelle difficoltà che sempre accompagnan la novità dei negotij, un che fosse grato a S. Santità et in chi ella avesse fede era facilmente atto a guidarla a suo modo, ma altri in chi non havea fede non potea essere atto, et le ragioni regolate per prudenza humana non bastavano a persuaderla, et se alcun pensava di vincere con autorità o con spaventi, ella rompeva in un subito et metteva in disordine ogni cosa o per lo manco gli dava nel viso con dir che non temeava il martirio et che come dio l' ha messo in quel luogo così poteva anco conservarlo contra ogni autorità et podestà humana. Queste conditioni et qualità di S. Santità, se ben son verissime, però son difficili da credere a chi non ha auto la sua pratica et molto più a chi ha auto pratica d' altri papi; perche pare impossibile che un huomo nato et nutrito in bassa fortuna si tenesse tanto sincero: che resistesse così arditamente a i maggior precinpi et più potenti: che fosse tanto difficile nei favori et nelle gratie et nelle dispense et in quell' altre cose che gl' altri pontefici concedean sempre facilmente: che pensasse più all' inquisitione che ad altro, et chi secondava S. Santità in quella, potesse con lei ogni cosa: che nelle cose di stato non credesse alla forza delle ragioni nè all' autorità de i precinpi esperti, ma solamente alle persuasioni di quei in chi havea fede: che non si sia mai mostrato interessato nè in ambizione nè in avaritia, nè per se nè per niun de suoi: che credesse poco ai cardinali et gl' avesse tutti per interessati et o quasi tutti, et chi si valea di loro con S. Santità, se nol facea con gran temperamento et con gran giudicio, si rendea sospetto et perdeva il credito insieme con loro. Et chi non sa queste cose et si ricorda delle debolezze, della facilità, de i rispetti, delle passioni et degl' affetti de gl' altri papi, accusava et strapazzava gl' ambasciatori, credendo non che non potesser ma che non volessero o non sapessero otterner quelle cose che s' ottenevano facilmente in altri tempi."

We can readily believe the ambassador, that with a pope of this character he



had a heavy task. For instance, when Pius learned that they refused to publish the bull, *In cœna Domini*, in Venice, he fell into a state of the most violent irritation; “si perturbò estremamente, et acceso in collera disse molte cose gravi e fastidiose.” This rendered the management of business doubly difficult. Suriano lost, in fact, the favor of his republic. He was recalled, and this report is written in great part with the view of justifying his conduct, in which we cannot accompany him.

## 43.

*Informatione di Pio V Inform. politt. Bibl. Ambros. F. D. 181.*

Anonymous certainly, but founded on accurate acquaintance with the subject, and affording confirmation of other accounts. It contains a remarkable fact, viz: that in spite of all the severity of this pious pope, factions reigned in his family. The older servants were ranged against the younger, who looked on M<sup>re</sup> Cirillo, the grand chamberlain, who was the most accessible, as their head. “Con le carezze e col mostrar di conoscere il suo valore facilmente s’acquistarebbe: ha l’animo elevatissimo, grande intelligenza con Gambara e Coreggio, e si stringe con Morone.”

## 44.

*Relatione della corte di Roma nel tempo di Gregorio XIII, (Bibl. Cors. No. 714.) Dated 20 Feb. 1574.*

Anonymous, but nevertheless very instructive, and bearing the stamp of truth.

The author thinks it difficult to judge of courts and princes. “Dirò come si giudica nella corte e come la intendo.” He gives the following description of Gregory XIII.

“Assonto che è stato al pontificato in età di 71 anni, ha parso e’ habbi voluto mutare natura: et il rigore che era solito biasimare in altri, massimamente nel particolare del vivere con qualche lincenza con donne, n’è stato più rigoroso dell’antecessore e fattone maggiori esecutioni: e parimente nella materia del giuoco si è mostrato rigorosissimo, perche havendo certi illustrissimi principiato a trattarsi nel principio del pontificato con giuocare qualche scudo, li riprese acremene, ancorche alcuni dubitarono che sotto il pretesto del giuoco si facessero nuove pratiche di pontificato per un poco di male e’ hebbe S. S<sup>ta</sup> in quel principio: e da questo cominciò a calare quella riputatione o oppinione che si voleva far credere dall’ illustrissimo de’ Medici, d’ haver lui fatto il papa e doverlo governare, la qual cosa fece chiaro il mondo quanto S. S<sup>ta</sup> aborrisce che alcuno si voglia arrogare di governarlo o c’ habbi bisogno d’ essere governato, perche non vuole essere in questa oppinione di lasciarsi governare a persona. Perche in effetto nelle cose della giustitia n’è capacissimo e la intende e non bisogna pensare di darli parole. Ne’ maneggi di stati S. S<sup>ta</sup> ne potria saper più, perche non vi ha fatto molto studio, e sta sopra di se alle volte irresoluto, ma considerato che v’ habbi sopra, n’è benissimo capace e nell’ udire le oppinioni discerne benissimo il meglio. E’ patientissimo e laboriosissimo e non sta mai in otio e piglia ancora poco recreatione. Da continuamente audientia e vede scritture. Dorme poco, si leva per tempo, e fa volentieri esercizio, e li piace l’ aria, quale non teme, per cattiva che sia. Mangia sobriamente e beve pochissimo, ed è sano senza sorte alcuna di schinelle. E’ grato in dimostrationi esteriori a chi gli ha fatto piacere. Non è prodigo nè quasi si può dire liberale, secondo l’ oppinione del volgo, il quale non considera o discerne la differentia che sia da un principe che si astenghi dall’ estorsioni e rapacità a quello che conserva quello che ha con tenacità: questo non brama la roba d’ altri e gli insidia per haverla. Non è crudelle nè sanguinolento, ma temendo di continuo delle guerre sì del Turco come degli heretici, li piace d’ haver somma di denari nell’ erario e conservarli senza dispensarli fuori di proposito, e n’ ha intorno a un milione e mezzo d’

oro: è però magnifico e gli piacciono le grandezze, o sopra tutto è desideroso di gloria, il qual desiderio il fa forse trascorrere in quello che non piace alla corte: perche questi reverendi padri Chietini, che l' hanno conosciuto, se li sono fatti a cavaliere sopra, con dimostrarli che il credito et autorità che haveva Pio V, non era se non per riputatione della bontà, e con questo il tengono quasiche in filo et il necessitano a far cose contra la sua natura e la sua volontà, perche S. S<sup>ta</sup> è sempre stato di natura piacevole e dolce, e lo restringono a una vita non consueta: et è oppinione che per far questo si siano valsi di far venire lettere da loro padri medesimi di Spagna e d' altri luoghi, dove sempre fanno inentione quanto sia commendata la vita santa del papa passato, quale ha acquistata tanta gloria con la riputatione della bontà e delle riforme, e con questo modo perseverano loro in dominare et havere autorità con S. Beat<sup>o</sup>: e dicesi che sono ajutati ancora dal vescovo di Padova, nuntio in Spagna, creatura di Pio V e di loro. Brama tanto la gloria che si ritiene, e sforza la natura di fare di quelle dimostrazioni ancora verso la persona del figliuolo quali sariano riputate ragionevoli et honeste da ogn' uno per li scrupoli che li propongono costoro: et in tanta felicità che ha havuto S. S<sup>ta</sup> di essere asceto a questa dignità da basso stato, è contrapesato da questo oggetto e dall' havere parenti quali non li sodisfanno e che a S. S<sup>ta</sup> non pare che siano atti o capaci de' negotii importanti e da commetterli le facende di stato."

In the same manner he paints the different cardinals. He remarks of Granvella, that he did not maintain his credit; that he pursued his own inclinations, and was considered avaricious; and that in the affairs of the Ligue he had nearly caused a rupture between the king and the pope. On the other hand Comendone is greatly extolled. "Ha la virtù, la bontà, l' esperienza con infinito giudicio."

## 45.

*Seconda relatione dell' ambasciatore di Roma, clar<sup>mo</sup> M. Paolo Tiepolo Kr: 3 Maggio, 1576.*

The above-mentioned anonymous report speaks favorably of Tiepolo, regarding him as possessed of a good head and excellent heart. "E' modesto e contra il costume de' Veneziani; è corteggiano e liberale, e riesce eccellentemente e sodisfa molto, e mostra prudenza grande in questi travagli e frangenti a sapersi regere."

For instance when the Venetians fell off from the alliance against the Turks, he had a difficult task to perform. It was thought that the pope would propose in the consistory to utter sentence of excommunication against the Venetians, and certain cardinals prepared to oppose such a design. "Levato Cornaro (a Venetian) nessuno lo che in quei primi giorni mi vedesse o mi mandasse a veder, non che mi consigliasse, consolasse e sollevasse." Tiepolo relates, as the real ground of the separate peace, that the Spaniards, after promising to be under arms in April 1573, declared in that month, that their preparations could not be ended before June. The resolution at last taken at Venice, to create his son a Venetian *nobile*, tended greatly to appease the pope. The expressions of Tiepolo concerning this son of the pope, Giacomo Buoncompagno, are remarkable.

"Il sr Giacomo è figliuolo del papa: è giovane anchor esso di circa 29 anni, di belle lettere, gratiose maniere, di grande et liberal animo et d'un ingegno attissimo a tutte le cose dove egli l'applicasse. Non bisogna negar che'l primo et si può dir solo affetto del papa non sia verso di lui, come è anco ragionevole che sia, percioche nel principio del pontificato, quando egli operava più secondo il suo senso, lo creò prima castellano et dappoi governator di s. chiesa con assegnarli per questo conto provisioni di circa X m. ducati all' anno et con pagarli un locotenente, colonnelli et capitani, accioche egli tanto più honoratamente potesse comparer: ma dappoi, come cho si fosse pentito di esser passato tanto oltre verso un suo figliuolo naturale, mosso per avvertimenti, come si affermava, di persone spirituali, che li mettevano questa cosa a conscientia et a punto d'honore, in-

cominciò a ritirarsi con negarli i favori et le gratie che li erano da lui domandate et con far in tutte le cose manco stima di lui di quello che prima avea fatto: anzi come che dopo averlo palesato volesse nascondarlo al mondo, separandolo da lui lo fece partir da Roma et andar in Ancona, dove sotto specie di fortificar quella città per un tempo lo interteene, senza mai provederlo d'una entrata stabile et sicura colla quale egli dopo la morte sua avesse possuto con qualche dignità vivere et sostenersi: onde il povero signore doleudosi della sua fortuna che lo avesse voluto innalzar per doverlo poi abbandonare si messe più volte in tanta desperatione che fuggendo la pratica et conversatione di ciascuno si ritirava a viver in casa solitario, continuando in questo per molti giorni, con far venir anchora all' orecchie dell' padre come egli era assalito da fieri et pericolosi accidenti, per vedere se con questo havesso possuto muover la sua tenerezza verso di lui. In fine troppo può l'amor naturale paterno per spingere o dissimulare il quale indarno l'uomo s'adopera. Viuto finalmente et commosso il papa dapoi passato l'anno santo volse l'animo a provederli et a darli satisfatione, et prima si resolse da maritarlo."

Tiepolo also gives some remarkable accounts of the administration of Gregory XIII, and especially of the cardinal di Como.

"Partise il governo delle cose in questo modo, che di quelle che appartengono al stato ecclesiastico, ne da la cura alli d<sup>ni</sup> cardinali sui nepoti, et di quelle che hanno relatione alli altri principi, al cardinal di Como. Ma dove in quelle del stato ecclesiastico, che sono senza comparation di manco importanza, perche non comprendono arme o fortezze, al governatore generale riservate, nè danari, de' quali la camera apostolica et il tesorier generale ne tien cura particolare, ma solamente cose ordinarie pertinenti al governo delle città et delle provincie, non si contentando delli d<sup>ni</sup> nepoti ha aggiunta loro una congregazione di quattro principali prelati, tra' quali vi è monsignor di Nicastro, stato nuntio presso la Serenità V<sup>ra</sup>, colli quali tutte le cose si consigliano per doverle poi referir a lui; in quelle di stato per negotii colli altri principi, che tanto rilevano et importano non solo per la buona intelligentia con lor ma ancora per beneficio et quiete di tutta la Christianità, si rimette in tutto nel solo cardinal di Como, col quale si redrecciano li ambasciatori dei principi che sono a Roma et li nuntii apostolici et altri ministri del papa che sono alle corti, perche a lui solo scrivono et da lui aspettano li ordini di quello che hanno da fare. Egli è quello che solo consiglia il papa, et che, come universalmente si tiene, fa tutte le resolutioni più importanti, et che da li ordini et li fa eseguire. Sogliono ben alcuni cardinali di maggior pratica et autorità et qualcun' altro ancora da se stesso raccordare al papa quello che giudica a proposito, et suole ancora alle volte il papa domandar sopra alcune cose l'opinione di qualcuno et di tutto il collegio di cardinali ancora, massimamente quando li torna bene che si sappia che la determination sia fatta di consiglio di molti, come principalmente quando si vuol dare qualche negativa, et sopra certe particolari occorrentie ancora suole deputer una congregazione di cardinali, come già fo fatto nelle cose della lega et al presente si fa in quelle di Germania, del concilio, et di altre: ma nel restretto alle conclusioni et nelle cose più importanti il cardinal di Como è quello che fa et vale. Ha usato il cardinal, seben cognosce saver et intender a sofficientia, alle volte in alcune cose andarsi a consigliare col cardinal Morone et cardinal Commendon, per non si fidar tanto del suo giudicio che non tolesse ancor il parer d'huomini più intelligenti et savii: ma in fatto da lui poi il tutto dipende. Mette grandissima diligentia et accuratezza nelle cose, et s'industria di levar la fatica et i pensieri al papa et di darli consigli che lo liberino da travagli presenti et dalla spesa, poiche nessuna cosa pare esser più dal papa desiderata che'l sparagno et la quiete. Si stima universalmente ch' esso abbia grande inclinatione al re cattolico, non tanto per esser suo vassallo et per haver la maggior parte delli sui beneficii nei sui paesi, quanto per molti comodi et utilità che in cose di molto momento straordinariamente riceve da lui, per recognition de' quali all' incontro con destri modi, come ben sa usar senza molto scoprirsi, se ne dimostri nelle occasioni grato. Verso la Serenità Vostra posso affermar ch' egli sottosopra si sia portato assai bene, mas-

simamente se si ha rispetto che ne i ministri d'altri principi non si quò ritrovar tutto quello che si vorria, et che ben spesso bisogna contentarsi di manco che di mediocre buona volontà."

Although this report is far from having obtained the same circulation as the former, it is in fact no less important and instructive as regards the times of Gregory XIII, than the first as regards those of Pius IV and Pius V.

## 46.

*Commentariorum de rebus Gregorii XIII lib. I et II. (Bibl. Alb.)*

Unfortunately a fragment. The writer, Cardinal di Vercelli, promises, when, after certain prefatory remarks, he begins to speak of the papacy of Gregory, to treat of three things; the war against the Turks, the war carried on by the protestants against the kings of France and Spain, and the disputes concerning the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

We know the relation in which the affairs of the East stood to those of religion. Our author explains by no means ill the perplexity and confusion of the year 1572. The report had become current that Charles IX was abetting the outbreaks of the protestants in the Netherlands. "Quod cum Gregorius moleste ferret, dat ad Gallorum regem litteras quibus ab eo vehementer petit ne suos in hoc se admiscere bellum patiatur: alioquin se existimaturum omnia hæc illius voluntate nutuque fieri. Rex de suis continendis magnæ sibi curæ fore pollicetur, id quod quantum in se est præstat: verum ejusmodi litteris, quæ paulo minacius scriptæ videbantur, nonnihil tactus, nonnullis etiam conjecturis eo adductus ut se irritari propeque ad bellum provocari putaret, ne imparatum adorirentur, urbes quas in finibus regni habebat diligenter communit, duces suos admonet operam dent ne quid detrimenti capiat, simulque Emanueleum Allobrogum ducem, utriusque regis propinquum et amicum, de his rebus omnibus certiorum facit. Emanuel, qui pro singulari prudentia sua, quam horum regum dissensio suis totique reipublicæ christianæ calamitosa futura esset, probe intelligebat, ad pontificem hæc omnia perscribit, eumque obsecrat et obtestatur nascenti malo occurrat, ne longius serpat atque inveteratum robustius fiat. Pontifex, quam gereret personam minimum oblitus, cum regem Gallorum adolescentem et gloria cupiditate incensum non difficillime a catholicæ fidei hostibus, quorum tunc in aula maxima erat auctoritas, ad hujusmodi bellum impelli posse animadvertet, reginam tamen ejus matrem longe ab eo abhorreere dignitatisque et utilitatis suæ rationem habituram putaret, mittit eo Antonium Mariam Saiviatum, reginæ affinem eique pergratum, qui eam in officio contineat, ipsiusque opera facilius regi, ne reip. christianæ accessionem imperii et gloriam quæ ex orientali expeditione merito expectanda esset invidet funestumque in illius visceribus moveat bellum, persuadeat."

Thus far the pope was, without doubt, indirectly privy to the massacre of St. Bartholomew. It was his interest to use every effort to hinder the war from breaking out between Spain and France. It is much to be wished that we possessed the portion of this work which treats of their religious differences.

I have quoted the above passage, because the very first lines show that it belongs to the sources of which Maffei has made use in his *Annali di Gregorio XIII, Pontefice Massimo*. Compare I, p. 27, in Maffei: "Scrisse a Carlo risentitamente, che se egli comportava che i sudditi e ministri s'intromettessero in questa guerra per distornarla, egli tutto riconoscerebbe da lui e dalla mala sua intenzione. E per l'istesso fine operò che li signori Veneziani gli mandassero un' ambasciadore con diligenza. Rispose Carlo modestamente, ch' egli farebbe ogni possibile perchè i suoi nè a lui dovessero dar disgusto nè agli Spagnuoli sospetto di quello ch' egli non aveva in pensiero. Ma non restò però di dolersi con Emanuele duca di Savoja della risentita maniera con che gli aveva scritto il pontefice: parendogli che si fosse lasciato spingere dagli Spagnuoli che avessero voglia essi di romperla: et ad un tempo cominciò a presidiare le città delle frontiere."

It appears to me that parts of Maffei's book are little more than amplified extracts from our manuscript. By this I do not in the least mean to detract from the merits of a work, to which I am indebted for much information, and which, though certainly not impartial, is moderate, full of matter, and on the whole worthy of reliance.

## 47.

*Relazione di monsr<sup>e</sup> revmo Gio. P. Ghisilieri a papa Gregorio XIII, tornando egli dal presidentato della Romagna. S. l. p. 389.*

## 48.

*Discorso over ritratto della corte di Roma di monsr<sup>e</sup> illmo Commendone all illmo sr Hier. Savorgnano. (Bibl. Vindob. Codd. Rangon. No. 18. fol. 278-395.)*

To all appearance this work belongs to the times of Gregory; I will not answer for Commendone's name; but whoever may have been the author, he was a man of talent, and thoroughly initiated in the more secret relations of Roman life.

He thus describes the court:—"Questa republica è un principato di somma autorità in una aristocrazia universa di tutti i christiani collocato in Roma. Il suo principio è la religione, Conciosia," he continues, "che la religione sia il fine e che questa si mantenga con la virtù e con la dottrina, è impossibile che alterandosi le condizioni degli uomini non si rivolga insieme sotto sopra tutta la republica.

He afterwards treats principally of this conflict between spiritual and secular interests. Above all things he enforces great caution: "Molto riguardo di tutti i movimenti e gesti della persona: casa, servitori, cavalcature convenienti, amicizie e onorate e virtuose, non affermando cosa che non si sappia di certo." The court demands "bontà, grandezza dell' animo, prudentia, eloquentia, theologia." Still all is uncertain. "Deve si pensar che questo sia un viaggio di mare, nel quale benche la prudentia possa molto e ci renda favorevole la maggior parte de' venti, nondimeno non gli si possa prescriber tempo determinato o certezza alcuna d'arrivar. Alcuni di mezza estate in gagliarda e ben fornita nave affondono o tardano assai, altri d'inverno in debole e disarmato legno vanno presto."

## SECTION IV.

## SIXTUS V.

## I. CRITICISM OF LETI AND TEMPESTI, THE BIOGRAPHERS OF THIS POPE.

*Vita di Sisto V pontefice Romano scritta dal signor Gellio Rogeri all' istanza di Gregorio Leti. Losanna, 1669. 2 vols.; afterwards published under less singular titles, in 3 vols.*

THE reputation of an individual, or the mode of viewing an event, are far more frequently decided by slight and popular productions, which are universally disseminated, than by more important historical works, which often appear too late after the events to which they refer. The public do not inquire whether the accounts laid before them are founded in truth; they are content, when the recollections let fall in all the abundance and variety of conversation, only expressed with somewhat more conciseness, and therefore with greater piquancy, are laid before them in print.

The biography of Sixtus V by Leti is a work of this kind. Perhaps it is the most effective production of that voluminous writer; it has decided the light in which the memory of pope Sixtus has since been regarded by the world.

The first attempt to study such works is extremely embarrassing. A certain degree of truth cannot be denied to them, nor are they to be wholly disregarded; yet the first glance shows that they are not to be relied on to any extent, and no general rule can be given as to where the line should be drawn.

The only means of arriving at any certain inference is to discover the author's sources, and to study the manner in which he has used them.

After continued research, we come upon the materials used by Leti; it is absolutely necessary to compare them with his representations.

1. In the whole history of Sixtus V nothing is more famous than the manner in which he is said to have attained the papacy, and his behaviour in the conclave held at his election. Who has not heard how the cardinal, bent down, and dragging his limbs along with a crutch, when chosen pope, suddenly drew himself up erect, threw away his crutch, and threatened those with the exercise of his power, from whom he had won it by deceit! This story of Leti's has gained credence throughout Europe. We ask, whence he derived it.

Documents exist relating to the motives of every papal election, or rather to the preceding intrigues. There is a so-called "conclave" on the subject of the election of Sixtus V, written, like the greater number, at the time, and with accurate knowledge of the personal relations. "Conclave nel quale fu creato il c<sup>l</sup> Montalto che fu Sisto V."

On the first comparison, it is plain that Leti had this document principally in view. We may observe that he does little more than make a paraphrase of it.

"Concl. MS.:—Il lunedì mattina per tempo si ridussero nella capella Paulina, dove il cardinal Farnese come decano celebrò messa, e di mano sua comunicò li cardinali: dipoi si venne secondo il solito allo scrutinio, nel quale il cardinal

Albani hebbe 13 voti, che fu il maggior numero che alcun cardinale avesse. Ritornati i cardinali alle celle, si attese alle pratiche, et Altemps cominciò a trattare alla gagliarda la pratica di Sirleto, ajutato da Medici e delle creature di Pio IV, per la confidenza che havevano di poter di qualsivoglia di loro disporre: ma subito fu trovata l' esclusione, scoprendosi contra di lui Este, Farnese e Sforza."

Leti:—"Lunedì mattina di buon' hora si adunarono tutti nella capello Poalina, ed il cardinal Farnese in qualità di decano celebrò la messa, e comunicò tutti i cardinali: e poi si diede principio allo scrutinio, nel quale il cardinal Albano hebbe 13 voti, che fu il numero maggiore. Doppo questo li cardinali se ne ritornarono alle lor celle per pransare, e doppo il pranso si attese alle pratiche di molti; ma particolarmente Altemps cominciò a trattare alla gagliarda le pratiche di Guglielmo Sirleto Calabrese, ajutato dal cardinal Medici e dalle creature di Pio IV, per la confidenza che haveva ogni uno di loro di poterne disporre: ma in breve se gli fece innanzi l' esclusione, scoprendosi contro di lui Este, Farnese e Sforza."

Both leading points and accessories are treated in the same manner: *e. g.* "MS.:—Farnese incapricciato et acceso di incredibile voglia di essere papa, comincia a detestare pubblicamente la pratica et il soggetto, dicendo: Io non so come costoro lo intendono di volere far Sirleto papa. Leti:—Il primo che se gli oppose fu Farnese, incapricciato ancor lui ed acceso d'incredibile voglia d'esser papa: onde parendo a lui d'esserne più meritevole, come in fatti era, cominciò pubblicamente a detestare la pratica ed il soggetto, dicendo per tutti gli angoli del conclave: Io non so come costoro l' intendono di voler far papa Sirleto."

The reflections in like manner: *e. g.* The MS. relates what offence the disguise of Sixtus gave to cardinal Alessandrino: "Ma dio, che haveva eletto Montalto papa, non permesse che si avvertisse a quello che principalmente avvertire si dovea, nè lasciò che Farnese nè suoi si svegliassero a impedire la pratica, credendo che non fosse per venire ad effetto dell' adoratione; ma solo per honorare Montalto nello scrutinio." Although so pious a reflection is not customary with Leti, yet he found it very convenient to copy and insert it in his book. With a few slight alterations he has transcribed it literally.

Is not this rather for than against the often attacked fidelity of Leti?

Let us come however to the one thing which excites our doubts; the behaviour of the cardinal. It is remarkable that on this point Leti does not coincide with his original.

Leti says, "Montalto se ne stava in sua camera e non già nel conclave, fingendosi tutto lasso et abbandonato d'ogni ajuto humano. Non usciva che raramente, et se pure andava in qualche parte, come a celebrare messa, o nello scrutinio della capella, se ne andava con certe maniere spensierate."

The original on the other hand says, "Sebene non mostrava una scoperta ambitione, non premetteva di far poi tutti quelli officii che il tempo et il luogo richiedovano, humiliandosi a cardinali, visitandoli et offerendosi, ricevendo all' incontro i favori e l' offerte degli altri."

The original says: Before the holding of the conclave, his behavior had been of this kind towards cardinal Farnese, and then also towards the cardinals Medici and Este: it tells further, how, the evening before his election, he had visited cardinal Madruzzi, and in the morning cardinal Altemps, and received from them assurances that he would be chosen. In short, in the original, Montalto appears active, full of life and health: the fact that he was still in the prime of his years and vigor, is there considered as a motive to his election. The whole narrative of his dissembled weakness and retired habits, which has become so famous, is an addition by Leti; whence however did he derive it? Did he merely follow common report, a self-invented tale, or any other author? We shall return to this point.

2. The impression, which the financial arrangements of Sixtus produced, forms another prominent point in his general reputation, also founded in part on

Leti's narrative. In the second part of the book (p. 289) there is a summary of the pope's income and expenses, which has found a certain degree of belief even with the most rational and instructed people. "Rendite ordinarie c'havea la sede apostolica nel tempo che Sisto entrava nel pontificato." We ought at least to be able to place reliance on his figures.

Nevertheless we directly perceive that in this instance affairs do not stand as Leti alleges. When Sixtus V began his reign in April 1585, the contracts were still valid, which, in August 1576, Gregory XIII had entered into for nine years with the farmers of the revenues. Of the revenues we possess an authentic account, under the title of "Entrata della reverenda camera apostolica sotto il pontificato di N. Sig<sup>re</sup> Gregorio XIII fatto nell' anno 1576;" where we find noted down, with great exactness, first, the rent paid by each farmer; secondly, that portion of it which was alienated; and lastly, the residue. With this account Leti's statements agree exceedingly ill. According to him, the revenue of the Roman custom-house amounted to 182,450 scudi, whilst in fact it yielded but 133,000; no one of the sums he mentions is correct. Whence, however, did he obtain the materials of his account? Some authority he must have had. We possess another account of the year 1592, two years after the death of Sixtus V. Leti's agrees with this in the enumeration of almost all the public offices, and their order. In both, for instance, we find, in the same order, "Dogana di Civita vecchia 1977 sc., di Narni 400, di Rieti 100, gabella del studio di Roma 26,560, gabella del quadrino a libra di carne di Roma 20,335," &c. But what an entire confusion! All the changes in these offices effected by Sixtus V were already commenced, and ought to have been detailed. The complication does not end here. Probably Leti met with a worthless manuscript,—if indeed he did not introduce certain alterations of his own; at any rate he deviates in the strangest manner from the authentic account. The "Salara di Roma" brought in 27,654 sc.; he gives 17,654: "tesoreria e salara di Romagna" brought in 71,395 sc.; he gives "tesoreria e salario di Romagna 11,395." In short, of no single year is his account correct; it is throughout false and useless.

3. We already see that he compiled without any exercise of judgment or criticism, and transcribed hastily: how, moreover, would he have found it possible, in the wandering life he incessantly led, to compose so many works entirely by his own labor? The question, therefore is, whence he derived his materials.

A manuscript in the Corsini Library at Rome, "Detti e fatti di papa Sisto V.," gives us ample details concerning the life of Sixtus.

The first glance shows that this is substantially Leti's work. Let us compare the first passage we open upon.

*E. G.* the Corsini MS. says; "Il genitore di Sisto V si chiamava Francesco Peretti, nato nel castello di Farnese, di dove fu costretto non so per qual accidente partire, onde s' incaminò per trovare la sua fortuna altrove: et essendo povero e miserabile, non aveva da poter vivere, essendo solito sostentarsi di quello alla giornata guadagnava grandemente faticando, e con la propria industria viveva. Partitosi dunque da Farnese, se ne andò a trovare un suo zio."

Leti has in the first edition, "Il padre di Sisto si chiamava Francesco Peretti, nato nel castello di Farnese, di dove fu costretto non so per qual' accidente occorsoli di partirsi, ciò che fece volentieri per cercar fortuna altrove, mentre per la povertà della sua casa non aveva di che vivere se non di quello cho lavorava con le proprie mani alla giornata. Partito di Farnese la mattina, giunse la sera nelle grotte per consigliarsi con un suo zio."

It is plain this is the same account, with a slight difference in the language and expression.

At times we find small interpolations by Leti; but the manuscript and the printed work coincide entirely in the next sentence.

And if we inquire into the origin of the additions with which Leti has dressed up the account of the conclave, we find that they too are taken from this MS. The above quoted paragraph of Leti's runs in the MS. in the following manner: "Montalto se ne stava tutto lasso con la corona in mano et in una piccolissima



cella abandonato da ogn' uno, e se pure andava in qualche parte, come a celebrare messa, o nello scrutinio della capella, se ne andava," &c. It is plain that Leti made but few alterations.

One more passage I will quote, on account of the importance of the subject. The MS. says, "Prima di cominciarsi il Montalto, che stava appresso al card<sup>l</sup> di San Sisto per non perderlo della vista o perche non fosse subornato da altri porporati, gli disse alle orecchie queste parole: Faccia istanza V. S<sup>ria</sup> ill<sup>ma</sup> che lo scrutinio segua senza pregiudicio dell' adorazione: e questo fu il primo atto d' ambizione che mostrò esteriormente Montalto. Non mancò il card<sup>l</sup> di San Sisto di far ciò: perche con il Bonelli unitamente principiò ad alzare la voce due o tre volte così: Senza pregiudicio della seguita adorazione. Queste voci atterrirono i cardinali: perche fu supposto da tutti loro che dovesse esser eletto per adorazione. Il card<sup>l</sup> Montalto già cominciava a levar quelle nebbie di finzioni che avevano tenuto nascosto per lo spatio di anni 14 l' ambizione grande che li regnava in seno: onde impatiente di vedersi nel trono papale, quando udì leggere la metà e più delli voti in suo favore, tosto allungò il collo e si alzò in piedi, senza attendere il fine del scrutinio, e uscito in mezzo di quella capella gittò verso la porta di quella il bastoncino che portava per appoggiarsi, ergendosi tutto dritto in tal modo che pareva due palmi più lungo del solito. E quello che fu più maraviglioso," &c.

Compare with this the corresponding passage in Leti, I, p. 412, (edition of 1669): "Prima di cominciarsi Montalto si calò nell' orecchia di San Sisto, e gli disse: Fate istanza che lo scrutinio si faccia senza pregiudicio dell' adorazione: che fu appunto il primo atto d' ambizione che mostrò esteriormente Montalto. Nè San Sisto mancò di farlo, perche insieme con Alessandrino cominciò a gridare due o tre volte: Senza pregiudicio dell' adorazione. Già cominciava Montalto a levar quelle nebbie di finzioni che havevano tenuto nascosto per più di quindeci anni l' ambizione grande che li regnava nel cuore: onde impatiente di vedersi nel trono ponteficale, non si tosto intese legger più della metà de' voti in suo favore che assicuratosi del ponteficato si levò in piede e senza aspettare il fine dello scrutinio gettò nel mezo di quella sala un certo bastoncino che portava per appoggiarsi, ergendosi tutto dritto in tal modo che pareva quasi un piede più lungo di quel ch' era prima: ma quello che fu più maraviglioso," &c.: we find that, excepting a few words, the description is the same.

Leti on one occasion gives his authority for his narrative. "Io ho parlato con un Marchiano, ch' è morto venti" (in later editions "trenta") "anni sono, et assai caduco, il quale non aveva altro piacere che di parlare di Sisto V, e ne raccontava tutte le particolarità." In the first place, it is improbable that Leti, who came to Rome in 1644, when fourteen years old, should have had any intercourse with people intimately acquainted with Sixtus V, and should have drawn many materials for his book from their conversation; but this is also a passage taken from the MS.: "Et un giorno parlando con un certo uomo dalla Marcha, che è morto, che non aveva altro piacere che di parlare di Sisto V." The twenty or thirty years were added by Leti for the sake of a greater show of probability.

In this instance also Leti appears to me to have met with a bad copy. The MS. has in the very beginning, 'The boy was often obliged to watch the cattle during the night in the open fields; "in campagna aperta:" Leti has instead, "in compagnia d'un' altro," which looks exactly like an ill-corrected mistake of the transcriber. The M. A. Selleri in Leti, must have meant, according to the MS., M. A. Siliaci.

In one word, Leti's Vita di Sisto V is by no means an original work. It is a copy of an Italian MS. which fell into his hands, with some few additions, and thrown into a somewhat different form.

The whole question therefore is, what credit this MS. deserves. It is a collection, made after a lapse of a tolerable number of years, of anecdotes of a most apocryphal nature. This story about the conclave especially deserves no credit. Sixtus V was not the first pope of whom it was told; the same thing had already

Leti's narrative. In the second part of the book (p. 239) there is a summary of the pope's income and expenses, which has found a certain degree of belief even with the most rational and instructed people. "Rendite ordinarie c'havea la sede apostolica nel tempo che Sisto entrava nel pontificato." We ought at least to be able to place reliance on his figures.

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One more passage I will quote, on account of the importance of the subject. The MS. says, "Prima di cominciarsi il Montalto, che stava appresso al card<sup>l</sup> di San Sisto per non perderlo della vista o perche non fosse subornato da altri porporati, gli disse alle orecchie queste parole: Faccia istanza V. S<sup>ria</sup> ill<sup>ma</sup> che lo scrutinio segua senza pregiudicio dell' adorazione: e questo fu il primo atto d' ambitione che mostrò esteriormente Montalto. Non mancò il card<sup>l</sup> di San Sisto di far ciò: perche con il Bonelli unitamente principiò ad alzare la voce due o tre volte così: Senza pregiudicio della seguita adoratione. Queste voci atterrirono i cardinali: perche fu supposto da tutti loro che dovesse esser eletto per adoratione. Il card<sup>l</sup> Montalto già cominciava a levar quelle nebbie di finzioni che avevano tenuto nascosto per lo spatio di anni 14 l' ambitione grande che li regnava in seno: onde impatiente di vedersi nel trono papale, quando udì leggere la metà e più delli voti in suo favore, tosto allungò il collo e si alzò in piedi, senza attendere il fine del scrutinio, e uscito in mezzo di quella capella gittò verso la porta di quella il bastoncino che portava per appoggiarsi, ergendosi tutto dritto in tal modo che pareva due palmi più longo del solito. E quello che fu più maraviglioso," &c.

Compare with this the corresponding passage in Leti, I, p. 412, (edition of 1669): "Prima di cominciarsi Montalto si calò nell' orecchia di San Sisto, e gli disse: Fate istanza che lo scrutinio si faccia senza pregiudicio dell' adorazione: che fu appunto il primo atto d' ambitione che mostrò esteriormente Montalto. Nè San Sisto mancò di farlo, perche insieme con Alessandrino cominciò a gridare due o tre volte: Senza pregiudicio dell' adoratione. Già cominciava Montalto a levar quelle nebbie di finzioni che havevano tenuto nascosto per più di quindeci anni l' ambitione grande che li regnava nel cuore: onde impatiente di vedersi nel trono ponteficale, non si tosto intese legger più della metà de' voti in suo favore che assicuratosi del ponteficato si levò in piede e senza aspettare il fino dello scrutinio gettò nel mezo di quella sala un certo bastoncino che portava per appoggiarsi, ergendosi tutto dritto in tal modo che pareva quasi un piede più longo di quel ch' era prima: ma quello che fu più maraviglioso," &c.: we find that, excepting a few words, the description is the same.

Leti on one occasion gives his authority for his narrative. "Io ho parlato con un Marchiano, ch' è morto venti" (in later editions "trenta") "anni sono, et assai caduco, il quale non aveva altro piacere che di parlare di Sisto V, e ne raccontava tutte le particolarità." In the first place, it is improbable that Leti, who came to Rome in 1644, when fourteen years old, should have had any intercourse with people intimately acquainted with Sixtus V, and should have drawn many materials for his book from their conversation; but this is also a passage taken from the MS.: "Et un giorno parlando con un certo uomo dalla Marcha, che è morto, che non aveva altro piacere che di parlare di Sisto V." The twenty or thirty years were added by Leti for the sake of a greater show of probability.

In this instance also Leti appears to me to have met with a bad copy. The MS. has in the very beginning, The boy was often obliged to watch the cattle during the night in the open fields; "in campagna aperta:" Leti has instead, "in compagnia d'un' altro," which looks exactly like an ill-corrected mistake of the transcriber. The M. A. Selli in Leti, must have meant, according to the MS., M. A. Siliaci.

In one word, Leti's Vita di Sisto V is by no means an original work. It is a copy of an Italian MS. which fell into his hands, with some few additions, and thrown into a somewhat different form.

The whole question therefore is, what credit this MS. deserves. It is a collection, made after a lapse of a tolerable number of years, of anecdotes of a most apocryphal nature. This story about the conclave especially deserves no credit. Sixtus V was not the first pope of whom it was told; the same thing had already

been said of Paul III. In the preface to the *Acta Concilii Tridentini*, 1546, from which there is an extract in Strobel's *Neue Beiträge*, V, 233, it is related of Paul III, "Mortuo Clemente valde callide primum simulabat. . . vix præ senio posse suis pedibus consistere: arridebat omnibus, lædebat neminem, suamque prorsus voluntatem ad nutum reliquorum accommodabat:—ubi se jam pontificem declaratum sensit, qui antea tarditatem, morbum, senium et quasi formidolosum leporem simulabat, extemplo tunc est factus agilis, validus, imperiosus, suamque inauditam ferociam . . . cepit ostendere." This is evidently the foundation of the story told in our MS. and repeated by Leti.

Leti has not only omitted to examine his MS. and to correct the errors in it, but to the best of his ability has rendered it still more mendacious.

Nevertheless he met with the greatest approbation; his book went through edition after edition, and was repeatedly translated.

It is striking how history, when resting on the memory of men, always touches on the bounds of mythology. The delineations of character become more sharp and vigorous; they approach in some respects to an ideal which the imagination can lay hold of; events are painted in a more marked and distinct manner; accessory circumstances and causes are forgotten or neglected. By such a process alone do the demands of the fancy appear capable of being satisfied.

At a later period comes the scholar, who wonders how such false notions could ever have been embraced, does his best to uproot errors, and at last finds out that this task is not so easy. The reason may be convinced, but the imagination is not to be subdued.

*Storia della vita e geste di papa Sisto V sommo pontefice, scritta dal Pre M<sup>ro</sup> Casimiro Tempesti. Roma, 1755.*

We have made mention of the moderate, cheerful, and well-meaning pope Lambertini, Benedict XIV: his pontificate is likewise distinguished by having produced almost all the useful and valuable works upon the domestic history of the papacy. During his reign were printed the *Annals of Maffei*; Bromato made his collection of papers and documents relating to Paul IV; the biographies of Marcellus II and Benedict XIII were composed at this period; Casimiro Tempesti also, a Franciscan like Sixtus V, undertook to refute Gregorio Leti.

No kind of restraint was imposed upon him in the execution of this work. He searched through the Roman libraries, and found the most excellent materials; biographies, correspondences, memoranda of various kinds, which he wove into his book. Perhaps the most important of these documents was the correspondence of the nuncio to France, Morosini, which fills up a great portion of his work. He generally introduced the originals into his text, with slight alterations.

There are but two remarks to be made.

On some occasions he places himself in a singular relation to the authors from whom he quotes. He trusts them, copies them, but he is persuaded that the pope must have quarrelled with, and offended them; as soon as they begin to find fault, he deserts them, and labors to give another explanation of those actions of his hero which they call in question.

Sometimes however he deviates from his authorities, either because he does not find them sufficiently zealous partisans of the church, or because he does not clearly comprehend the matter in hand. We have an example in his account of the Mühlhäusen affair in 1587. The MS. designated by Tempesti as "Anonymo Capitolino," directly copied by him in many passages, relates the affair very clearly; let us see what use he makes of it. The contest which broke out at Mühlhäusen, according to Laufer, *Helv. Geschichte* XI 10, "on account of a little wood which was valued at barely twelve crowns," is very suitably noticed by the "Anonymo" with the words "in non so che causa." Tempesti turns this into "in urgente lor emergenza." The inhabitants of Mühlhäusen imprisoned some of the members of their senate, "carcerarono parecchi del suo

senato;" Tempesti merely says "carcerati alcuni," without remarking that they belonged to the senate. It was feared that the inhabitants of Mühlhäusen would throw themselves on the protection of the catholic districts, and separate from those which were protestant: "che volesse mutar religione e protettori, passando all' eretica fede con raccomandarsi alli cantoni cattolici, siccome allora era raccomandata alli eretici;" this refers to the fact, that Mühlhäusen, on first joining the Swiss confederation, was not acknowledged by Uri, Schwyz, Lucern, and Unterwalden; as, at a subsequent period, when these cantons sided with the reformed church, they refused to grant it their protection. (Glutz Blotzheim Continuation of Müller's Schweizergeschichte, p. 373.) Tempesti has no suspicion of this peculiar relation of the parties. He says very concisely: "Riputarono che i Milausini volessero dichiararsi cattolici." Thus he continues, even where the writer shows, by using inverted commas, that he quotes the words of others. The Anonymo Capitolino says, that pope Sixtus was on the point of despatching 100,000 sc. into Switzerland, for the furtherance of this secession, when he learnt that all their disputes were settled. Tempesti nevertheless asserts that the pope did send the money: for he is bent upon having his hero appear magnificent and liberal, although liberality certainly was not his most shining quality.

I will not accumulate examples. I have found his mode of proceeding the same, wherever I have compared him with his originals. He is industrious, exact, furnished with sufficient knowledge, but narrow in his views, dry and monotonous, and without actual insight into things; his collections are not of a nature to enable us to dispense with the originals. His work was not fitted to counteract the impression made by Leti's book.

## II. MANUSCRIPTS.

Let us now return to our MSS.; we must always refer to them for any precise information.

We next meet with a MS. by pope Sixtus himself; remarks written down in his own hand, whilst still in the cloister.

### 49.

*Memorie autografe di papa Sisto V Bibl. Chigi No. III, 70. 158 leaves.*

Found in a loft by a certain Salvetti, and presented to Alexander VII. No doubt whatever can be entertained of its authenticity.

"Questo libro sarà per memoria di mie poche facenducce, scritto di mia propria mano, dove cio che sarà scritto a laude di dio sarà la ignuda verità, e così priego creda ogn' uno che legge."

In the first place it contains accounts, one leaf of which is certainly missing, if not several.

"E qui sarà scritti," he continues, "tutti crediti, debiti et ogn' altra mia atione di momento. E così sarà la verità come qui si troverà scritto."

I will add another example to those I have already noticed in the text.

"Andrea del Apiro, frate di San Francesco conventuale, venne a Venetia, e nel partirse per pagar robe comprate per suo fratello, qual mi disse far botega in Apiro, me domandò in prestito denari, e li prestai, presente fra Girolamo da Lunano e fra Cornelio da Bologna, fiorini 30, e mi promise renderli a Montalto in mano di fra Salvatore per tutto il mese presente d'Augusto, come appar in un scritto da sua propria mano il dì 9 Agosto 1557, quale è nella mia casetta."—(MS. 30.)

Here we see the small dealings of a convent; how one lends money to the other, how the borrower supports the little trade of his brother, and how others become witnesses. Fra Salvatore also makes his appearance.

Then follows a catalogue of books. "Inventarium omnium librorum tam seorsum quam simul legatorum quos ego Fr. Felix Ferretus de Monte alto emi

et de licentia superiorum possideo. Qui seorsum fuerit legatus, faciat numerum qui non cum aliis minime." I am now sorry that I made no notes of this catalogue; it appeared to me to be very insignificant.

At p. 144 we find,

"Memoria degli anni che andai a studio, di officii, prediche e commissioni avute."

I will give this complete, although Tempesti has several extracts; it is important as the only diary of a pope we possess.

"Col nome di dio 1540 il dì 1 settembre di mercoldi intrai a studio in Ferrara, e vi finii il triennio sotto il rd<sup>o</sup> m<sup>ro</sup> Bart<sup>o</sup> dalla Pergola. Nel 43 fatto il capitolo in Ancona andai a studio in Bologna sotto il r<sup>do</sup> maestro Giovanni da Correggio: intrai in Bologna il dì S. Jacobo maggior di Luglio, e vi stetti fino al settembre del 44, quando il costacciaro mi mandò baccellier di convento in Rimini col rev<sup>mo</sup> regente m<sup>r</sup> Antonio da città di Penna, e vi finii il tempo sino al capitolo di Venezia del 46. Fatto il capitolo andai baccellier di convento in Siena con m<sup>ro</sup> Alexandro da Montefalco, e qui finii il triennio fino al capitolo d'Assisi del 49. Ma il costacciaro mi die' la licentia del magisterio nel 48 a 22 Luglio, e quattro dì dopo me addottorai a Fermo. Nel capitolo generale di Assisi fui fatto regente di Siena 1549 e vi finii il triennio, fu generale mons<sup>re</sup> Gia Jacobo da Montefalco. A Napoli: nel capitolo generale di Genova fui fatto regente di Napoli 1553 dal rev<sup>mo</sup> generale m<sup>r</sup> Giulio da Piacenza e vi finii il triennio. A Venezia: nel capitolo generale di Brescia 1556 fui fatto regente di Venezia, e vi finii il triennio, e l'anno primo della mia regeria fui eletto inquisitor in tutto l'ill<sup>mo</sup> dominio 1557 dì 17 di Gennaro. Nel capitolo generale di Assisi 1559 eletto generale m<sup>re</sup> Giovan Antonio da Cervia, fui confermato regente et inquisitore in Venezia come di sopra. Per la morte di papa Paolo IV l'anno detto d'Agosto partii da Venezia per visitare li miei a Montalto, Inquisitore apostolico: mosso da gran tumulti; il 22 di Febbraro 1560 tornai in ufficio col brieve di Pio IV papa, et vi stetti tutto 'l Giugno, e me chiamò a Roma: il dì 18 Luglio 1560 fui fatto teologo assistente alla inquisitione di Roma e giurai l' officio in mano del card<sup>l</sup> Alessandrino.

"(Prediche.) L'anno 1540 predicai, nè havevo anchor cantato messa, in Montepagano, terra di Abruzzo. L'anno 1541 predicai a Voghiera, villa Ferrarese, mentre ero studente in Ferrara. L'anno 1542 predicai in Grignano, villa del Polesine di Rovigo, e studiavo in Ferrara. L'anno 1543 predicai alla fratta di Badenara, (viveva il Diedo e'l Manfrone) e studiavo in Ferrara. L'anno 1544 predicai alla Canda, villa della Badia e studiavo in Bologna. L'anno 1545 predicai le feste in Rimini in convento nostro, perche il m<sup>ro</sup> di studio di Bologna ne preoccupò la predica di Monte Scutulo, et ero bacc<sup>o</sup> di convento di Rimini. L'anno 1546 predicai a Macerata di Montefeltro et ero bacc<sup>o</sup> di convento di Rimini. L'anno 1547 predicai a S. Geminiano in Toscana et ero bacc<sup>o</sup> di convento a Siena. L'anno 1548 predicai a S. Miniato al Tedesco in Toscana, et ero bacc<sup>o</sup> di Siena. L'anno 1549 predicai in Aseoli della Marca, partito da Siena per l'ingresso de Spagnoli introdutti da Don Diego Mendoza. L'anno 1550 predicai a Fano et ero regente a Siena. L'anno 1551 predicai nel domo di Camerino condotto dal r<sup>mo</sup> vescovo et ero regente a Siena. L'anno 1552 predicai a Roma in S. Apostoli, e tre ill<sup>mi</sup> cardinali me intrattennero in Roma, e lessi tutto l'anno tre dì della settimana la pistola a Romani di S. Paolo.— L'anno 1553 predicai a Genova, e vi se fece il capitolo generale, et andai regente a Napoli. L'anno 1554 predicai a Napoli in S. Lorenzo, e vi ero regente, o lessi tutto l'anno in chiesa l'evangelio di S. Giovanni. L'anno 1555 predicai nel duomo di Perugia ad istanza dell' ill<sup>mo</sup> cardinale della Corgna. L'anno 1556 fu chiamato a Roma al concilio generale, che già principiò la santità di papa Paulo IV, però non predicai. L'anno 1557 fu eletto inquisitor di Venezia e del dominio, e bisognandome tre dì della settimana a tribunal non predicai ordinariamente, ma 3 (!) dì della settimana a S. Caterina in Venezia.— L'anno 1558 predicai a S. Apostoli di Venezia e 4 giorni della settimana a S. Caterina, ancoreche exequisse l' officio della s<sup>ta</sup> inquis<sup>re</sup>. L'anno 1559 non pre-

dici salvo tre dì della settimana a S. Caterina per le molte occupationi del s. officio. L'anno 1560 tornando col brieve di S. Santità a Venezia inquisitore tardi predicar solo a S. Caterina come di sopra.

“(Commissioni.) L'anno 1518 ebbi da rev<sup>mo</sup> m<sup>re</sup> Bartolommeo da Macerata, ministro della Marea, una commissione a Fermo per liberar di prigione del S' vicelegato fra Leonardo della Ripa: lo liberai e lo condussi in Macerata. L'anno 1519 ebbi dal sud<sup>o</sup> R. P<sup>re</sup> commissioni in tutta la custodia di Ascoli da Febbraro fino a pasqua. L'anno istesso dall' istesso ebbi una commissione nel convento di Fabriano e vi rimisi frate Evangelista dell' istesso luogo. L'anno 1550 ebbi dall' istesso padre commissione in Senegaglia: rimisi fra Nicolò in casa e veddi i suoi conti. L'anno 1551 ebbi commissione dal r<sup>mo</sup> p<sup>re</sup> generale m<sup>re</sup> Gia Jacobo da Montefalco a visitar tutta la parte de Montefeltro, Cagli et Urbino. L'anno 1552 ebbi dall' ill<sup>mo</sup> cardinale protettor commissione sopra una lite esistente tra il guardiano fra Tommaso da Piacenza et un fra Francesco da Osimo, che aveva fatto la cocchina in Santo Apostolo. L'istesso anno ebbi commission dal rev<sup>mo</sup> padre generale m<sup>re</sup> Giulio da Piacenza nel convento di Fermo, e privai di guardianato m<sup>ro</sup> Domenico da Montesanto, e viddi i conti del procuratore fra Ludovico Pontano, e bandii della provincia fra Ciccone da Monte dell' Olmo per aver dato delle ferite a fra Tommaso dell' istesso luogo. L'anno 1555 ebbi dal sudetto r<sup>mo</sup> generale commissione di andar in Calabria a far il ministro, perche avea inteso quello esser morto, ma chiarito quello esser vivo non andai. L'anno 1557 ebbi commissione sopra il Gattolino di Capodistria, sopra il Garzoneo da Veglia et altre assai commissioni di fra Giulio di Capodistria. L'anno 1559 fui fatto commissario nella provincia di S. Antonio, tenni il capitolo a Bassano, e fu eletto ministro m<sup>ro</sup> Cornelio Veneso. L'anno 1560 fui fatto inquisitore apostolico in tutto il dominio Veneto, e dell' istesso anno fui fatto teologo assistente alla inquisizione di Roma il dì 16 Luglio 1560.

“Nel capitolo generale di Brescia 1556 fui eletto promotor a magisterii con l' Andria e con m<sup>ro</sup> Giovanni da Bergamo, et otto baccalaurèi da noi promossi furon dottorati dal rev<sup>mo</sup> generale m<sup>ro</sup> Giulio da Piacenza, cioè Antonio da Montalcino, Ottaviano da Ravenna, Bonaventura da Gabiano, Marc Antonio da Logo, Ottaviano da Napoli, Antonio Panzetta da Padova, Ottaviano da Padova, Martiale Calabrese. Otto altri promossi ma non dottorati da s. p. r<sup>mo</sup>: Francesco da Sonnino, Antonio da Urbino, Nicolò da Montefalco, Jacobo Appugliese, Antonio Bolletta da Firenze, Constantino da Crema, il Piedmontese et il Siciliano. Io però con l' autorità di un cavalier di S. Pietro da Brescia addottorai Antonio da Urbino, il Piedmontese e Constantino da Crema. Di Maggio 1558 con l' autorità del cavalier Centani addottorai in Venezia fra Paolo da S. Leo, frate Andrea d' Arimino, Giammatteo da Sassocorbaro e fra Tironino da Lunano, tutti miei discepoli.”

## 50.

*De vita Sixti V ipsius manu emendata. Bibl. Altieri. 57 leaves.*

Only a copy indeed, but the mistakes of the original writer, and the corrections by the pope, are faithfully transcribed. The emendations are written above the words which are run through with the pen.

It begins with the poverty of the parents of this pope, who maintained life “alieni parvique agri cultura;” he praises the Signora Camilla above all the family, who certainly at the time he wrote made very moderate claims to notice: “quæ ita se intra modestiæ atque humilitatis suæ fines continuit semper ut ex summa et celsissima fortuna fratris, præter innocentæ atque frugalitatis famam et in relictis sibi a familia nepotibus pie ac liberaliter educandis diligentæ laudem, nihil magnopere cepisse dici possit.” He describes the education of Sixtus, his growing up, and the first period of his government. He is remarkable for extolling the Christian tendency prevailing in the architecture of Rome.

This little work must have been composed about 1587. The author had the

also, Montalto was received, only in consequence of the express recommendation of cardinal Carpi, who sent him his meals. He gave him his support in every post, and, on his deathbed, recommended him to cardinal Ghislieri.

IX. "Iter in Hispaniam." He accompanied Buoncompagno, afterwards Gregory XIII. Even at that time there was a bad understanding between them. Montalto was obliged at times to travel in the baggage wagon. "Accidit nonnunquam ut quasi per injuriam aut necessitatem jumento destitutus vehiculis quibus impedimenta comportabantur deferri necesse fuerit." Many other neglects followed upon this.

X. "Post honorifice delatum episcopatum per iniquorum hominum calumnias cardinalatus Montalto maturatur." The nephew of Pius V was also against him, "alium veterem contubernalem evehendi cupidus." Amongst other things the pope was told that four carefully closed chests had been taken into Montalto's own room, where he lived in the greatest luxury and magnificence. Pius one day went unexpectedly to the cloister. He found bare walls, and asked at last what was in the chests, which were still there; "Books, holy father," said Montalto, "which I am going to take with me to St. Agatha,"—his bishopric—and thereupon opened one. Pius was highly pleased, and shortly afterwards named him cardinal.

XI. "Montalti dum cardinalis fuit vita et mores." Gregory withdrew his pension, which many interpreted as a sign of Montalto's future pontificate. "Levis enim aulicorum quorundam superstitio diu credidit, pontificum animis occultam quandam in futuros successores obtrectationem insidere."

XII. "Francisci Peretti cædes incredibili animi æquitate tolerata."

XIII. "Pontifex M. magna patrum consensione declaratur."

Hereupon follows the second part.

"Hactenus Sixti vitam per tempora digessimus: jam hinc per species rerum et capita, ut justa hominis æstimatio cuique in promptu sit, exequar."

We find but three chapters of this part. "Gratia in benemeritos;—pietas in Franciscanorum ordinem;—publica securitas."

This last, on account of the description of the times of Gregory, is the most important, and, since I did not take a copy of the whole, I will at least give an extract:—

"Initio quidem nonnisi qui ob cædes et latrocinia proscripti erant, ut vim magistratum effugerent, genus hoc vitæ instituerant, ut aqua et igne prohibiti latebris silvarum conditi aviisque montium ferarum ritu vagantes miseram anxiamque vitam furtis propemodum necessariis sustentarent. Verum ubi rapinæ dulcedo et impunitæ nequitiae spes alios atque alios extremæ improbitatis homines eodem expulit, cœpit quasi legitimum aliquod vel mercimonii vel artificii genus latrocinium frequentari. Itaque certis sub ducibus, quos facinora et sævitia nobilitassent, societates proscriptorum et sicariorum ad vim, cædes, latrocinia coibant. Eorum duces ex audacia vel scelere singulos æstimabant: facinorosissimi et sævissima ausi maxime extollebantur ac decurionum centurionumque nominibus militari prope more donabantur. Hi agros et itinera non jam vago maleficio sed justo pene imperio infesta habebant. . . . Denique operam ad cædem inimicorum, supra virginum et alia a quibus mens refugit, factiosus hominibus et scelere alieno ad suam exsaturandam libidinem egentibus presente pretio locare: eoque res jam devenerat ut nemo se impune peccare posse crederet nisi cui proscriptorum aliquis et exulum periculum præstaret. His fiebat rebus ut non modo improbi ad scelera, verum etiam minime mali homines ad incolumitatem ejusmodi feras bestias sibi necessarias putarent. . . . Id proceribus et principibus viris perpetuo palam usurpari. . . . Et vero graves Jacobo Buoncompagno susceptæ cum primariis viris inimicitiae ob violatam suarum ædium immunitatem diu fortunam concussere. Procerum plerique, sive quos æs alienum exhausserat, sive quorum ambitio et luxur supra opes erat, sive quos odia et ulciscendi libido ad cruenta cœnsilia rejecerant, non modo patrociniū latronum suscipere, sed fœdus cum illis certis conditionibus sancire ut operam illi ad cædem locarent mercede impunitatis et perfugii. Quum quo quisque sicariorum



patrono uteretur notum esset, si cui quid surreptum aut per vim ablatum foret, ad patronum deprecatorem confugiebatur, qui sequestrum simulans, utrinque raptor, eam prædæ partem a sicariis tum operæ mercedem a supplicibus, aliquando recusantis specie, quod savissimum est rapinæ genus, extorquebat. Nec defuere qui ultro adversus mercatores atque pecuniosos eorumque filios, agros etiam et bona ex destinato immitterent, iisque deinde redimendis ad seque confugientibus operam venderent, casum adeo miserantes ut ex animo misereri credi possent. . . . Lites sicariorum arbitrio privatis intendebantur, submittebantur vi adacti testes, metu alii a testimonio dicendo deterrebantur. . . . Per urbes factiones exoriri, distinctæ coma et capillitio, ut hi in lævam, illi in dexteram partem vel villos alerent comarum vel comam a fronte demitterent. Multi ut fidem partium alicui addictam firmarent, uxores necabant, ut filias, sorores, affines eorum inter quos censi vellent ducerent, alii consanguinearum viros clam seu palam trucidabant, ut illas iis quos in suas partes adlegerant collocarent. Vulgare ea tempestate fuit ut cuique sive forma seu opes mulieris cujuscunque placuissent, eam procerum aliquo interprete vel invitis cognatis uxorem duceret: neque raro accidit ut prædivites nobilesque homines exulum abjectissimis et rapto viventibus grandi cum dote filias collocare vel earum indotatas filias ipsi sibi jussu matrimonio jungere cogentur. . . . Sceleratissimi homines tribunalia constituere, forum indicare, judicia exercere, sontes apud se accusare, testibus urgere, tormentis veritatem extorquere, denique solemnî formula damnare; alios vero a legitimis magistratibus in vincula coniectos, causa per pròrem (procuratorem) apud se dicta, absolvere, eorum accusatores ac judices pœna talionis condemnare. Coram damnatos præsens pœna sequebatur: si quid statutum in absentem foret, tantisper moræ erat dum sceleris ministri interdum cum mandatis perscriptis riteque obsignatis circummitterentur, qui per veram vim agerent quod legum ludibrio agebatur. . . . Dominos et reges se cujus collibisset provincia, ne solennibus quidem inaugurationum parentes, dixerunt multi et scripsere. . . . Non semel sacra suppellectile e templis direpta, augustissimam et saceratissimam eucharistiam in silvas ac latibula asportarunt, qua ad magica flagitia et execramenta abuterentur. . . . Mollitudo Gregoriani imperii malum in pejus convertit. Sicariorum multitudo infinita, quæ facile ex rapto cupiditatibus conniventium vel in speciem tantum irascentium ministrorum largitionis sufficeret. Publica fide securitas vel petentibus concessa vel sponte oblata: arcibus, oppidis, militibus præficiabantur. Eos velut ab egregio facinore reduces multitudo, quocunque irent, spectando effusa mirabatur, laudabat. . . .”

## 52.

*Memorie del pontificato di Sisto V. Allieri XIV a. IV fol. 480 leaves.*

This circumstantial work is not quite new and unknown. Tempesti possessed a copy taken from the archives of the capitol, and designates the Anonymo Capitolino as the author.

Tempesti however is very unjust towards this work. He copies it in innumerable passages, and yet, in the general review at the beginning of his history, denies that it is worthy of any credit.

Nevertheless it is undoubtedly the best work upon the history of Sixtus V.

The author had the most important documents in his possession. This may be seen from his narrative; he likewise says himself (e. g. as regards German affairs) “mi risolvo di narrar minutamente quanto ne trovo in lettere e relationi autentiche.”

He has the most minute accounts of the financial arrangements of Sixtus V, and follows them step by step. Yet he proceeds with much discretion. “Gli venivano,” says he, “proposte inventioni stravagantissime ed horrende, ma tutte sotto faccia molto humana di raccor danari, le quali per esser tali non ardisco di metter in carta tutte, ma sole alcune poche vedute da me nelle lettere originali degl’ inventori.”

He had written a life of Gregory XIII, which may account for his having

been taken for Maffei, although I find no other reason for identifying him with that Jesuit.

It is a pity that this work is only a fragment. The earlier events are wanting from the very beginning. They were written, but our MS., at any rate, breaks off in the middle of a sentence. The arrangements made in the first years of the pope are next specified, but the writer comes no lower than the year 1587.

The first deficiency we could get over, as we have so much other, and such good information; but the want of later particulars is extremely vexatious. It is a sort of European history, which the author compiled from really trustworthy accounts. Concerning the year 1588, the *Annus climactericus* of the world, we should certainly find admirable details in this author.

It is worth remarking, how reasonably he expresses himself in the beginning of his work:—

“Non ho lasciata via per cui potessi trar lume di vero che non abbia con molta diligenza et arte apertami et indefessamente camminata, come si vedrà nel racconto che faccio delle scritture e relazioni delle quali mi son servito nella tessitura di questa istoria. Pregho dio, autore e padre d' ogni verità, sisome mi ha dato ferma volontà di non dir mai bugia per ingannare, così mi conceda lume di non dir mai il falso con essere ingannato.”

A prayer quite worthy of an historian.

He concludes at the election of cardinals in 1587, with the words, “E le speranze spesso contrarie alle proprie apparenze.”

I have made use of a great number of his facts, after comparing them with other authorities; to insert here what may yet remain would lead too far for a work of this compass.

## 53.

*Sixti V Pontificis Maximi vita a Guido Gualterio Sangenesino descripta. MS. of Bibl. Altieri. VIII. F. 1. 54 leaves.*

Tempesti mentions a diary kept in the times of Sixtus V by an author of this name. He is the same who wrote the biography before us, in which he mentions the earlier one. He had been especially rewarded by Sixtus for his exertions.

The copy at the Altieri palace is very authentic and perhaps unique. It contains remarks in the handwriting of the author. “Me puero cum in patria mea Sangeno,” &c., says he, so that there can be no doubt.

He wrote it shortly after the death of Sixtus, in the earlier times of Clement VIII, whom he often mentions. He mentions the news of the conversion of Henry IV to catholicism, as arriving whilst he was writing, so that we may regard the year 1593 with certainty as the year in which he wrote.

The author is also peculiarly worthy of credit. He was nearly connected with the family of Peretti; Maria Felice, daughter of the Signora Camilla, was educated in Sangeno; the wife of the author was her intimate friend; he was himself very well acquainted with Antonio Bosio, the secretary of the first supporter of Montalto, cardinal Carpi: “summa mihi cum eo necessitudo intercedebat.”

He was thus peculiarly well informed of the earlier events of the life of the pope.

He devotes to them the first portion of his work.

He relates how Fra Felice first became acquainted with Pope Paul IV. In a fire which destroyed a church of the minorites in the March, the host had escaped untouched. This circumstance was thought to be connected with some remarkable causes; at any rate a great consultation was held, at which the cardinals of the inquisition, generals of religious orders, and many other prelates were present. Cardinal Carpi brought Montalto with him, and insisted that his favorite had also the right to utter his opinion. Montalto gave one, which all agreed was the best; Carpi left the assembly extremely pleased. “In ejus sen-

tentiam ab omnibus itum est. Surgens cardinalis Carpensis dixit: Probe noram quem virum huc adduxissem."

The description of his Aristotelian labors is remarkable.

The edition of Posius, a scholar of Montalto, is ascribed by Gualterius directly to the latter. "Aristotelis Averrois que opera ex pluribus antiquis bibliothecis exemplaria nactus emendavit, expurgavit, aptoque ordine in tomos, ut vocant, undecim digessit. Mediam et magnam Averrois in libros posteriorem expositionem apta distributione Aristotelis textui accommodavit: mediam Averrois expositionem in 7 metaphysicorum libros invenit, exposuit ejusdem Averrois epitomata quæ sita et epistolas suis restituit locis, solutionibus contradictionum a doctissimo Zunara editis" (in which the discrepancies between Aristotle and Averroes are adjusted) "centum addidit."

He then paints the character of his hero: "Magnanimus dignoscebatur, ad iram tamen pronus. Somni potens: cibi parcissimus: in otio nunquam visus nisi aut de studiis aut de negotiis meditans."

Thus he arrives at the conclave. Hereupon he begins to describe the deeds of Sixtus V arranged under his several virtues; "Religio, Pietas, Justitia, Fortitudo, Magnificentia, Providentia."

Strange as this classification is, yet a number of beautiful passages occur.

Gualterius labors industriously to defend the pope from the accusations made against him on the score of the taxes he imposed. We ought, however, to observe the manner. "Imprimis ignorare videntur, pontificem Romanum non in nostras solum facultates sed in nos etiam ipsos imperium habere." What would the present age say to such a statement of political rights?

He devotes his attention principally to the buildings erected by Sixtus, and his remarks are most interesting.

He describes the condition of the old Lateran. "Erat aula permagna quam concilii aulam vocabant"—undoubtedly on account of the councils of Lateran, down to the time of Leo X—"erant porticus tractusque cum sacellis nonnullis et cubiculis ab aula usque ad S. Sabæ quam S. Salvatoris capellam vocant. Erant s. scalarum gradus et porticus vetustissimæ e qua veteres pontifices, qui Lateranum incolebant, populo benedicebant. Ædes illæ veteres maxima populi veneratione celebrari solebant, cum in illis non pauca monumenta esse crederentur Hierosolymis usque deportata. Sed fortasse res in superstitionem abierat: itaque Sixtus, justis de causis ut credere par est, servatis quibusdam probatoribus monumentis, sanctis scalis alio translatis, omnia demolitus est."

We perceive the author yields, but is sensible how wrongfully.

No less remarkable is the description of St. Peter's, such as it was at that time (1593):—

"In Vaticano tholum maximum tholosque minores atque adeo sacellum majus quod majorem capellam vocant aliaque minora sacella at ædificationem totam novi templi Petro Apostolo dicati penitus absolvit. At plumbeis tegere laminis, ornamentaque quæ animo destinarat adhibere, templique pavimenta sternere non potuit, morte sublatus. At quæ supersunt Clemens VIII persecuturus perfecturusque creditur, qui tholum ipsum plumbeis jam contexit laminis, sanctissimæ crucis vexillum æneum inauratum imposuit, templi illius pavementum jam implevit, æquavit, stravit pulcherrime, totique templo aptando et exornando diligentissimam dat operam: cum vero ex Michaelis Angeli forma erit absolutum, antiqvitatem omnem cito superabit."

We perceive that still nothing was in view but to execute the plan of Michael Angelo, and it seems as if all had been already completed ("penitus absolvit").

We had above a remarkable notice of the colossal statues. I will here add another.

The author speaks of the piazza on the monte Quirinale. He says of the improvements executed there by Sixtus V: "Ornavit perenni fonte et marmoreis Praxitelis et Phidiæ equis, quos vetustate cum eorum rectoribus deformatos una cum basi marmorea in pristinam formam concinnavit et e veteri sede ante Constantini thermas in alteram aræ partem prope S. Pauli monachorum ædes trans-

tulit." In older copies also, one of which is repeated by Meier, (see *Gesch. der Kunst* ii, 299, and copies annexed, plate xv,) the colossal statues appear under a very mutilated form; much as the Venetian ambassadors described them, (see p. 15.) It is clear that their present form was first given them under Sixtus V.

## 54.

*Galesini Vita Sixti V. Vatic. 5438. (122 leaves.)*

This manuscript has no particular title, but has the following dedication on the first leaf:—

"Sanctissimo patri Sixto V, pontifici maximo, vigilantissimo ecclesie Dei pastori, providentissimo principi, sapientissimo universae reipublicae christianae moderatori et rectori, commentarium hoc de vita rebusque ab eo in singulos annos diesque publice et pontificie actis gestisque distribute ac luculenter scriptum Petrus Galesinus magno et summo benignissimoque patrono singularis in illum pietatis atque observantiae ergo in perpetuum dicavit."

These words show clearly that we have before us rather a panegyric than a biography.

The author thinks it worthy of remark that Sixtus was the fourth child born to his parents,—“sol enim quarto die creatus est,”—and that he was elected pope on the day of the founding of Rome.

The narrative of the earlier part of this pope's life is very fragmentary. It furnishes another proof that a young man of talents attains to eminence best under poverty and severe discipline: “Matris metu, cum aliquid mali se commisisse videret, in omnes partes corporis se excitavit.”

His labors at his villa are mentioned: “Opus manu faciebat, ita ut vel hortos coleret vel arbores sereret, aut aliqua ratione, instar diligentissimi agricolae egregiae insitionis opera consereret, interlocaret.”

In all the actions of this pope, the strict religious spirit by which he was actuated manifests itself, as for example in the buildings he erected: “ut urbis opera et idolatriae simulacra, inanis et falsae gloriolae insanarumque superstitionum monumenta, adhuc in urbe jam diu nimis inveterata quadam rerum olim Romanarum a christiano cultu abhorrentium curiositate, . . . ad christianae pietatis ornamentum pertraheret.”

The origin of the Lateran palace. “Pontifex cum vix cubiculum inveniret quo se reciperet, continuo jussit aedes pontificia majestate dignas in Laterano extrui: valde enim absurdum absonumque duxit basilicam Lateranensem, omnium ecclesiarum matrem, proprium pontificis Romani episcopatum, aedes non habere quae cum tanta episcopatus dignitate convenirent.”

Generally, he thinks that Rome was very religious. “Dat magna pietatis et integritatis indicia. Clericorum disciplina fere est ad pristinos sanctissimos mores restituta, ratio divini cultus administratioque sacrarum aedium ad probatum veterem morem plane perducta. . . . Ubique in ipsis ecclesiis genuflexiones: ubique in omni fere urbis regione fideles qui sacra illa sexta feria” (Good-Friday) “in finitibus verberibus miserandum in modum propria terga ita lacerabant ut sanguis in terram usque defluerit.”

## 55.

*Vita Sixti V anonyma. Vatic. n. 5563.*

A few pages concerning the youth of Sixtus V. The name of Felix was given to him on account of a dream of his father.

## 56.

*Relatione al papa Sisto V. 41 leaves.*

This is written by a member of the curia, who did not visit the palace, and learned no more than was known to every body: it was originally addressed to

a friend who desired to be informed of the actions of Sixtus V, and afterwards to the pope himself.

In works like the present, written by people of an ordinary stamp, who are only raised out of the crowd by an accident, it is interesting to remark the great influence of a government upon the public at large.

In the little work before us, written throughout in the high orthodox spirit, which began to reign at the end of the 16th century, we first see what a deep impression was produced by the transformation of the heathen monuments into Christian ones.

“Le eroi santissime in cima delle guglie e le statue delli principi apostolici sopra le colonne scancellano la memoria delle antiche idolatrie, — — come anco che la croce posta in mano della statua sopra la torre di Campidoglio significante Roma ci mostra che hoggi Roma cioè il papa non opra la spada per soggiogare il mondo a guisa d’infideli imperatori Romani ma la croce per salutifero giorno dell’ universo.” It is striking, how popular were these notions of the spiritual dominion even amongst people of small consideration. The author denies moreover that the pope, as some say, in order to appear very wise,—“per esser savione,”—thought to increase his importance amongst the temporal princes by his treasures; these he did not need; his purpose really was, to reward the obedient princes, and to chastise the disobedient ones. “Col tesoro castigherà i principi ribelli di santa chiesa et ajuterà i principi obbedienti nelle imprese cattoliche.” He praises Sixtus for having excommunicated Henry IV. “Subito fatto papa ricorse a dio per ajuto, e poi privò del regno di Navarra quello scellerato re eretico, — — e con queste armi spirituali principalmente i papi hanno disfatti e fatti imperatori e re.” The fact that the priests and monks were to be considered as a kind of papal troops, is here for once acknowledged by an organ of Rome. “Il papa tiene grossi presidii in tutti regni, che sono frati monaci e preti, in tanto numero e così bene stipendiati e provisti in tempo di pace e di guerra. — — Nelle cose della religione vuole esser patrone solo et assoluto, sicome dio vuole: — — e beati quei populi che avranno principi obbedientissimi. — — Se i principi manterranno il pensiero di trattar le cose delli stati prima con li sacerdoti che con i lor consiglieri secolari, credami che manterranno i sudditi obbedienti e fedeli.” All the assertions of the politico-ecclesiastical doctrine here appear in a popular form. But what is this temporal authority of the pope compared with the power he possesses in exalting a poor servant of God into a saint? Our author cannot sufficiently praise the canonizations renewed by Sixtus V. “A maggior gloria di dio, ha dedicato alcuni giorni festivi a santi che non erano nel calendario, sì per dare occasioni a’ cristiani di spendere tanto più tempo in honor di dio per salute delle anime loro con l’intercessione de’ santi astenendosi dell’ opere servili, sì perche siano onorati gli amici di dio.” Amongst other motives he gives the following: “per far vedere gli infedeli e falsi cristiani che solo i veri servi di Christo salvatore fanno cammiuare i zoppi, parlare i muti, vedere i ciechi, e resuscitare i morti.”

## 57.

*Relatione presentata nell’ eccmo collegio dal clmo Sigr Lorenzo Priuli, ritornato di Roma, 1586. 2 Luglio.*

From the Roman documents we pass to the Venetian.

Lorenzo Priuli lived during the latter years of Gregory XIII and the earlier ones of Sixtus V; he is full of the contrasts they present.

We must not suffer ourselves to be carried away by him. The early times of a pope were always more favorably regarded than the later; either because with increasing years the talents of a statesman necessarily decline, or because we gradually discover in every one much which we could wish away.

But Priuli is not unjust. He thinks that the administration of Gregory was very useful to the church. “Nella bontà della vita, nel procurare il culto ecclesiastico, l’osservanza del concilio, la residenza dei vescovi, nell’ eccellenza della

dottrina, l'uno legale l'altro teologale, si possono dire assai simili." He praises God for having set such excellent rulers over his church.

We perceive that the foreign ambassadors were imbued with the opinions prevalent at the papal court.

Priuli regards the election of Sixtus V as throughout miraculous,—as an immediate interposition of the Holy Ghost. He reminds the inhabitants of his native town, that their prosperity had arisen from their good understanding with the popes, which he advises them to maintain above all things.

## 58.

*Relazione del clmo sigr Gio. Gritti ritornato ambasciatore da Roma anno 1589.*

In the Venetian archives there is only a defective copy.

With the greatest eagerness I opened another, which I found in the Ambrosian Library at Milan; but it contained not a word more than the former.

This is the more to be regretted, as the author sets about his task most systematically. He purposes treating, first of the ecclesiastical government, then of the person of the pope, whose great admirer he professes to be, thirdly of the pope's views, lastly of the cardinals and the court.

Nothing remains but a small fragment of the first part. The MS. breaks off just at the increase of the revenues under Sixtus. Nevertheless, I cannot doubt that the work was completed. What we possess, is at any rate, no sketch of a larger work, but a portion of a complete one.

It is however strange that there should be only a defective copy in the archives.

## 59.

*Relazione di Roma dell' ambasciatore Badoer K<sup>r</sup> relata in senato anno 1589.*

This report is wanting in the Venetian archives. It is in the collection of the Quirini family, but only in a fragmentary state.

There are eight leaves, which contain nothing but a few notices relative to the province.

Badoer remarks, that Venice estranged her adherents in the March, by either delivering them up too readily to the pope, or putting them to death at his request.

The increase of the commerce of Ancona had been talked about, but the ambassador had no fears that it would injure the Venetians.

"Essendo state imposte allora" (on his journey home,) "da Sisto V doi per cento sopra tutte le mercantie, le quali a querelle d'Anconitani furono poi levate, non era gionta in 14 mesi alcuna nave in quel porto."

We see that the two imposts laid on by Gregory and Sixtus V, though afterwards abolished, still, from the uncertainty to which the merchants suddenly found themselves exposed, powerfully contributed to the ruin of the trade of Ancona. At that time the principal trade was in camlet and fur, yet the Jews found no fitting opportunity for an exchange in cloths or other goods. The customs were farmed for only 14,000 scudi, and even this sum was never collected.

Badoer wishes besides, that the example of Spain should be followed, and those friends who were in the March be salaried. He breaks off just as he is about to name these friends.

## 60.

*Dispacci Veneti 1573—1590.*

No one would believe, that with such a profusion of documents, any want of information could be felt. Nevertheless, this had very nearly been the case. We see what an evil star ruled over the fate of the Venetian reports: the Roman

records illustrate only the early times of the pontificate of Sixtus V with any minuteness; as regards the later years—which constitute one of the most important epochs—I should have found myself reduced to rely upon Tempesti, had not the despatches of the Venetian ambassadors come to my assistance.

When in Vienna, I had already copied the whole series of Venetian despatches from 1573 to 1590, preserved there in the archives, partly in authentic copies, partly in rubricaries drawn up for the use of the government.

There is certainly some difficulty in mastering the first; a monthly part sometimes contains 100 leaves; they have been injured by transport at sea, crumble away on being opened, and a disagreeable dust affects the breath. The rubricaries are more easy to deal with, they are guarded by binding, and the abridgement facilitates the separation of whatever is essential from the thousand insignificant transactions likely to occur between two Italian states and unworthy of reproduction in a historical form.

Amongst them we find the despatches of Paolo Tiepolo, down to 1576, of Antonio Tiepolo to 1578, of Zuanne Correr to 1581, of Lunardo Donato to 1583, of Lorenzo Priuli to 1586, of Zuanne Gritti to 1589, and of Alberto Badoer to 1591.

By the side of these regular ambassadors, appear at times envoys-extraordinary, such as Zuanne Soranzo from October, 1581, to February, 1582, sent on account of the differences regarding the patriarhate of Aquileja. The embassy of congratulation in the year 1585 deputed to wait on Sixtus V, consisting of M. Ant. Barbaro, Giacomo Foscarini, Marino Grimani and Lunardo Donato, who caused their common report to be drawn up by the secretary Padavino: and lastly, Lunardo Donato sent again on account of the political embarrassments of 1589. The despatches of Donato are by far the most important: on this occasion the relation existing between the republic and the pope assumed a European importance; these despatches are fortunately extant in all their detail, under the title: “Registro delle lettere dell’ ill<sup>mo</sup> signor Lunardo Donato K<sup>r</sup> ambasciatore straordinario al sommo pontefice; comincia a 13 Ottobre, 1589, e finisce a 19 Decembre, 1589.”

But even this mass of documents is not our only source of information as to the transactions of the ambassadors. There existed besides a private and confidential correspondence on their part with the council of Ten, which we find very neatly written on parchment; the first volume bears the title, “Libro primo da Roma; secreto del consiglio di X sotto il serenissimo D. Aluise Mocenigo inclito duca di Venetia;” the succeeding have corresponding titles.

I am fully aware of all that can be objected to the use of diplomatic despatches. It is true, that they are written under the impressien of the moment; that they are rarely impartial, frequently turn only on particular circumstances, and are by no means to be followed implicitly. But let any one name the documents which can be received without some grains of allowance. At any rate the ambassadors lived during the times they describe, were on the spot, and bound to observe: and they must have been wholly devoid of understanding and knowledge, if any thing like a comprehensive perusal of their reports do not inspire a vivid feeling of reality, and as it were make us present to the scenes they describe.

These Venetians moreover were very experienced and very able men: I find their writings most instructive. But how far would it carry us, were I to give extracts from this long series of volumes?

I trust my readers will approve my adherence to the rule I have laid down, of avoiding in this Appendix extracts from despatches. A long series of them could alone give any idea of their contents.

On the other hand, I will touch upon two important missions, which took place in the time of Sixtus V.

*Relazione all' iltmo e revmo cardinale Rusticucci segrio di N. Sigre papa Sisto V delle cose di Polonia intorno alla religione e delle azioni del cardinale Bolognetto in quattro anni ch' egli è stato nuntio in quella provincia, divisa in due parti: nella prima si tratta de' danni che fanno le eresie in tutto quel regno, del termine in che si trova il misero stato ecclesiastico, e delle difficoltà e speranze che si possono avere intorno a rimedii: nella seconda si narrano li modi tenuti dal cardinale Bolognetto per superare quelle difficoltà, et il profitto che fece, et il suo negoziare in tutto il tempo della sua nuntiatura: di Horatia Spannocchj, già segrio del detto sigre cardle Bolognetto.*

Spannocchi, the secretary of Bolognetto, who had been with him in Poland, profited by the leisure of a winter's residence at Bologna to compile this report, which is not only circumstantial, but extremely instructive.

It first describes the extraordinary spread of protestantism in Poland: "non lasciando pure una minima città o castello libero." As may be imagined, he ascribes this phenomenon chiefly to temporal considerations; he asserts that the nobility fined their vassals if they did not attend the protestant churches.

Moreover, here, as in the rest of Europe, a state of indifference had begun to prevail: "La differenza d' esser cattolico o di altra setta si piglia in burla o in riso, come cosa di pochissima importanza."

The Germans, who settled even in the smallest villages and there married, had a great share in the diffusion of protestant doctrines; but the author regarded as far more dangerous the Italians, who averred that in Italy, under the cloak of catholicism, doubts were entertained even of the immortality of the soul; that they were only waiting for an opportunity to declare openly against the pope.

He next describes the state in which these circumstances had placed the clergy.

"Infiniti d' poveri ecclesiastici si trovano privi degli alimenti, sì perche i padroni delle ville, eretici per il più, se non tutti, hanno occupato le possessioni ed altri beni delle chiese o per ampliarne il proprio patrimonio o per gratificarne ministri delle lor sette ovvero pe' alienarne in varj modi a persone profane, sì ancora perche negano di pagar le decime, quantunque siano loro dovute, oltre alle leggi divine e canoniche, anco per costituzione particolare di quel regno.— Onde i miseri preti in molti luoghi non avendo con che sostentarsi lasciano le chiese in abbandono. La terza è rispetto alla giurisdizione ecclesiastica, la quale insieme con i privilegi del clero è andata mancando, che oggidì altro non si fa di differenza tra' beni sottoposti alle chiese o monasterj e gli altri di persone profane, le citazioni e sentenze per niente..... Io medesimo ho udito da principalissimi senatori che vogliono lasciarsi tagliare più presto a pezzi che acconsentire a legge alcuna per la quale si debbano pagar le decime a qualsivoglia cattolico come cosa debita. Fu costituito ne' comizj già sei anni sono per pubblico decreto che nessuno potesse esser gravato a pagar le medesime decime da qualsivoglia tribunale nè ecclesiastico nè secolare. Tuttavia perche ne' prossimi comizj per varj impedimenti non si fece detta composizione, negano sempre di pagare, nè vogliono i capitani de' luoghi eseguire alcuna sentenza sopra dette decime."

He thinks it very difficult for a nuncio to effect anything. It would be impossible to introduce the inquisition, or even stricter laws regarding marriage; the very name of the pope was hated; the clergy held themselves bound to watch over the interests of the country against the court of Rome; on the king alone could any reliance be placed.

The Palatine Radziwill of Wilna had presented to the king an exhortation to war against the Turks, composed by a follower of Zwinglius. The author recommended the Polish nation to proceed first of all to the work of self-reformation, and to destroy the images, the worship of which he regarded as idolatry. The king would not suffer this clause to stand. He wrote with his own hand



the following words on the margin. “Præstat hoc omittere quam falso imputare et orationem monitoriam religionis antiquissimæ sugillatione infamem reddere. O utinam faciant novæ sectæ nos tam diuturna pace florentes atque fecit sancta religio catholica veros secutores suos.” A declaration upon which our Spannocchi founds great hopes.

He next passes to an examination of the undertakings of Bolognetto, which he reduces under seven principal heads:

1. Re-establishment of the papal authority;
2. Persecution of the heretics;
3. Reform of the clergy (“modi per moderare la licentiosa vita di sacerdoti scandalosi”);
4. Re-establishment of divine service;
5. Union of the clergy;
6. Defence of their rights;
7. Regard to the whole Christian commonwealth.

I have already described in general terms the efficiency of Bolognetto as regards these designs. I subjoin, as an example, a more accurate account of his share in the English negotiation.

“La reina d’Inghilterra domandava al re di Polonia un’ indulto per i suoi mercanti Inglesi di poter portar le loro mercanzie e vendere per tutto il regno liberamente, dove ora non possono venderle se non i mercanti del regno in Danzica, domandando insieme che fosse loro concesso aprire un fondaco pubblico in Torogno, ch’ è il più celebre porto della Prussia dopo quello di Danzica, e di là poi portar le loro mercanzie eglino stessi a tutte le fiere che si fanno per la Polonia, dove non possono portare ordinariamente se non mercanti del paese, che per il più sono o Tedeschi o Pruteni o Italiani. Domandava dunque con quest’ occasione quella pretesa reina che nel decreto di tal concessione si esprimesse, che a questi suoi mercanti non potesse mai esser fatta molestia per conto di religione, ma che potessero esercitarla liberamente a modo loro ovunque andassero per il regno. Piaceva questo partito universalmente a tutta la nobiltà Polacca: solo i Danzicani ostavano gagliardamente, mostrando che da questo indulto saria seguito l’ ultimo danno al porto loro, tanto celebre e tanto famoso per tutto il mondo, e che la speranza del minor prezzo era fallace massimamente perche i mercanti forastieri quando fossero stati in possesso di poter vendere ad arbitrio loro e poter servar la mercanzia loro lungo tempo nelle mani, l’ avrebbon venduta molto più cara di quello che la vendono oggi i mercanti del paese. Tuttavia il contraccambio che offeriva la regina a mercanti di Polonia, di poter fare lo stesso loro in Inghilterra, pareva che già avesse persuaso il re a concedere tutto quello che domandavano. Il che non prima venne agli orecchj del Bolognetto, che andò a trovare S. M<sup>ta</sup>, e con efficacissime ragioni le mostrò quanto esorbitante cosa sarebbe stata che avesse concesso per publico decreto una tanto obbrobriosa setta, e come non senza nascosto inganno e speranza d’ importantissime conseguenze quella scellerata donna voleva che si dichiarasse così per decreto potersi esercitar la setta Anglicana in quel regno, dove tutto il mondo pur troppo sa che si permetta il credere in materia di religione quel che piace a chi si sia: con questa ed altre efficacissime ragioni il re Stefano rimase talmente persuaso che promesse non voler mai far menzione alcuna di religione in qualunque accordo avesse fatto con quella regina o suoi mercanti.”

We see that this report also contains matter of a purely political kind.

At the end the author enters upon it more specially.

He represents Poland as divided by manifold factions—differences at once between the several provinces, and between the clergy and laity in each; between the senators and provincial deputies; between the old high aristocracy and that of inferior rank.

According to Bolognetto, the high-chancellor Zamoisky possessed enormous power; all appointments depended on him, especially since there were a vice-chancellor and a king’s secretary entirely in his interest: (“da che è stato fatto

il Baranosky vicecancelliere et il Tolisky segretario del re, persone poco fa incognite.”)

The appointments made by Stephen Bathory had by no means met with general approbation. Attention was already directed to his successor Sigismund, “amatissimo di tutti i Polacchi.”

## 62.

*Discorso del molto illustre e rev<sup>mo</sup> monsr Minuccio Minucci sopra il modo di restituire la religione cattolica in Alemagna. 1588.*

A very important document, of which I have made ample use, particularly in vol. i, p. 381.

Minucci served Gregory long in Germany, and is frequently mentioned in Maffei; he here endeavors to explain the situation of things, in order, as he says, that Rome might learn to refuse dangerous remedies to the patient.

He complains at setting out, that so little trouble was taken on the catholic side to gain over the protestant princes: hereupon—for his mission fell in the times of the hot and as yet undecided struggle—he investigates the attacks of the protestants upon catholicism: “ho pensato di raccontare le pratiche che muovono gli eretici ogni dì per far seccare o svellere tutta la radice del cattolicismo;” and finally the mode in which they were to be encountered.

He proves himself unusually versed in German affairs; yet he cannot repress a certain astonishment, whenever he compares the state of Germany, such as it was, with the peacefulness and order of Italy or Spain. I have mentioned the troubles caused by Casimir of the Palatinate. It is curious to see with what astonishment they inspired a foreigner.

“Il Casimiro dopo aver sprezzata l'autorità dell'imperatore in mille cose, ma principalmente in abbruciare le munizioni presso Spira, che si conducevano in Fiandra con salvocondotto imperiale, dopo aver offeso il re di Spagna non solo con quell'atto, ma anco con tanti ajuti dati a ribelli suoi di Fiandra e con l'haver concesso spatio alli medesimi ribelli Fiamenghi per edificare una città (Franchendal) nelli stati suoi, con l'haver portati tante ruine in Francia, tante desolationi in Lorena hor in propria persona, hora mandando genti sue, con l'haver fatto affronto notabile all'arciduca Ferdinando impedendo il card' suo figliuolo con minaccie e con viva forza nel camino di Colonia, con l'istesso dichiarato nemico alla casa di Baviera, e passato in propria persona contra l'elettore di Colonia, pur se ne sta sicuro in un stato aperto nel mezzo di quelli c'hanno ricevute da lui tante ingiurie, nè ha fortezze o militia che li dia confidenza nè amici o parenti che siano per soccorrerlo e difenderlo, ma gode frutto della troppa pazienza de' cattolici, che li potriano d'improvviso et a mano salva portare altre tante ruine quante egli ha tante volte causate nelli stati d'altri, purchè si risolvessero et havessero cuor di farlo.”

## SECTION V.

## SECOND EPOCH OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL RESTORATION.

## 63.

## CONCLAVES.

I do not fear being called to account for omitting to register here every fugitive pamphlet and every insignificant essay which I have met with in the course of my multifarious researches; on the contrary, I have done so perhaps too often. Many a reader who may have given me his attention up to this point, will perhaps be wearied and disgusted by a formless mass of materials in which different languages are mixed up; nevertheless it would not be advisable to translate the original reports; it would greatly impair their usefulness and authenticity. Hence I do not venture to swell this appendix from my collectanea as I could.

Of the conclaves, for instance, I will only give a summary notice, although there are a great number of MSS. extant relating to them.

After each papal election, particularly from the latter half of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth, a report of it appeared; a written one only, but so written as to ensure its general diffusion, and often to call forth counter statements. Occasionally they were composed by certain of the cardinals; generally however by their secretaries, who under the title of *conclavisti* were present at the conclaves, and acting in the interest of their masters made it their peculiar business to watch the course of the various intrigues; an occupation, which on account of the decorum exacted by their dignity, would not have been so easy for the latter. Sometimes others have also held the pen. "Con quella maggior diligenza che ho potuto," says the author of the Conclave of Gregory XIII., "ho raccolto così dalli signori conclavisti come da cardinali che sono stati partecipi del negotio, tutto l'ordine e la verità di questo conclave." We see he was not present himself. Sometimes the accounts are in the form of diaries, to which we have had access, sometimes of letters, sometimes also of elaborate narratives. Each is a separate and independent work; the universally recognised forms are here and there repeated. Their value is exceedingly various, as may be supposed. Sometimes everything is broken up into scattered details; sometimes, though seldom, the author rises to an actual perception of the mainsprings of the drama he describes;—nevertheless, upon the whole, we may meet with instruction, if we only take courage and do not allow ourselves to grow weary.

The Marsand catalogue of the Paris library is one proof amongst others of the vast number of works of this nature. They have likewise found their way into Germany. The 33d, 35th, and several other volumes of the Berlin *Informations*, contain copies in the greatest abundance. Joh. Gottfr. Geissler, in his *Programm de Bibliotheca Milichiana*, iv, Görlitz, 1767, mentions those accounts of conclaves which we find in the 32d, 33d, and 34th codices of the collection of that place. The most complete list I am acquainted with, is in Novaes' *Introduzione alle vite de' sommi pontefici*, 1822, i, p. 272. He had access to the

library of the Jesuits, in which is stored up a tolerably complete collection of these productions.

From the nature of the case, they very soon, at least in part, fell into the hands of the public in another way. They were first incorporated in the histories of the papacy. Although not the whole extent, yet the beginning and the end of the account of the conclave of Pius V appears in the history of Panvinius. Those of the conclaves of Gregory XIII and Sixtus V have been translated for the most part by Cicarella; the last, with all the annotations which appear in the Italian. The passage quoted by Schröckh *N. Kirchengeschichte*, iii, 288, as from Cicarella, is word for word from the Conclave. Thuanus has also inserted these two reports; taken, however, as soon appears upon a more accurate comparison, from Cicarella, not from the originals (lib. 83, p. 27). In the *Tesoro politico* also, this account of the latter conclave is inserted, but very imperfectly, and in hastily-made extracts. The same has been the case with the other reports.

Gradually, however, though not till the seventeenth century, there arose some thoughts of collecting these accounts. The first printed one bears the title, "Conclavi de' pontefici Romani quali si sono potuto trovare fin a questo giorno," 1667. It begins with Clement V, after which there is a chasm to the times of Urban VI, and another to those of Nicholas V; it then continues regularly down to Alexander VII. The object of the publication, at least ostensibly, was to show how little human reason could do against the guidance of heaven; "Si tocca con mano che le negotiationi più secrete, dissimulate et' accorte.....per opra arcana del cielo svantiu sortiscono fini tanto difformi." This however was not the view taken by the rest of the world, who eagerly seized upon the curious and at times offensive matter contained in the work. A French edition appeared at Lyons; and as this was soon out of print, an impression, revised after the original, appeared in Holland, dated Cologne 1694, not as Novaes asserts, 1594. It has often been reprinted, enriched with further additions.

In this manner the accounts of the conclaves have suffered many alterations. If we compare the French collection with the originals, it is on the whole the same, though in particular passages we find considerable variations. As far as I can discover, these more often arise from misconception than from intentional perversion.

But there are also other collections which have not been printed. I possess one myself, which at once supplies the deficiencies left by the printed narratives, and possesses an authenticity at least as undoubted as the others. For any detailed use of them, an examination of the originals is certainly always to be desired.

#### 64.

##### *Vita e successi del card' di Santaseverina.*

An autobiography of this distinguished cardinal, of whom mention has so often necessarily been made.

It is somewhat prolix, and trifling; the judgments passed upon people and the remarks on events are entirely colored by the personal disposition of the man; still the work contains very peculiar and characteristic anecdotes.

There only remains to give here verbatim a few of these, to which I occasionally refer in my text.

##### I. *Protestants in Naples.*

"Crescendo tuttavia la setta de' Lutherani nel regno di Napoli, mi armai contro di quella spina del zelo della religione cattolica: e con ogni mio potere e con l' autorità del officio, con le prediche publiche, scritte da me in un libro detto Quadragesimale, e con le dispute publiche e private in ogni occasione e con l' oratione cercai d' abbattere et estermiare peste sì crudele da i nostri paesi: onde

patii acerbissima persecuzione dagl' eretici, che per tutte le strade cercavano d' offendermi e d' ammazzarmi, come ne ho fatto un libretto, disintamente intitolato: Persecutione eccitata contro di me Giulio Antonio Santorio servo di Gesù Christo per la verità della cattolica fede. Era nel nostro giardino in un cantone una cappelletta con l' immagine di Maria s<sup>ma</sup> con il bambino in braccio, et ivi avanti era nata una pianta d' olivo, che assai presto con maraviglia d' ogn' uno crebbe in arbore grande, essendo in luogo chiuso et ombreggiato da alberi: mi ritiravo ivi a far oratione con disciplinarmi ogni volta che dovevo predicare e disputare contro Lutherani, e mi sentivo mirabilmente infiammare ed avvalorare senza tema di male alcuno e di pericolo, ancorche di sicuro mi fosse minacciato da quelli inimici della croce, e sentivo in me tanta gioja et allegrezza che bramavo d' essere ucciso per la fede cattolica.....Intanto vedendo crescere contro di me maggiormente la rabbia di quelli eretici quali io avevo processati, fui costretto nel 1563 al fine di Agosto o principio di Settembre passarne in Napoli alli servitii d' Allonso Caraffa card<sup>le</sup> del titolo di S. Giovanni e Paolo arcivescovo di Napoli, ove servii per luogotenente sotto Luigi Campagna di Rossano vescovo di Montepeloso, che esercitava il vicariato in Napoli: e poiche egli partì per evitare il tumulto popolare concitato contro di noi per l' abrugiamiento di Gio. Bernardo Gargano e di Gio. Francesco d' Aloys detto il Caserta, seguito alla quattro di Marzo di sabbato circa le 20 hore, rimasi solo nel governo di detta chiesa: ove doppo molti pericoli scorsi e doppo molte minacce, sassi et archibugiate tirate, mi si ordisce una congiura molto crudele et arrabbiata da Hortensio da Batticchio con fra Fiono(!) di Terra d'Otranto, heretico sacramentario e relapso che io insieme col card<sup>l</sup> di Napoli e mons<sup>r</sup> Campagna l' haveva va (ssi?) richiesto, di distillare un veleno di tanta forza che poteva infettare l' aria per estinguere papa Pio IV, come nemico de' Carafeschi: e non dubitava l' heretico di far intendere tutto cio al pontefice per mezzo del signor Pompeo Colonna."

## II. Gregory XIII and Sixtus V.

" Appena egli credeva di morire non ostante la longa età, essendo sempre visuto con molta moderatione e caminato por tutti i gradi della corte. Dopoche lasciò la lettura di Bologna, venne in Roma, fu fatto collaterale di Campidoglio, esercitò l' ufficio di luogotenente di mons<sup>re</sup> auditore della camera, fu fatto referendario, e la prima volta che propose in segnatura, venne meno: onde tutto pieno di vergogna e di confusione voleva abbandonare la corte, ma fu ritenuto dal card<sup>l</sup> Crescentio a non partire. Da Giulio III nell' auditorato di rota li fu anteposto Palleotto: onde di nuovo confuso di doppio scorno determinò partirsi di Roma, ma dall' istesso card<sup>l</sup> Crescentio fu rincorato e trattenuto. Fu da Paolo IV fatto vescovo di Vieste, fu fatto consultore del sant' officio, fu al consilio di Trento e da Pio IV fu fatto card<sup>le</sup> e mandato in Spagna per la causa Toletana: e dopo la morte della santa memoria di Pio V con ammirabil consenso fu assunto al pontificato. Il quale visse con molta carità, liberalità e modestia, e saria stato ammirabile e senza pari, se in lui fossero concorsi valore e grandezza d' animo senza l' affetto del figlio, che oscurò in gran parte tutte le attioni dignissime di carità che egli usò verso li stranieri e verso tutte le nationi che varamente padre di tutti. Dalli signori cardinali nepoti S. Sisto e Guastavillano fu fatto subito intendere la sua morte al sacro collegio, e doppo celebrate l' esequie e tutte quelle funtion che porta seco la sede vacante, s' entrò in conclave: ove fu eletto papa il sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>le</sup> Montalto, già nostro collega e nella causa Toletana e nell' assumptione al cardinalato, per opera speciale del sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> Alessandrino e sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> Rusticucci, che tirarono in favore di lui il sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> d' Este e sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> de Medici, con non poco disgusto del sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> Farnese, essendoli mancato di parola il sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> San Sisto, sul quale egli haveva fatto molto fondamento per ostare alli suoi emoli e nemici, essendosi adoprato contro di lui valorosamente il sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> Riario, ma con pentimento poi grande, non havendo trovato quella gratitudine che egli si haveva presupposta; sicome anco intervenne al sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>le</sup> Alessandrino, che tutto festante si credeva di maneggiare il pontificato a modo

suo: escendendo in San Pietro lo pregai che dovesse far officio con S. B<sup>ae</sup> in favore di mons<sup>r</sup> Carlo Broglia, rettore del collegio Greco, per un beneficio che egli damandava: mi rispose tutto gratoso: ‘Non diamo fastidio a questo povero vecchio, perche noi saremo infallibilmente li padroni:’ al quale sorridendo io all’ hora risposi segretamente all’ orrechie: ‘Faccia dio che subito che sarà passata questa sera, ella non se ne penta:’ come appunto in effetto fu, poiche non stette mai di cuore allegro in tutto quel pontificato, sentendo sempre rammarichi, angustie, travagli, affanni, pene et angoscii. E’ ben vero che esso medesimo se l’ andava nelle maggior parte procurando o per trascuraggine, inavertenza o altro o pure per la troppa superbia con esprobare sempre esso assiduamente li benefici, servitii et honorevolezze che haveva fatti a S. B<sup>ae</sup>. Nelli primi ragionamenti che to potei avere con S. S<sup>ta</sup> fu il rallegrarmi dell’ assunzione sua al pontificato, con dirli che era stata volontà di dio, poiche in quel tempo e punto che fu assunto erano finite le 40 hore: quivi ella si dolse della malignità de tempi con molta humiltà e pianse: l’ essortai che cominciasse il pontificato con un giubileo generale, che tenesse parimente cura del sant’ officio e delle cose sue, sapendo bene che da quello haveva havuto origine la sua grandezza.”

### III. *Affairs of Ferrara.*

“Venuto il duca di Ferrara in Roma per l’ investitura, della quale pretendeva che li fosse data buona intentione, vi furono di molti garbugli: et avendomi io opposto gagliardamente nelli publici e privati ragionamenti et in concistoro, mi persi affatto la gratia del papa con procurarmi il sdegno del card<sup>o</sup> Sfondrato, quale andava parlando per Roma che io sentivo malamente dell’ autorità del papa: come anco haveva imputato il cardinale di Camerino, che si mostrava molto ardente in servizio della sede apostolica. Sentendomi pungere in cosa tanto lontana dalla mente mia, io che ero andato incontrando tutti li pericoli per la difensione dell’ autorità del papa e della sede apostolica, non potei fare di non alterarmene gravemente: e come si convenia: feci una apologia pro Cardivale Sancta Severina contra cardinalem Sfondratum, ove si tratta qual sia la carica e qual sia l’ officio di cardinale: benchè il papa, che si era mostrato in concistoro molto turbato e collerico in camera, poi nel palazzo di S. Marco mi domandò perdono con lagrime e con humiltà e con havermi anco ringraziato, pentendosi del decreto che egli haveva fatto in pregiudicio della bolla di Pio V de non alienandis feudis. Partendosi il duca da Roma senza haver fatto effetto alcuno, da quel tempo in poi mi si mostrò sempre nemico, dicendo che io ero stato cagione precipua che egli non avesse attenuto l’ investitura di Ferrara pro persona nominanda, e che io come antico suo amico doveva parlare più mitamente, senza intraprendere l’ impresa con tanta ardenza, come che io fossi più obligato agli huomini che a dio et alla santa chiesa.”

### IV. *Conclaves after the death of Innocent IX.*

“Entrato l’ anno 1592 si entrò in conclave, essendosi raddoppiata contro di me la malignità de miei nemici, mostrandosi il card<sup>o</sup> Sfondrato ardentissimo contro la persona mia, non solamente per tema delle cose sue, ma anco più irato delle parole del card<sup>o</sup> Acquaviva, che timoroso et invidioso per l’ arcivescovo d’ Otranto suo parente et altri signori regnicoli amici miei, moveva ogni pietra contro di me: e s’ erano uniti insieme li card<sup>o</sup> Aragona, Colonna, Altemps e Sforza, capitali nemici tra essi, ma contro di me concordissimi: Aragona per la continua osservanza et ossequio che io havevo usati, ma pigliava pretesti dell’ abbazia che havevo tolta all’ abbate Simone Sellarolo; Colonna per li molti servitii che gli havevo fatti in ogni tempo, ma si raccordava del Talmud impedito da me contro li Giudei, repetendo la morte di Don Pompeo de Monti, con taccia anco di sua sorella; Altemps per li favori che gli havevo fatti appresso papa Sisto e mons<sup>r</sup> Pellicano senatore per conto del figlio rattore della Giulietta, onde ne venne quel galant’ huomo in disgratia di Sisto, ma così voleva Galleotto Belard<sup>o</sup> suo

padrone; Sforza per haverlo favorito nel caso del Massaino, quando papa Sisto fulminava contro di lui, havendomi ringratiato con baciarmi la mano in presenza del buon card<sup>le</sup> Farnese vecchio, a cui ancora si era mostrato ingrato havendo avuta da quel buon sig<sup>r</sup> l' abbadia di S. Lorenzo extra moena, ma egli diceva che non poteva mancare alli amici suoi, ma in effetto egli temeva sapendo bene la sua coscienza. Palleotto m' usò quell' ingratitudine che ogn' un sa. Venne la notte delli 20 di Gennaro: quivi si rappresentò una tragedia de' fatti miei, mentre Madrucci, già mio caro amico e collega nel sant' officio consenti tacitamente cogli emoli miei in danno mio,\* oprando per questa via di conseguire il pontificato, ma egli sentì di quelli bocconi amari che non potendo poscia digerire se ne morì miseramente. Lascio de parti gli andamenti fraudolenti del card<sup>l</sup> Gesualdo, che come Napoletano non poteva patire che io gli fossi anteposto, et anche mosso da invidia contro i suoi patrioti; poiche questo e gli altri sig<sup>ni</sup> card<sup>li</sup> Napoletani Aragona et Acquaviva havevano questo senso di non voler nessun compagno de' patrioti nel cardinalato. L' atto poi che fece il card<sup>le</sup> Colonna, fu il più brutto che s' avesse sentito già mai, et improbatò etiam da suoi più cari, e malissimo inteso nella corte di Spagna. Canano solea prima havermi in tanta riverenza che nullo più, e dovunque m' incontrava, mi voleva bacciar la mano; ma all' hora scordato d' ogni amicitia obbediva al suo duca di Ferrara; Borromeo, ajutato de me nella sua promotione per la memoria di quel santo cardinale di S. Prassede et havendo fatta professione di sempre mio caro amico, invischiato dall' interesse d' alcune abbadi che haveva rassegnato Altemps, furia a guisa di forsenato quello che non professava altro che purità, devotione, spiritualità e coscienza. Alessandrino, autore di tutte le trame, non mancò di fare il suo solito in perseguitare i suoi più cari amici e creature con haversele tutte alienate e massime doppo l' assunzione di Sisto sentì in conclave quel che non volse per bocca del sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> di Sens che esclamava pubblicamente contro di lui. Il fervore all' incontro de' miei amici e fautori non fu mediocre, essendosi mostrato ardente più d' ogni altro il sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> Giustiniano: quel suo spirito vivace e coraggioso fu in quella notte et in quel giorno in gravi affanni, essendomi anche stata saccheggiata la cella. Ma la notte appresso mi fu dolorosissima sopra ogn' altra cosa funesta: onde per il grave affanno del' animo e dell' intima angoscia sudai sangue, cosa incredibile a credere: e ricorrendo con molta humiltà e devotione al sig<sup>te</sup>, mi sentii affatto liberato da ogni passione di animo da ogni senso delle cose mondane, venendo in me stesso e considerandole quanto sono fragili, quanto caduche e quanto miserabili, e che solo in dio e nella contemplatione di lui sono le vere felicità e veri contenti e gaudii."

## 65.

*Vita et Gesta Clementis VIII. Informatt. Polit. XXIX.*

Originally destined for a continuation of Ciaconius, where, however, I do not find it.

A narrative of the rise of the pope, and of his first deeds: "Exulum turmas coerent, quorum insolens furor non solum in continentem sed in ipsa litora et subvecta Tiberis alveo navigia hostiliter insultabat;" so far was Sixtus V from having put an end to them for ever: — the absolution of Henry IV; the opposition of Clement to the king; and the extreme difficulty of overcoming it, are particularly described: lastly, the conquest of Ferrara. "A me jam latius cœpta scribi opportuniori tempore immortalitati n. minis tui consecrabo." But of all this there is nothing. Altogether very insignificant.

\* The Venetian ambassador Moro also remarks that S. Severina had not been chosen, "per mancamento di Gesualdo decano e Madrucci."

## 66.

*Istruzione al Sr Bartolommeo Powsinsky alla M<sup>a</sup> del re di Polonia e Suetia.* 1 Ag. 1593. *Signed Cinthio Aldebrandini.*

*Ragguaglio della andata del re di Polonia in Suetia.* 1594.

There is nothing to add to the contents of these documents, already incorporated in my text, except perhaps the assertion in the second, that Duke Charles was in fact hated, "perche egli avea ridotto in se stesso quasi tutte l'incette e mercantie e tutte le cave di metalli e sopra tutto dell' oro e dell' argento."

## 67.

*Relatione di Polonia.* 1598.

Composed by a nuncio, who bitterly complains of the disorderly love of freedom manifested by the Poles.

They desired a feeble king, and not one of warlike temper. They say, "che coloro che hanno spirito di gloria, gli hanno vehementi e non moderati e però non diuturni e che la madre della diuturnità degli imperii è la moderatione."

They would also enter into no alliance with foreigners. They maintained that they could never find it a difficult task to defend their country; that they could always bring into the field 50,000 horse, and, at the worst, could always recover in winter what they had lost in summer. They confidently appealed to the example of their forefathers.

The nuncio reminds them, "che gli antichi Poloni non sapevano che cosa fosse smaltire il grano nel mar Baltico in Danzig o in Elbing, nè erano intenti a tagliar selve per seminare, nè asciugavano paludi per il medesimo effetto."

The nuncio also describes the progress of catholicism, which was just then most triumphant. I have copied the more important features of his narrative."

## 68.

*Relatione dello stato spirituale e politico del regno di Suezia.* 1598.

This relates to the enterprises of Sigismund against Sweden, immediately before his second journey. I have made use of its most essential contents.

Some remarkable notices of the preceding transactions however appear here.

Erich is openly described as a tyrant. "Per impresa faceva un asino carico di sale a piedi d'una montagna erta e senza via per salirvi sopra, et egli era dipinto con un bastone in mano, che batteva il detto asino." The author explains this very intelligible symbol: the people were to be compelled by force to perform impossibilities.

John is treated as a decided catholic. "Perche era in secreto cattolico, siccome al nuntio ha affermato il re suo figliulo, usò ogni industria perche il figliuolo ritornasse mentre esso viveva in Suetia a fine di dichiararsi apertamente cattolico e ridurre il regno ad abbracciar essa fede."

To this, however, I cannot subscribe. Probably the worthy Sigismund fancied it, that he might have the consolation of being sprung from a catholic father.

On the other hand, the description of the first enterprise of Sigismund bears the stamp of veracity and of thorough acquaintance with the affair. The hopes bound up with his second expedition are displayed in all their connection with Europe at large.

## INSERTION.

*Remarks on Bentivoglio's Memoirs.*

In his 63d year, namely, in 1612, as Mazzuchelli also states, and not in 1640, as asserted in the edition belonging to the *Classici Italiani*, cardinal Guido



Bentivoglio, (born 1579,) having composed many political works, began to write personal memoirs.

He originally had in view, to comprehend in his work his first residence at the Roman court, his nuntiatures in France and the Netherlands, and the times of his cardinalate. Had this been accomplished, the historical stores of the first half of the seventeenth century would have been enriched by an excellent book full of thought and observation.

But Bentivoglio died before he had completed even the first part. His work, "Memorie del card<sup>L</sup> Guido Bentivoglio," goes down only to the year 1600.

It leaves an impression of the quiet and comfort enjoyed by an old prelate, who, emancipated from business, passes his life at ease in his own palace. It is most pleasant reading, at once amusing and instructive; but his position naturally imposed upon him obligations which prevented his speaking out.

The description, for instance, which he gives with some minuteness, of the cardinals by whom he found Clement VIII surrounded, answers but very generally to the accounts of other authors.

The very first, the dean Gesualdo, is described by Bentivoglio as "a distinguished man of amiable manners, who neither avoids nor seeks public affairs;" but of certain things related by others, and unquestionably known to Bentivoglio, as, for instance, how Gesualdo prevented the election of Sanseverino, from motives of personal dislike; what pretensions on the score of higher rank he enforced against the other cardinals, who complied very unwillingly; how all his efforts from that time had been directed to obtain the papacy, by making friends on all sides; how he adhered in particular to Spain,—of all this we hear nothing.

Bentivoglio remarks of the second, Aragona, "he had in earlier conclaves guided the younger cardinals in particular; he had administered the government of Rome, during the absence of the pope, in the most excellent manner; he loved handsome furniture; he had a beautiful chapel; and was constantly changing the altar-piece." But all this does not describe the man. He was, as we see by Delino's account, an old man, tormented by the gout, whose death might shortly be expected, but who only clung to the hopes of obtaining the pontificate with the greater pertinacity. At the Spanish court he was by no means so much respected as he wished. He had not succeeded in obtaining a seat in the congregation which met upon French affairs, and it was known that he took this very ill; nevertheless he sought, on account of his views on the papacy, to maintain the closest intimacy with the Spanish ambassadors.

The impression of serenity and quiet which the book makes, arises from the fact, that the lights are intentionally extremely softened, and that life is not delineated in the truth of its actual phenomena.

## 69.

*Relatione fatta all' ill<sup>mo</sup> sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>le</sup> d'Este al tempo della sua promozione che doveva andar in Roma. (Bibl. Vindob. Codd. Foscar. N<sup>o</sup> 169. 46 leaves.)*

In consequence of the treaty which Clement VIII had entered into with the family of Este on the taking of Ferrara, he included a prince of that house, Alessandro, in the promotion of the 3d of March 1599.

It is this prince, whom the present instruction was destined to prepare for his appearance at the court of Rome. Although it has no date, it undoubtedly belongs to the year 1599.

From its very purpose, it is extremely different from a Venetian report. It was to enable the prince to play the part of a good steersman through the difficulties which might surround him—"per potere come prudente nocchiero prendere meglio l'aura propitia della corte:" it contains no allusions to political relations; even the misfortunes which had just then fallen upon the house of Este are passed over in silence; the only purpose of the writer was to point out the qualities of the most important persons.

The pope, his nephews, and the cardinals, are described.

Clement VIII. “Di vita incolpabile, di mente retta, di conditione universale. Si può dir ch’ abbia in se stesso tutta la theorica e la pratica della politica e ragion di stato.” We learn here, that Salvestro Aldobrandini had instigated Paul IV to make war upon Naples; that nevertheless attempts were made to reconcile that family at least with the Medici. “Dicesi che Pio V volendo promuovere il card<sup>l</sup> Giovanni, fratello di questo pontefice, assicurò il G.D. Cosimo che tutta questa famiglia gli sarebbe fidelissima sempre, e che mandò l’istesso Ippolito Aldobrandino, hora papa, a render testimonio a S. Altezza, della quale fu molto ben visto.” Giovanni Bardi was at that time in the greatest favor with the popo. “Fra i servitori di Clemente il più intimo e favorito è il sig<sup>r</sup> Giov. Bardi dei conti di Vernio, luogotenente delle guardie, di molta bontà, virtù e nobiltà.” The new cardinal was so much the safer in siding with Bardi, as he meant well to the house of Este.

The Nephews. Pietro Aldobrandini’s authority was decidedly greater than that of San Giorgio. “San Giorgio, accomodato l’animo alla fortuna sua, mortificate le sue pretensioni, non gareggia, non contrasta più, ma o lo seconda o non s’impaccia seco, e si mostra sodisfatto dell’ ottenuta segnatura di giustizia.”

The cardinals were divided into two factions: the Spanish, to which Montalto already adhered, and that of Aldobrandino. The former then counted twenty-five, the latter only fourteen sure and decided adherents. The author correctly points out as the most probable candidate for the papacy, Alessandro de’ Medici, who was afterwards elected. It was not known on what terms he stood with the grand duke of Tuscany; but on that account his favor with Clement was only the greater, “per patria e conformità di humore,” as much as if he were the pope’s own creature.

Baronius the historian of the church, appears in an agreeable light: “molto amato per la dottrina, bontà e semplicità sua; si dimostra tutto spirito, tutto risegnato in dio; si burla del mondo e della propria esaltatione di se stesso.”

## 70.

*Relatione di Roma dell’ Ill<sup>mo</sup> Sig<sup>r</sup> Giovan Delfino Kr d Pro<sup>r</sup> ritornato Ambasciatore sotto il pontificato di Clemente VIII. (1600.)*

Also one of the reports which have been published; very circumstantial, (my copy consisting of ninety-four quarto leaves) and very instructive.

I. Delfino begins with describing “the pope” (“il nascimento, la natura e la vita del papa,”) “and his nephews.”

“Delli due cardinali (Aldobrandino e S. Giorgio) reputo quasi necessario parlarne unitamente. Questo di età d’ anni 45, di gran spirito, altiero, vivace e di buona cognizione nelli affari del mondo; ma temo assai che sia di mala natura, overo che gli accidenti del mondo occorsi, che l’ hanno levato dalle gran speranze in che si è posto nel principio del pontificato, lo fanno esser tale, cioè dimostrarsi con tutti non solo severo ma quasi disperato. Questo era grandemente amato e grandemente stimato dal papa avanti che fosse salito al pontificato, e doppo per gran pezzo ebbe la cura principale de’ negotj, e si credeva da ogn’ uno che egli avesse da esser il primo nipote, perche l’ altro era più giovane, assai di poca prosperità e di pochissima cognizione; ma o sia stato la sua poca prudenza nel non essersi saputo govenare come avrebbe bisognato, sendosi rotto con l’ ambasciatore di Spagna quando gittò la beretta, con l’ ambasciator di Toscana quando li disse che il papa doveria cacciarlo di corte, oltre i disgusti che ha dato a tutti in mille occasioni, o pur la gran prudenza e destrezza dell’ altro, o la forza natural del sangue, questo ha perduto ogni giorno tanto di autorità e di credito che non ha chi lo seguiti e non ottiene cosa alcuna che dimandi. Ha però il carico di tutti li negotj d’ Italia e Germania, se bene li ministri publici trattino li madesimi con Aldobrandino, e nelle cose brusche tutti ricorrono a lui. Io con esso sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>le</sup> di S. Giorgio nel principio ho passato qualche borasca, anzi nella prima audienza fui astretto a dolermi apertamente per dignità della republica, e doi o tre volte mi sono lasciato intendere liberamente, in modo tale

che so che è stato frutto appresso di lui, et il papa l' ha avuto a carro, e particolarmente nell' ultima occasione di Ferrara: ma doppo sempre è passato tra noi ogni sorte di dimostrazione d' amore, et io l' ho onorato sempre come si conveniva. Credo veramente che sia mal affetto alla Serenità Vostra per natura e per accidente: la sua natura l' ho descritta, ma dirò solo delli accidenti. Prima sappia che da un pezzo in qua s' è buttato affatto in braccio de' Spagnuoli, e si è dimostrato poco amico di quelli che sono uniti con Francesi: ha cresciuto ancora quel mal animo suo il vedere che il cardinal Aldobrandino habbi in tutte le occasioni protetto li affari dell' EE. VV., quasi che non sia possibile che concorrino ambidue in alcuna operatione, per giusta e ragionevole che sia. Da che si può conoscere la miseria de' poveri ambasciatori et rappresentanti publici."

II. The second chapter (at least formally divided as such in our copies) regards "the form of government, the finances, and the military forces." Delfino expresses a very reasonable astonishment at some details of the financial administration. "Mentre l' entrate della chiesa sono impegnate all' ingrosso ordinariamente e straordinariamente; e quello ch' è peggio, si comprano castelli e giurisdittioni de' suddiui a 1½ o 2 per cento" (I understand, at a loss of so much per cent) "e si pagano censi a 9 o 10 per cento, parendo strano agli uomini savj che in tante strettezze si fanno queste compre, e più è che se si vogliono far certe spese, non si facciano per via delli danari del castello, per non ci andar debitando e consumando del tutto." We see that even in those times there were people who objected to the accumulation of borrowed money. Moreover much dissatisfaction had been exhibited in Ferrara after the first short period of content. "Nobili e popolo si darebbero volentieri a qual principe si voglia, per uscir dalle manidove si trovano."

III. "Intelligenze." This chapter shows on what dubious terms the pope stood with the emperor and Philip II: he awaited the death of the king with a sort of anxiety; how ill with Florence, for it was well remembered that the house of Aldobrandini belonged to the emigrant families ("le cose pessano peggio che con ogn' altro ricordandosi d' esser andato il papa e la sua casa ramingo per il mondo"); how much better, on the contrary, with France and Poland, particularly with the latter, with which he had common interests and designs ("concorrendo e dall' una e dall' altra parte interessi nel presente e disegni nel tempo a venire"). In no one did Clement take a greater interest than in the prince of Transylvania. "Col prencipe di Transilvania ha trattato il papa con tanto amore e con tener un nuntio apostolico appresso di lui e con averli dato in mio tempo 60m. scudi in tre volte e con infiniti officii fatti fare con l' imperatore per servizio che quasi poteva dirsi interessato et obligato alla continua sua protezione; e credo che 'l povero prencipe la meritava, perche s' è risoluto alla guerra con fondamento principale del consiglio et delle promesse di S. S<sup>ta</sup>; quanto nel principio già tre anni e già due ancora esaltava la virtù e valor di questo prencipe fino al cielo, avendo detto a me più volte ch' egli solo faceva la guerra al Turco, tanto più ultimamente con la cessione che gli fece de' suoi stati restava molto chiarito, et il predicava un gran da poco; onde si vede che se bene aveva promesso all' imperatore di farlo cardinale et a lui ancora, non avrebbe però osservato cosa alcuna, e perciò credo che essendo tornato al governo de' suoi stati abbia sentito S. S<sup>ta</sup> gran consolatione."

IV. "Cardinali." Our author goes through them all in regular succession, and judges each more or less favorably.

V. "De' soggetti, che cascano in maggior consideratione per lo pontificato."

VI. "Interessi con Venetia." A thousand disputes were already carrying on. "Quando non si provveda alle pretensioni et ai disordini, un giorno si entrerà in qualche travaglio di gran momento, massime di questi novi acquisti" (concerning the navigation of the Po), "che sempre vi penso per cognitione che ho della natura de' preti e della chiesa mi fa temere."

This came to pass but too soon.

The disputes between the pope and Venice were already become pretty violent. The Venetians refused to send their patriarch to Rome for examination. Bitter quarrels had begun about the Goro mouth of the Po; they were the motive for Venier's mission to Rome.

He remained there but a short time: his sketch of Clement VIII is nevertheless most useful.

“Della natura et pensieri del pontefice, per quello che a me tocca di considerare nella presente congiuntura per li negotii che giornalmente tratta V Serenità con S. Beatitudine, dirò che il papa in questa età sua di 65 anni è più sano e più gagliardo di quello chesia stato negli anni adietro, non havendo indisposizione alcuna fuoriche quella della chiragra o gotta, che però li serve, come vogliono li medici, a tenerlo preservato da altre indisposizioni, e questa molto più di rado e molto meno che per l' inanzi le da molestia al presente, per la bona regola particolarmente del viver, nel quale da certo tempo in qua procede con grandissima riserva e con notabile astinenza nel bere: che le giova anco grandemente a non dar fomento alla grassezza, alla quale è molto inclinata la sua complessione, usando anco per questo di frequentare l' esercizio di canminar longamente sempre che senza sconcio de negotii conosce di poterlo fare, ai quali nondimeno per la sua gran capacità supplisce, intanto che le resta comoda parte di tempo che dispensa admettendo persone private et altri che secondo il solito ricorrono a S. S<sup>ia</sup>. A negotii gravi si applica con ogni suo spirito, et persiste in essi senza mostrarne mai alcuna fiachezza, et quando li succede di vederli conclusi, gode et fruisce mirabilmente il contento che ne riceve. Nè di cosa maggiormente si compiace che di esser stimato, et che sia rispettata la sua reputatione, della quale è gelosissimo. Et quanto per la complessione sua molto sanguigna e colerica è facile ad accendersi, prorompendo con grandissima vehementia in esagerationi piene di escandescenza et acerbità, tanto anco mentre vede che altri tace con la lingua seben s' attrista nel sembiante, si ravede per se stesso et procura con gran benignità di raddolcire ogni amaritudine: la qual cosa è così nota hormai a tutti li cardinali che ne danno cortese avvertimento agli amici loro, sicome lo diede anco a me nel primo congresso l' illustrissimo sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>le</sup> di Verona per mia da lui stimata molto utile conformatione. Ha S. S<sup>ia</sup> volti li pensieri suoi alla gloria, nè si può imaginare quanto acquisto facciano li principi della gratia sua, mentre secondano la sua inclinatione. Onde Spagnoli in particolare, che sempre mirano a conservarsi et ad aumentar la gran parte che hanno nella corte di Roma, non transcurano punto l' occasione; et però con tanto maggior prontezza hanno applicato l' animo a far qualche impresa contra Turchi, come hora si vede, et con andar sofferendo non mediocri durezza, che provano ancor loro nelli negotii importanti, particolarmente per causa di giurisdizione, che vivono alla corte di Roma, si vanno sempre più avanzando nel riportare in molte cosa non piccole soddisfattioni. E' tenuto generalmente il pontefice persona di gran virtù, bontà et religione: di che ogli si compiace far che del continuo se ne veggano segni et importanti effetti. E se ben li cardinali si vedono nel presente pontefice scemata molto quella autorità che ne' tempi passati sono stati soliti d'havere, restano quasiche del tutto esclusi dalla partecipazione de negotii più importanti, poiche ben spesso fino al' ultima conclusione di essi non hanno delle trattationi la già solita notitia, mostrano nondimeno di stimare il pontefice, lodano la S<sup>ta</sup> S. con termini di somma riverenza, celebrando la prudenza et l' altre virtù sue con grand' esageratione afirmando che se fosse occasione hora di elegere pontefice, non elegerebbono altro che questo medesimo, seben son molto reconditi et profondi i loro pensieri, et le parole et le apparenze sono volte ai proprj disegni forse a Roma più che altrove.”

The envoy succeeded in once more appeasing the quarrels between the two states, although the pope already talked of resorting to excommunication. On

the whole, however, Venier found him well disposed. Venice consented to send her patriarch to Rome.

72.

*Instruzione all' ill<sup>mo</sup> et ecc<sup>mo</sup> marchese di Viglienna ambasciatore cattolico in Roma 1603. (Informatt. politt. No. 26.)*

Viglienna was Sessa's successor. Our author, reasonably enough, leaves it to the departing ambassador, to give an account of the pope and his nearest dependants. He himself acquaints us with the history of the cardinals. His object is to show to which faction each belonged. We see, from his account, that the situation of things had changed very much since the year 1599. Only ten cardinals are mentioned as decided partisans of Spain. Of those inclined to France there was but little talk at an earlier period, whereas Viglienna reckons nine; the remainder belonged to no party.

This author is also penetrated with the importance of the curia. "Qui le differenze, le pretensioni, le paci, le guerre si maneggiano. .... Le conditioni invitano i più vivaci e cupidi di grandezza, di maniera che non è meraviglia che qui fioriscano i più acuti ingegni."

73.

*Dialogo di mons<sup>r</sup> Malaspina sopra lo stato spirituale e politico dell' imperio e delle provincie infette d' heresie. (Falic. No. 17, 142 leaves.)*

A dialogue between Monsignore Malaspina, the archbishop of Prague, and the bishops of Lyons and Cordova—churchmen belonging to the four principal nations: probably of the year 1600. The taking of Ferrara is noticed in it.

The peculiar object is to compare what had been done by the earlier popes, and what by Clement VIII, towards the progress of catholicism.

By the earlier popes: "1. La reductione delle Indie; 2. la celebratione del concilio; 3. la lega santa e la vittoria navale; 4. l' erettione de' collegii; 5. l' offerta dagli heretici del primato di Pietro al patriarca Constantinopolitano .... (! ?); 6. la constantia del re cattolico in non concedere agli heretici nei paesi bassi cose in pregiudicio della religione."

By pope Clement VIII: "1. Il governo pastorale et universale; 2. il governo particolare dei domini del stato ecclesiastico; 3. la vita di S. Beatitudine; 4. il Turca hora per opera di S. Beatitudine fatto apparire di potersi vincere; 5. Ferrara occupata; 6. l' essersi fatto cattolico il christianissimo re di Francia."

Malaspina concludes that this latter fact was of more importance than anything effected by the other popes. And not without reason. The work is dedicated to the pope's nephews.

I have only succeeded in finding one remarkable passage in this long manuscript.

The author was present at the electoral diet of Ratisbon in 1575, and conversed with the elector Augustus of Saxony. This prince was still far from awakening any hope of his conversion amongst the catholics; on the contrary, he declared, that he set no store by the pope, either as pope, or as sovereign of Rome, or as master of great wealth; that the papal treasury was rather a cistern, than a living spring: the only thing which gave him any concern, was the fact, that a monk, like Pius V, should have united so many powerful sovereigns in a war against the Turks; he might succeed in a similar undertaking against the protestants. And in fact, Gregory XIII did conceive such a plan. Seeing that France, from fear of the Huguenots, abandoned all participation in the Turkish war, he conceived the necessity of the catholic sovereigns entering into an alliance against Turks and protestants at once. Negotiations for this purpose were instantly set on foot with the emperor and the archduke Charles in Styria.

## 74.

*Relatione delle chiese di Sassonia. Felicitibus auspiciis illmi comitis Frid. Borromei. 1603. (Bibl. Ambros. H. 179.)*

Another of the numerous plans on the part of the catholics, to regain possession of Germany.

The writer professes the conviction, that people were gradually becoming weary of protestantism in Germany. Fathers already set little importance on bringing up their children in their own creed. "Li lasciano in abbandono, perche dio gl' ispiri, come essi dicono, a quel che sia per salute dell' anime loro."

In this conviction he forms designs upon the two principal protestant powers, Saxony and the Palatinate.

In Saxony the administrator had already destroyed Calvinism. He must be won over by the hope of regaining the electorate ("mettergli inanzi speranza di poter per la via della conversione farsi assoluto patrone dell' elettorato"). The nobles of the country would also be well pleased by the prospect of again getting possession of the bishoprics.

He thus expresses himself concerning the Palatinate. "Il Casimiro aveva una sorella vedova, che fu moglie d' un landgravio d' Hassia, la quale suol vivere in Braubach, terra sopra il Rheno, e si dimostra piena di molte virtù morali e di qualche lume del cielo: suol esercitare l' opere di charità per molto zelo, facendo molte elemosine e consolando gl' infermi di quei contorni con provederli di medicine: conversa volentieri con alcuni padri del Giesù e con l' arcivescovo di Treveri ..... E' opinione di molti che mediante una più diligenza o di qualche padre del Giesù amato da lei o di qualche principe cattolico o vescovo saria facil cosa di ridurla totalmente alla vera fede: ..... di che se dio benedetto desse la gratia e che la cosa passasse con conveniente segretezza, sarebbe ella ottimo instrumento per convertire poi il nipote con la sorella di lui et un'altra figlia che resta del Casimiro."

The writer here points to Anna Elizabeth of the Palatinate, wife of Philip II of Hesse Rheinfels, who died as early as the year 1583. She had at an earlier period been suspected of Calvinistic opinions, and had even been wounded in a tumult in consequence. We find that afterwards, when living at Braubach, her widow's estate which she embellished, she became suspected of the contrary leaning to catholicism.

The combination of circumstances on which our author builds, is this. He thinks that were the young count Palatine to be married to a Bavarian princess, the whole land would become catholic. And how great would be the advantage of gaining over an electorate!

## 75.

*Istruzione a V. Sria Monsr Barberino arcivescovo di Nazaret destinato nuntio ordinario di N. Sigre al re christianissimo in Francia. 1603. (MS. Rom.)*

Drawn up by cardinal P. Aldobrandino, who frequently alludes to his earlier embassy to the French court; and founds upon it his hopes of furthering the cause of catholicism, already in the ascendant in France, through the conversion of Henry IV.

It is worth remarking some of the commissions given to the nuncio, (who was afterwards Urban VIII.)

"Ella farà sì con il re ch' egli mostri non solamente di desiderare che gli eretici si convertino, ma che dopo che si sono convertiti, gli ajuti e favorisca..... Il pensare a bilanciare le cose in maniera che si tenghi amiche ambidue le parti è una propositione vana, falsa et erronea, e non potrà esser suggerita a S. M<sup>a</sup> che da politici e mal intentionati e da chi non ama la suprema autorità del re nel regno..... N. Sigre non vuol lasciar di porli" (to the king) "in considerazione una strada facile" (to get rid of the protestants) "e senza che possa par-

torir tumulto e che si eseguisca facilmente e fa il suo effetto senza coltivazione, et è quella che altre volte ha S. S.<sup>ta</sup> ricordato alla M.<sup>a</sup> S. et addotto l' esempio di Polonia cioè di non dar gradi ad eretici: ..... ricorda a S. M.<sup>a</sup> di dar qualche sbarbatezza alle volte a costoro" (to the Huguenots), "perche è turba ribelle et insolente ..... V. S.<sup>ta</sup> dovrà dire liberamente al re che deve fuggire gli economati et il dar vescovati e badie a soldati et a donne."

In these *economati* lay the origin of the *regale*, which at a later period caused so many disputes. "Il re nomina l' un economo, il quale in virtù d' arresto, inanzi sia fatta la spedizione apostolica, amministra lo spirituale e temporale, conferisce beneficii, costituisce vicarii che giudicano, assolvono, dispensano."

The nuncio was also to endeavor to confirm the king in the catholic faith, since during the war he had been prevented from receiving fitting instruction; he was to press for the nomination of trustworthy bishops, and to provide the reform of the clergy; if possible, to bring about the publication of the decrees of the council of Trent, which the king had promised the cardinal on his departure to put in execution within two months; a promise, the performance of which was still neglected after a delay of several years; the nuncio was also to counsel the destruction of Geneva ("di tor via il nido che hanno gli eretici in Ginevra, come quella che è asilo di quanti apostati fuggono d' Italia").

Italy lies nearest to the pope's heart; he declares it unendurable, that a Huguenot commander should be sent to Castel Delfino on the Italian side of the Alps; this example would be fatal.

Clement was busily occupied with the thought of a Turkish war. Each of the allied monarchs was to attack the Turks at a separate point; the king of Spain was prepared, and only demanded the assurance that the king of France meanwhile would not stir up war against him from any other quarter.

## 76.

*Pauli V pontificis maximi vita compendiose scripta. (Bibl. Barb.)*

A panegyric of no great value.

The administration of justice, the government in general, and the building schemes of Paul V, are praised at length.

"Tacitus plerumque et in se receptus, ubique locorum et temporum vel in mensa meditabatur, scribebat, plurima transigebat.

"Nullus dabatur facinorosis receptui locus. Ex aulis primariis Romæ, ex ædium nobilissimarum non dicam atris sed penetralibus nocentes ad supplicium armato satellitio educebantur.

"Cum principatus initio rerum singularum, præcipue pecuniarum difficultate premeretur, cum jugitur annis XVI tantum auri tot largitionibus, substructionibus, ex integro ædificationibus, præsiidiis exterorumque subsidiis insumpsit, rem frumentariam tanta impensa expeditur—nihil de arcis Æliæ thesauro ad publicum tutamen congesto detraxerit, subjectas provincias sublevaverit; tot immensis tamen operibus non modo æs alienum denuo non contraxit, sed vetus imminuit; non modo ad inopiam non est redactus, sed præter publicum undequaque locupletatum privato ærario novies centena millia nummum aureorum congressit."

Probably this panegyrist did not regard the creation of so many new luoghi di monte as a mode of raising a loan.

## 77.

*Relatione dello stato infelice della Germania cum propositione dell' rimedio opportuni, mandata dal nuntio Ferrero vescovo di Vercelli alla S.<sup>a</sup> di N. Sig.<sup>re</sup> papa Paolo V. (Bibl. Barb.)*

Probably one of the first circumstantial reports which came into the hands of Paul V. The nuncio mentions, as an event just occurred, the insurrection of the imperial troops against their general Basta in May 1605.

The unfortunate course of the war under these circumstances, the successes of the Turks and rebels in conflict with the emperor, were doubtless the chief reasons for his calling Germany "unhappy."

For the number of conquests made by the catholic church in Germany did not escape his notice.

"Di questi frutti ne sono stati prossima causa gli alunni così di Roma come delle varie città e luoghi della Germania dove la pietà di Gregorio XIII alle spese della camera apostolica gl' institui, giunti li collegii e scuole delli padri Giesuiti, alli quali vanno misti cattolici et heretici; perche li alunni sudetti si fanno prelati o canonici."

He repeatedly asserts, that the Jesuits' schools had won over a crowd of young men to the cause of catholicism. In Bohemia, however, he finds an extraordinary want of catholic priests.

He also enters into the political state of Germany; with the feeble preparations made by the emperor, and the internal division of the house of Austria, he looks upon the danger to be feared from the Turks as very threatening. The archdukes Matthias and Maximilian had become reconciled, in opposition to the emperor. "Hora l' arciduca Mattia e Massimiliano si sono uniti in amore, vedendo che con la loro disunione facevano il gioco che l' imperatore desidera, essendosi risoluto il secondo a cedere al primo come a quello che per ragione di primogenitura toccava il regno d' Ungaria, Boemia e stati d' Austria, et Alberto ha promesso di star a quello che se ne farà, e di comun concerto sollecitano l' imperatore con lettere a prendere risoluzione al stabilimento della casa: ma egli è caduto in tanta malinconia, o sia per questa lor unione, e gelosia che non siano per valersi di queste sedizioni, o per altro, che non provvede alla casa nè agli stati nè a se stesso."

Many other remarkable facts come to light: *e. g.* views entertained even at that time by the house of Brandenburg upon Silesia. "Il Brandeburgh non dispersa con gli stati che ha in Slesia e le sue proprie forze in tempo di revolutione tirar a se quella provincia."

## 78.

*Relatione dell' illmo Sr Franc. Molino cavr e pro<sup>r</sup> ritornato ad Roma con l'illmi sig<sup>ri</sup> Giovanni Mocenigo cavr, Piero Duodo cavr e Francesco Contarini cavr, mandati a Roma a congratularsi con papa Paolo V della sua assontione al ponteficato, letta in senato 25 Genn. 1605 (1606).*

The outbreak of the troubles was already to be foreseen. The ambassadors observed Paul V as closely as possible.

"Sicome pronuntiato Leone XI penarono doi hore a vestirlo pontificalmente, così il presente pontefice fu quasi creduto prima vestito ch' eletto et pur da altri cardinali: che non fu così presto dichiarato che in momento dimostrò continenza et gravità pontificia tanta nell' aspetto, nel moto, nelle parole et negli fatti, che restarono tutti pieni di stupore et meraviglia et molti forse pentiti, ma tardi et senza giovamento: perche diversissimo dalli altri precessori, che in quel calore hanno tutti assentito alle richieste così de' cardinali come d'altri et fatte infinite gratie, così il presente stette continentissimo et sul serio, tanto che si dichiarò risoluto a non voler assentire et promettere pur minima cosa, dicendo ch' era conveniente aver prima sopra le richieste et gratie che le erano dimandate ogni debita et matura consideratione: onde pochissimi furono quelli che dopo qualche giorno restassero in qualche parte gratiati. Nè tuttavia si va punto allargando, anzi per la sua sempre maggior riservatezza dubitando la corte di veder anco sempre poche gratie et maggior strettezza in tutte le cose, se ne sta molto mesta. Fra li cardinali non v' è alcuno che si possi gloriar di aver avuto tanto d'intrensichezza o famaliarità seco che di certo si possi promettere di ottenere prontamente alcuna cosa da lui, e tutti procedono con tanto rispetto che si smarriscono quando sono per andarli a parlar et negotiar seco: perche oltre che lo trovano star sempre sul serio et dar le risposte con poche parole, si vedono incontrar in risoluzioni



fondate quasi sempre sopra il rigor dei termini legali: perchè non admettendo consuetudini, ch' egli chiama abusi, nè esempj de consenso de' pontifici passati, ai quali non solamente dice che non saperia accomodar la sua conscientia, ma che possono aver fatto male et potriano render conto a dio o che saranno stati ingannati, o che la cosa sarà stata diversa da quella che a lui viene portata, li lascia per il più malcontenti. Non ha caro che si parli seco lungo per via di contesa o di disputazione, et se ascolta pur una o doi repliche, quelle stimando di aver risoluto con le decisioni de' leggi o dei canoni a de' concilj che lor porta per risposta, si tocca se passano inanzi, ovvero egli entra in altro, volendo che sappino che per le fatiche fatte da lui il spatio di trenta cinque anni continuo nel studio delle leggi et praticatele con perpetui exercitii nelli officii di corte in Roma et fuori, possi ragionevolmente pretendere, se bene questo non dice tanto espressamente, di aver così esatta cognitione di questa professione che non metti il piede a fallo nelle risoluzioni che da et nelle determinazioni che fa, dicendo bene che nelle cose dubbie deve l'arbitrio et interpretatione particolarmente nelle materie ecclesiastiche esser di lui solo come pontefice. Et per questo li cardinali, che per l'ordinario da certo tempo in qua non contradicono, come solevano, anzi quasi non consigliano, et se sono ricercati et comandati di parlar liberamente, lo fanno conforme a quell' intenzione che vedono esser nelli pontefici, se ben non la sentono, col presente se ne astengono più di quello che habbino fatto con alcun dei suoi predecessori: et averanno ogni di tanto maggior occasione di star in silenzio, quanto che manco delli altri ricerca il parere di loro o di alcuno a parte, come soleva pur far papa Clemente et altri: fa fra se stesso solo le risoluzioni et quelle de improvviso pubblica nel consistorio; in cui hora si duole dei tempi presenti, hora si querela de' principi con parole pungenti, come fece ultimamente in tempo nostro per la deditione di Strigonia, condolendosi et attribuendo la colpa all' imperatore et ad altri principi con parole aculeate et pungenti; hora rappresentando a' cardinali li loro obblighi, li sfodra protesti senza alcun precedente ordine o comandamento, con che li mette in grandissima confusione, come fece significandoli l'obbligo della residenza et, come ho detto, non per via di comando, come facevano li altri pontefici, li quali prefigevano loro ancor stretto tempo di andar alle lor chiese, ma con solamente dirli che non escusarebbe li absenti da esse da peccato mortale et da ricevere i frutti, fondando la sudetta conclusione sopra li canoni et sopra il concilio di Trento: col qual termine solo così stretto et inaspettatamente con molta flamma pronunciato mette tanta confusione nelli cardinali vescovi che conoscendo loro non potersi fermare in Roma più lungamente senza scrupolo et rimorso grandissimo della conscientia, senza dar scandalo et senza incorrer in particolar concetto presso il papa di poco curanti li avvertimenti della S<sup>ta</sup> Sua, di poco timorati di dio et di poco honore ancor presso il mondo, hano preso resolutione chi di andar alla residenza, et già se ne sono partiti alquanti, chi di rinunciare, et chi di aver dispensa fin che passi la furia dell' inverno per andarvi alla primavera: nè ha ad messo per difesa che salvino le legationi delle provincie e delle città del stato ecclesiastico: solo doi poteano esser eccettuati, il card<sup>l</sup> Tarasio arcivescovo di Siena vecchissimo et sordo, che non sarà perciò salvato da restar astretto alla renoncia, et il sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> di Verona, medesimamente per l'età grandissima et per aver già molti anni mons<sup>r</sup> suo nipote ch' esercita la coadjutoria et ottimamente supplisce per il zio."

In spite of this severity the ambassadors came to a good understanding in the main with Paul V. He dismissed them in the most friendly manner, nor could he have expressed himself more favorably. They were themselves astonished, that things should so soon afterwards have taken so entirely contrary and so dangerous a turn.

*Istruzione a mons<sup>re</sup> il vescovo di Rimini (C<sup>l</sup> Gessi) destinato nuntio alla republica di Venetia della Santità di N. S. P. Paolo V. 1607. 4 Giugno. (Bibl. Alb.)*

Written immediately after the termination of the disputes, but not as yet in a very pacific tone.

The pope complained that the Venetians tried to conceal the act of absolution; in a declaration to their clergy, they intimated that the pope had annulled his decree of censure, because he recognised the purity of their intentions:—(“che S. Beat<sup>re</sup> per haver conosciuta la sincerità degli animi e delle operationi loro havesse levate le censure.”)

Nevertheless Paul V goes so far as to indulge the hope that the consultores—Fra Paolo even—would be delivered over to the inquisition. This passage is very remarkable. “Delle persone di Fra Paolo Servita e Gio. Marsilio e degli altri seduttori che passano sotto nome di theologi s’è discorso con V<sup>ra</sup> Sig<sup>ra</sup> in voce: la quale doveria non aver difficoltà in ottenere che fossero consignati al sant’ officio, non che abbandonati dalla republica e privati dello stipendio che s’è loro costituito con tanto scandalo.” Such suggestions could only increase the hostility of Fra Paolo and render him implacable. The pope was not aware what a formidable enemy he had in this man. All his “Monsignori” and “Illustrissimi” are forgotten, while the spirit of Fra Paolo still lives (at least in one section of that opposition which exists within the bosom of the catholic church) down to the present hour.

The resistance which the pope had encountered in Venice made the deepest impression upon him. “Vuole N. Sig<sup>te</sup> che l’ autorità e giurisdittione ecclesiastica sia difesa virilmente da V. S<sup>ria</sup>, la quale averte non dimeno di non abbracciar causa che possa venire in contesa dove non abbia ragione *perche forse è minor male il non contendere che il perdere.*”

*Ragguaglio dello dieta imperiale fatta in Ratisbona l’ anno del S<sup>r</sup> 1608, nella quale in luogo dell’ ecc<sup>mo</sup> e rev<sup>mo</sup> mons<sup>r</sup> Antonio Gaetano, arcivescovo di Capua, nuntio apostolico, rimasto in Praga appresso la M<sup>a</sup> Cesarea, fu residente il padre Filippo Milensio maestro Agostino vic<sup>rio</sup> generale sopra le provincie aquilonarie. All’ ecc<sup>mo</sup> e rev<sup>mo</sup> sig<sup>re</sup> e principe il sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> Francesco Barberini.*

Antonio Gaetano was nuncio at the imperial court at the time that the emperor Rudolf convoked a diet, in the year 1607.

Gaetano was commissioned to effect the more complete introduction of the decrees of the council of Trent, and of the Gregorian calendar—changes to which the three temporal electorates were already inclined, especially Saxony, whose ambassador was instructed to give his assent—and to take under his particular care the interests of catholic parties in the Kammergericht. The following reasons are assigned in the instruction for the delay in the business of that court.

“Di questo tribunal essendo presidente supremo l’ intruso Magdeburgese heretico, e volendo egli esercitare il suo officio, non fu ammesso, e da quel tempo in qua non essendo state reviste le cause et essendo multiplicati gli aggravii fatti particolarmente alli catolici, protestando, li heretici di volere avere luogo nella detta camera indifferentemente, come hanno li catolici, hanno atteso continuamente ad usurpare i beni ecclesiastici.”

It was easy to foresee that this matter would be warmly discussed at the diet; nevertheless the nuncio could not be present. The emperor had ordered the archduke Ferdinand to attend as his representative, and would have regarded it as an affront had the nuncio quitted him.

Gaetano sent in his own place the vicar of the Augustines, Fra Milentio, who had resided several years in Germany and could not but be, in some degree, acquainted with the state of affairs. Moreover the nuncio now referred him to Matth. Welsler—“per esatta cognitione delle cose dell’ imperio”—and to that

very bishop of Ratisbon, a publication by whom was just then producing so much excitement amongst the protestants. He was also directed to abide by the wishes of the emperor's confessor, Father Willer.

Unfortunately Fra Milentio did not compose the account of his own share in these transactions till after the lapse of many years. Still what he says of his personal exertions is highly remarkable: I have already inserted it in the text.

He ascribes the whole of the troubles then broken out in the empire to the disputed succession: "essendo fama che Ridolfo volesse adottarsi per figliuolo Leopoldo arciduca, minor fratello di Ferdinando, e che poi a Ferdinando stesso inchinasse." Matthias was exceedingly displeased. In Klesel, however, and prince Lichtenstein, who had so much power in Moravia, he met with faithful and influential adherents.

Dietrichstein and Gaetano had, according to this account, a great share in the conclusion of the treaty between the imperial brothers.

## 81.

*Relatione di Roma dell' illustrissimo Sr Giovan Mocenigo Kav<sup>r</sup> Ambr a quella corte l' anno 1612. Inff. Politt. Tom. XV.*

The first ambassador after the settlement of the differences was Francesco Contarini: 1607—1609. Mocenigo speaks highly of the advantage he had derived from Contarini's prudent conduct. He himself, who had already been employed in embassies for eighteen years, was at Rome from 1609 to 1611. The quiet tone of his report is the best proof that he also succeeded in maintaining a good understanding.

In this report it is not his object to repeat generalities, nor what was commonly known; but only to exhibit the qualities and dispositions of the pope as regards the Venetian republic: "la qualità, volontà, dispositione del papa e della republica verso questa republica. Tratterò il tutto con ogni brevità, tralasciando le cose più tosto curiose che necessarie."

1. Pope Paul V. "Maestoso, grande, di poche parole: nientedimeno corre voce che in Roma non sia alcuno che lo possa agguagliare nelli termini di creanza e buoni officii: veridico, innocente, di costumi esemplari."

2. Cardinal Borghese: "di bella presenza, cortese, benigno, porta gran riverenza al papa: rende ciascuno sodisfatto almeno di buone parole: è stimatissimo e rispettato da ogn' uno." In the year 1611 he had already an income of 150,000 scudi.

3. Spiritual power. He remarks that former popes placed their glory in granting favors; that the pontiffs of the present age on the contrary strove to withdraw those already granted ("rigorosamente studiano d' annullare at abbassare le già ottenute gratie.") Nevertheless every ruler endeavored to be on good terms with them, from the conviction that the obedience of the people depended on religion.

4. Temporal power. He still finds the population of the Roman states very warlike ("prontissimi alle fattioni, alli disaggi, alle bataglie, all' assalto et a qualunque attione militare;") the papal forces nevertheless were in utter decay. Formerly 650 light horse had been maintained, chiefly against the banditti; the latter having been dispersed, the cavalry had been sent to serve in the Hungarian war, and had not been replaced.

5. Form of government, absolute. The cardinal *nepos*, the datario and Lanfranco had some influence; otherwise the cardinals were only consulted when the pope wished to gain over their opinions for his own purposes; and when questioned, they answered more according to his inclination than their own views. ("Se pure dimanda consiglio, non è alcuno che ardisca proferir altra parola che d'applauso e di laude, sicche tutto viene terminato dalla prudenza del papa"). This was in fact the best course to pursue, since the factions dividing the court had filled it with mere partisans.

6. Relation to Spain and France. The pope endeavored to remain neutral. "Quando da qualcheduno dipendente da Spagnoli è stato tenuto proposito intorno alla validità et invalidità del matrimonio della regina, si è stato mostrato risoluto a sostenere le ragioni della regina. Li poco buoni Francesi nel medesimo regno di Francia non hanno mancato d'offerirsi pronti a prender l'armi, purché havessero avuto qualche favore del papa e del re di Spagna.

"Il re di Spagna è più rispettato di qualsivoglia altro principe dalla corte Romana. Cardinali e principi sono consolatissimi quando possono avere da lui danari et essere suoi dependenti.—Il papa fu già stipendiato da lui, e dall' autorità di S.M., come soggetto confidente, favorito all'assunzione del pontificato con singolare et incomparabile beneficio.—Procura di dar sodisfazione al duca di Lerma, acciò questo le serva per instrumento principalissimo di suoi pensieri presso S. M<sup>ta</sup> cattolica."

7. His council: "temporeggiare e dissimulare alcune volte con li pontefici.—Vincitori essercitano le vittorie a modo loro, vinti conseguiscono che condizioni vogliono."

82.

*Relatione della nunziatura de' Suizzeri. Informazioni Politt. Tom. IX. fol. 1—137.*

*Informatione mandata dal Sr Cl<sup>o</sup> d' Aquino a Monsr Feliciano Silva vescovo di Foligno per il paese di Suizzeri e Grisoni. Ibid. fol. 145—212.*

In Lebret's *Magazin zum Gebrauch der Staaten-und Kirchen-geschichte*, vol. vii, p. 445, are inserted extracts from the letters sent from the Roman court during the years 1609 and 1614 to the nuncios in Switzerland;—it cannot be said that they are very interesting; indeed they are so completely detached, without answers or illustrative matter, that they are not even intelligible.

The first of these nuncios is the bishop of Venafrò, the same whom Haller (*Bibliothek der Schweizergeschichte*, vol. v, n<sup>o</sup> 783,) mentions as having written a report on Switzerland. "The papal nuncio," he says, "Lad. Gr. of Aquino, bishop of Venafrò, has given a proof of his penetration and ability in this work, which well deserves to be printed." Haller made a copy of it with his own hand in Paris, which he presented to the library at Zürich.

This report is the same as our own, but our copy is more perfect than the one with which Haller was acquainted.

When the bishop of Venafrò left the nuntiatura, which office he had filled from 1608 to 1612, he presented his successor, the bishop of Foligno, not only with the instructions received by him from cardinal Borghese, but also with a very detailed account of the manner in which he had acted upon them ("di quanto si è eseguito sino al giorno d'hoggi nelli negotii in essa raccomandandissimi"). This is the second of the above-cited MSS. It begins with a description of the domestic dissensions of Switzerland.

"E seguitando l'istesso ordine dell' instruzione sopradetta, dico che da molti anni in qua si è fatta gran mutatione ne' cantoni cattolici e particolarmente nella buona amicitia e concordia che anticamente passava fra di loro: perche hoggidì non solo per causa delle fattioni Spagnuole e Francesi e delle pensioni, ma ancora per altri interessi, emolumenti e gare vi è fra alcuni tanto poca amicitia che col tempo potrebbe partorire molti danni se tosto non si prende buon rimedio con procurare una dieta particolare non ad altro effetto che a rinuovare le leghe antiche, l'amicitia, fratellanza et amorevolezza, come io molte volte ho proposto con grandissimo applauso, se bene sin' hora non ho potuto vederne l'effetto. Altorfo è antico emulo di Lucerna, e tira seco gli altri due cantoni Schwitz et Undervaldo, e vede mal volentieri preminenza e primo luogo de' signori Lucernesi, et però spesse volte contradice in attioni publiche non ad altro fine che di gara e di poca intelligenza: Lucerna tira seco Friburgo e Soluturno e ancora Zug, e fa un' altra partita. Zug è diviso fra se stesso, essendo in gravi contro-

versie li cittadini con li contadini, volendo ancora essi essere conosciuti per patroni: e così in ogni cantone cattolico vi sono molte pubbliche e private dissensioni con pregiudicio delle deliberationi e con pericolo di danni assai maggiori se non vi si rimedia, come io procuro con ogni diligenza.”

In transmitting this account, the nuncio promised a still more minute report. (“Fra pochi giorni spero di mandarle copia d’una piena e più diffusa relatione di tutti li negotii della nuntiatura.”)

This is the first-named MS. and the one known to Haller.

In the second, the nuncio goes to work somewhat more methodically. “Cap. I. Della grandezza della nuntiatura.” He first describes the extent of the nuntiatura, which embraced a district as large as the kingdom of Naples, and moreover included people who spoke languages entirely different, among which he does not omit the romance dialect: “una favella stravagantissima composta di otto o dieci idiomi.”

“II. Degli ambasciatori de’ principi che resiedono appresso Suizzeri e de’ loro fini.”

“III. Delle diete e del modo, tempo e luogo dove si congregano fra Suizzeri.”

“IV. Delli passi che sono nella nuntiatura de’ Suizzeri.” For the passes formed the main subject of contention between the several powers.

“V. Stato Spirituale della nuntiatura de’ Suizzeri.” The most important and naturally the most circumstantial chapter (p. 28—104), in which an account is given of the abbeys, as well as of certain dioceses.

“VI. Ufficio del nuntio per ajutare lo stato spirituale e de’ modi più fruttuosi di farlo.”

“VII. Che debbia fare il nuntio per dare sodisfattione in cose temporali nella nuntiatura.”

We see, how carefully the most important points are separated and gone through. The execution shows equal knowledge of the past and present; zeal, ability, and penetration. As is natural, the report repeats the greater part of what was contained in the first statement.

But even this was not enough for our nuncio. To the report he added a “Compendio di quanto ha fatto mons<sup>o</sup> di Venafro in esecuzione dell’istruzione datali nel partire di Roma;” which had been already composed on another occasion, and must have been almost identical with the first statement. He observes this himself, but yet he appends this little document. In the copies it has been omitted, doubtless very properly.

Instead of it follows an “Appendice de’ Grisoni e de’ Vallesani,” no less remarkable than the former one.

“E questo,” the writer concludes his voluminous work, “è il breve summary promesso da me del stato della nuntiatura Suizzera con le parti che a quella soggiaciono. Deo gratias, Amen.”

With all this, he thought he had given but a short sketch of what was worth knowing: so impossible it is to represent the world in words.

I have (vol. ii, p. 40 et seq.) made use of the notices in this narrative only as they bore upon my own design: the publication of what remains must be left to the industry of the Swiss.

*Istruzione data a mons<sup>r</sup> Diotallevi di S. Andelo destinato dalla St<sup>a</sup> di N<sup>ro</sup> Sig<sup>re</sup> papa Paolo V nuntio al re di Polonia 1614.*

A general admonition to promote the catholic religion, the introduction of the decrees of the council of Trent, and the appointment of good catholics to public offices, and on no occasion to permit any measure of advantage to the protestants.

Nevertheless symptoms of a certain misunderstanding are manifest.

The pope had refused to nominate the bishop of Reggio to a cardinalate, in accordance with the king’s desire. The nuncio was to endeavor to appease the king on this head.

It is particularly impressed upon him, never to promise money.

“Perche o non intendendosi o non vedendosi le strettezze pur troppo grandi della sede apostolica, sono facili i potentati particolarmente oltramontani a cercar ajuto, e se si desse ogni picciola speranza, si offenderebbero poi grandemente dell' esclusione.”

We find fewer ecclesiastical documents relating to the latter years of Paul V. We will profit by the space thus left us to examine certain others, upon the administration of the state during that period.

## 84.

*Informazione di Bologna di 1595. (Ambros. Bibl. Milan. F. D. 181.)*

The position occupied by Bologna, its political constitution, and the kind of independence which it maintained, were so remarkable and important, that, though a provincial city, papers and documents relating to it were included in the collections.

In the 22d volume of the *Informationi* we find a crowd of letters of the year 1580, addressed to Monsignore Cesi, legate of Bologna, which relate to his administration.

They are almost all recommendations, principally intercessions.

The Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Tuscany intercede for the Count Ercole Bentivoglio, whose crops had been sequestered, and shortly after, the Grand Duchess expresses her gratitude for the attention paid to her entreaties; the Duke of Ferrara recommends an actress of the name of Vittoria; the cardinal San Sisto certain unruly students of the university;—“we too,” he says, “have been scholars;” Giacomo Buoncompagno, son of the pope, a professor, who had been deprived of his post; the cardinal of Como, who then chiefly conducted affairs, certain monks, whose privileges had been interfered with; he expresses himself by no means in the tone of a ruler. There are also petitions of another kind. A father, whose son had been murdered, entreats urgently, and in the most supplicating manner, that justice should be executed on the murderer, who was already in prison at Bologna.

The governor's chief influence was over the administration of justice. In all other things the city was very independent.

“I senatori,” says the report, “conferiscono ogni cosa importante col superiore, et havendo in mano tutti li datii et entrate della città, del datio del sale e vino in poi, che è del papa, dispensano li denari publici mediante un scrutinio, che si fa presente il superiore con le mandate sottoscritte dal detto superiore, dal gonfaloniere et assunti deputati secondo li negotii. Hanno cura delle imposizioni e gravezze imposte a contadini, reali e personali, come per li buoi e teste:—attendono alle tasse che pagano li contadini; alle muraglie, porte e serragli; a conservare il numero de' soldati del contado:—provvedono ch' altri non usurpi il publico e si conservi la bellezze della città:—han cura della fiera della seta:—eleggono ogni mese per la ruota civile 4 dottori forastieri, che bisogna siano almeno dottori di X anni, e questi veggono e determinano ogni causa civile.”

The question is, how far the representatives of the papal government retained their influence in this state of things. It was, as we have just said, principally shown in the administration of justice. “Un auditore generale concorre nelle cognitioni delle cause con la ruota et un' altro particolare delle cause che avoca a se et uno criminale chiamato auditore del torrione del luogo ove risiede, qual tiene due sottoauditori per suo servitio, e tutti quelli sono pagati dal publico.”

Certain statistical accounts follow. “Contado circa miglia 180: semina intorno a corbe 120 m., raccoglie un anno per l' altro 550 m. a 660 m. corbe. Fa da 130 m. anime (la città 70 m., che avanti le carestie passava 90 m.) 16 m. fuochi, consuma corbe 200 m. di formento (la corba 160 libre,) 60 m. costolate di vino, 18 m. corbe di sale, 1700 m. libre d' olio, ammazza 8 m. vaccine, 10 m. vitelli,

13 m. porchi, 8 m. castrati, 6 m. agnelli, et abrugia 400 m. libre di candele ..... Si fa conto che un anno per l' altro moreno nella città 3 m. persone e ne nascono 4 m., che si faccino 500 spose e 60—70 monachi, che siano portati a' poveri bastardini 300 putti l' anno. Ha 400 fra carrozze e cocchi. Vengono nella città ogni anno da 600 m. libre de follicelli da quali si fa la seta, e se ne mette opera per uso della città 100 m. libre l' anno."

85.

*Istruzione per un legato di Bologna. (Vallic.)*

Of a somewhat later date. The following counsels are curious.

"Invigliare sopra gli avvocati cavillosi et in particolare quelli che pigliano a proteggere a torto i villani contro li cittadini e gentiluomini, ..... accarezzare in apparenza tutti li magistrati, non conculcare i nobili." The evil of the bravi had risen to such a pitch, that many of the students who had not yet matriculated, had become members of their body.

Other papers exhibit the state of the Campagna di Roma; they show how the poor peasant was harassed, what share of the profits the barons kept for themselves, and the mode in which the land was tilled.

86.

*Dichiaratione di tutto quello che pagano i vassalli de baroni Romani al papa e aggrarj che pagano ad essi baroni.*

"I. Pagamenti diversi che si fanno da vassalli de baroni Romani al papa. Pagano il sale, pagano un quattrino per libra di carne, pagano l' impositione per il mantenimento delle galere posta da Sisto quinto, pagano i sussidii triennali, pagano i cavalli morti cioè per alloggiamento di cavalleria, pagano una certa impositione che si chiama de soldati, pagano una certa impositione che si chiama l' archivio, pagano un' altra impositione che si chiama S. Felice, pagano la foglietta messa da Sisto quinto, pagano una certa impositione che si chiama sale forastico.

"II. Pagamenti che fanno li medesimi vassalli a baroni. Pagano poi al barone, ove sono molina, tanto grano, perche è somma molto grave, pagano risposta di vino, pagano risposta d' olio ove ne fa, pagano di mandare i porci nei castagneti e querceti fatta la raccolta che chiamano ruspate, pagano tasse d' hosterie, pagano tasse de pizigaroli, pagano tasse de fornari, pagano de bichierari, pagano quelli che vanno a spigolare come è secato il grano, pagano dei bestiami che vanno a pascere, pagano risposta di grano pagano risposta di biada. Montano tutti questi aggravi, come si puol vedere dall' entrate dell' duca Altemps, computata la portione del molino della molarà che si trahe da vassalli, 2803 sc.; questo si cava da vassalli del Montecapuri (?) del ducato Altemps, che sono da 180 e 190 fuochi, e ciò si mette per esempio, onde si possa vedere appresso come sono aggravati i vassalli de baroni Romani dello stato ecclesiastico. Avertasi che qui non ci è quello che si paga alla camera."

87.

*Nota della entrati di molti signori e ducha Romani.*

Without doubt, belonging, like the former document, to the times of Clement VIII, who is simply styled the pope.

The Colonna family are distinguished by the possession of vassals; other families possessed more allodial property. The income of the Contestabile Colonna is reckoned at 25,000 scudi, that of Martio Colonna of Zagarolo at 23,000.

We have seen how the system of loans pursued by the state was imitated by the barons. The Sermoneto family had, in the year 1600, an income of 27,000 scudi, and debts amounting to 300,000 scudi; the Duke of Castel Gandolfo, an

income of 14,600 scudi, and debts to the amount of 360,000 scudi. The house of Montalto exceeded all others; they had debts to the amount of 600,000 scudi. The collective incomes of the Roman barons were estimated at 271,747 scudi, and their possessions at the value of nine millions of gold.

The author found that the estates were by no means neglected.

“Questi terreni di campagna, contrario all' opinione commune e a quel che io pensavo, sono tenuti con grandissima cura e diligenza: perche si arano quattro, sei e sette volte, si nettano d' erbe due o tre, tra le quali una d' inverno, si levano l' erbe con la mano, si seminano, ragguagliati li quattro anni, li due a grano nei sodi luoghi: dove non si semina, vi si fidano le pecore. Le spighe si tagliano alte, onde rimane assai paglia: e quella poi si abbruggia, che fa crescere. E li aratri con che si arano questi terreni, generalmente non vanno molto profondo: e questo avviene perche la maggior parte di questi terreni non son molto fondati e tosto si trova il pancone. Questa campagna è lavorata tutta per punta di denaro” (by day laborers), “segata, seminata e sarchiata: in somma, tutti li suoi bisogni si fanno con forastieri: e genti che lavorano detta campagna, sono nutriti della robba che si porta loro con le cavalle. Questa campagna, computati i terreni buoni e cattivi e ragguagliato un' anno per l' altro, si può dir che faccia ogni uno sci, avvertendo che nei luoghi di questi signori dove sono i loro castelli molte fiate non fanno far lavorare, ma li danno a risposta a' vassalli secondo che convengono. E questo basti quanto alla campagna di Roma. S' affitterà ragguagliato il rubbio di questo terreno 50 giulj, onde a farli grassa verrà il rubbio del terreno cento scudi e dieci giulj.”

Besides, it was reckoned that there were at that time 79,504 rubbia of land in the campagna, and that they yielded 318,016 scudi yearly; 4 scudi the rubbia;—rather more than 2100 rubbia belonged to the barons; about 23,000 to the religious houses, more than 4000 to foreigners, and 31,000 rubbia to the remaining Roman inhabitants. This proportion was changed at a later period, when the Roman citizens sold so many of their estates.

Let us however pass to the more general relations.

## 88.

*Per sollevare la camera apostolica. Discorso di mons<sup>r</sup> Malvasia. 1606.*

In spite of all the taxes, it was remarked with terror by the papal government, that it still possessed nothing. “The payment of interest,” exclaims our author, “consumes nearly the whole income: the government is constantly embarrassed how to cover the current expenses; if any extraordinary demand occurs they know not whither to turn. It would be impossible to impose new taxes, and new savings would not even be advisable: “magnum vectigal parsimonia;” there remains nothing but to reduce the rate of interest, and at the same time to take money from the Castle of St. Angelo. Instead of all the monti, with different rates of interest, there must be but one, a monte papale, with four, or at most five per cent.; all the rest must be bought in at their nominal value, a proceeding in which the apostolic see would be fully justified, as it had usually reserved such a right on the erection of the monti—earlier popes, *e. g.* Paul IV, had been obliged to sell at 50 per cent.; Clement VIII himself had only received 96½.” The author hereupon enters into a detail of how far such a scheme would be practicable.

“Succederà che stante la larghezza ed abbondanza del denaro che al presente si trova nella piazza di Roma con l' accrescimento che farà il milione estratto, aggiunta la difficoltà e pericolo di mandar fuori la moneta e l' oro per la proibitione sudetta”—which he had proposed—“che la maggior parte di quelli che hanno monti ed offizj estinti, volentieri entreranno in questo monte papale, ed a quelli che vorranno i lor denari contanti, se gli potranno pagare del detto milione e del prezzo del monte papale che si andrà vendendo. Si può anche considerare che ne' monti non vacabili ne sono gran parte vincolati ed obbligati a reinvestimento per sicurtà di eccezione di dote, di luoghi pii ed altri obblighi,



che necessariamente entreranno in questo monte papale, e si tarderà assai a ricevere il dinaro, per ritrovare altro reinvestimento o dare altra soddisfazione ed adempimento alle condizioni ed obblighi a quali sono sottoposti, il che anco apporterà molto comodo e facilità a questo negotio.

“Potrà anco la camera accollarsi tutti i monti delle comunità e de’ particolari, e ridurli come sopra, e godere quel più sino che da esse comunità e particolari saranno estinti.

“A tutti quelli che in luogo di altri monti e officj vorranno del detto monte papale, se gli deve dare la spedizione e la patente per la prima volta gratis senza spesa alcuna.

“In questa maniera può la S<sup>ta</sup> V in breve tempo sollevare e liberare la sede e la camera apostolica da tanti debiti e tanta oppressione: perche con l’ avanzo che si farà dalla detta estinzione e riduzione di frutti ed interesse, che secondo il calcolo dato alla S<sup>ta</sup> V dal suo commissario della camera ascende almeno con far la riduzione a 5 per cento a sc. quattro cento trentumila ottocento cinque l’ anno, potrà estinguere ogni anno scudi trecento trentumila ottocento cinque di debito, oltre alli sc. centomila che saranno assegnati per rimettere in castello il milione estratto a compire la metà del terzo milione che manca.”

It is sufficient to remark here, how seriously people began to think on a well-regulated financial system: it is not necessary to insert the calculations. The Roman court did not adopt any plan of this kind, but followed the easier and more convenient road.

## 89.

*Nota di danari officii e mobili donati da papa Paolo V a suoi parenti e concessioni fatelli.*

The pope had been advised to draw in the officii bearing interest, and the monti. We here find, 1. (“Nota officiorum concessorum excell<sup>mo</sup> domino M. Antonio Burghesio tempore pontificatus felicis recordationis Pauli V;” there are altogether 120 offices, the value of which is reckoned according to the customary market-price; 2.) “Nota di molte donazioni di monti fatte alli sig<sup>ri</sup> Francesco Gioan Battista e M. A. Borghese da Paolo V, con le giustificazioni in margine di qualsivoglia partito.” That is to say, the extracts from the official books, whence we learn these donations, are also set down. There are similar rubrics containing lists of the sums of money and the other valuables which were given to these signori, and of the privileges granted to them. The justifications are in the following style. “Nel libro della thesoreria secreta d’ Alessandro Ruspoli fol. 17 e da doi brevi, uno sotto la data delli 26 Genn. 1603 et l’ altro delli 11 Marzo, registrati nel libro primo signaturarum Pauli V negli atti di Felice de Totis fol. 126 et fol. 131.—A di 23 Dec. 1605 sc. 36 m. d’ oro stampe donati al sig<sup>r</sup> GB Borghese per pagar il palazzo et il restante impiegarli nella fabrica di quello, quali scudi 36 m. d’ oro stampe provenivano del prezzo del chiamato di mons<sup>r</sup> Centurionio ridotti a 24 moneta a ragione di Giulii 13 per scudo sono 46,800 sc.”

I have already shown to what extraordinary sums these donations amounted, and what an influence the rise of the papal families had upon the capital city and the provinces.

## 90.

*Relatione dello stato ecclesiastico dove si contengono molti particolari degni di consideratione. (1611.) Inform. Politt. XI. f. 1 to 27.*

It is stated at the very beginning that the author was asked for this report one morning, and sent it home on the evening of the same day.

It would have been truly wonderful if he could have dictated within a few hours so circumstantial a report, which turned out by no means bad, and contains much that is remarkable. We find here the acknowledgment that the

number of inhabitants was decreasing in many parts of Italy, either through plague or famine, or through the murders committed by the banditti, or through the excessive load of taxes; it was no longer possible to marry at a suitable age and to bring up a family of children. Moreover their very blood was wrung from the inhabitants by the taxes, and their spirits crushed by the endless restrictions on trade.

The anonymous author betrays himself on one occasion. He remarks, that he had written a book entitled, "Ragione di stato." "Ho diffusamente trattato nella ragione di stato," he says somewhere.

This gives us a clue to him. In the year 1589, there appeared at Venice, "Della ragion di stato libri X con tre libri delle cause della grandezza delle città." It is dedicated to that Wolf Dietrich von Raittenau, Archbishop of Salzburg, who first among the German princes introduced a stricter administration of the government, fashioned after the Italian system. Its author is the well-known Giovanni Botero, whose "Relationi universali" enjoyed very extensive circulation at that time.

It is evident that these "Relationi" must be examined, to see if they do not contain the one we have before us.

In the main work itself, which contains a summary account of the States of the Church, it is not to be found; but there exists a smaller work, frequently appended to the former: "Relationi del sig<sup>r</sup> Giov. Botero Benese.....di Spagna, dello stato della chiesa, del Piamonte, della contea di Nizza, dell' isola Taprobana," the dedication of which is dated 1611; in this we have the present report word for word.

The introduction alone is different. The report bears the following title: "Discorso intorno allo stato della chiesa preso della parte dell' ufficio del cardinale che non è stampata." It belonged, as we see, to a work upon the duties of the cardinals.

I leave it to my readers to judge, whether the most credulous would be deceived by the introduction to the report, which I have mentioned above.

## 91.

*Tarqu. Pitaro sopra la negotiatione maritima. 17 Ott. 1612. (Fullic.)*

Botero recommends attention to the commerce of the papal states. In fact there was then a plan for excavating a new harbor at the town of Fano. Hopes were indulged of drawing thither the trade of the towns of Urbino.

The author however urges the most cogent reasons against this plan. He says that the example of Ancona should be kept in mind, which town he (as do the Venetians shortly afterwards), describes as very much gone to decay. "Ne sono partiti li mercanti, forastieri, i nativi falliti, le genti gl' uomini impoveriti, gli artigiani ruinati e la plebe quasiche dispersa." It would be better to level Fano with the ground, than to erect a harbor there with money raised on interest. What had been the fate of Ascoli, where after a considerable loan had been raised to bring its maremma into cultivation the undertaking had utterly failed.

In fact it was not advisable on other grounds to accede to such a plan, as the towns of Urbino must within a short time escheat to Rome.

## 92.

*Relatione della Romagna. (Alt.)*

Belonging to about the year 1615: the year 1612 is expressly mentioned; with reference to the whole period however from the death of Julius III, this document is of the greatest importance. The factions dividing the province are described; the transfer of landed property caused in particular by the rise of the papal families, is very well explained. I have frequently made use of this document; a remark upon San Marino, which in those early times gradually

rose by continued exemptions to freedom and independence, may find a place here.

“La republica di S. Marino si presume libera, se non in quanto è raccomandata al duca d’ Urbino. Del 1612 si propose e si ottenne in quel consiglio che succedendo la mancanza della linea delle Rovere si dichiaravano sotto la protezione della sede apostolica, della quale per ciò ottennero alcuni privilegi et in particolare dell’ estrazione de grani e di grascia. P’a questa terra, compresi due altri castelli annessi, circa 700 fuochi. E’ situata in monti e luogo forte et è custodita la porta da soldati proprii. Hanno la libera amministrazione della giustizia e della grazia. Si elegono tra di loro ad tempus i magistrati maggiori chiamati conservatori, a quali tra di loro si dà il titolo dell’ illustrissimo. In qualche grave eccesso sogliono condurre officiali forestieri per fare processi e cause, et in particolare li ministri dell’ Altezza del duca d’ Urbino, con quella autorità che loro pare. Il pubblico è povero, che non arriva a 500 seudi d’ entrata. Ma li particolari alcuni sono comodi et alcuni ricchi rispetto alla pochezza del paese. Solevano affittare banditi d’ ogni sorte: ma perche alle volte ne nascevano scandali, è stato da loro decretato che non si possino affittare banditi se non con certe condizioni: ma non si ne può avere facilmente salvocondotto.”

## 93.

*Parole universali dello governo ecclesiastico, per far una greggia et un pastore. Secreto al papa solo.—Informatt. XXII, (26 leaves.)*

In spite of the state of the Roman territory, which gradually deteriorated so obviously, there were still people who cherished the most ambitious designs.

They have never been more strangely and extravagantly enounced than by Thomas Campanella in the present work.

For there is no doubt that this unfortunate philosopher, who fell under the suspicion of a desire to wrest Calabria from the Spanish monarchy, and of a share in the wild plans of the duke of Ossuna, is the author of this work. “Questo è il compendio,” he says, “del libro intitolato il governo ecclesiastico, il quale restò in mano di Don Lelio Orsino, et io autore tengo copia in Stilo patria mia;” he adds, “Hæc et longe plura explicantur in Monarchia Messiaë.” Campanella was from Stilo, and this Monarchia Messiaë is by him. We cannot doubt but that he either composed or revised the document in question.

The date may be left uncertain. Probably he indulged in ideas of this kind during his whole life.

He remarks that the pope has very warlike subjects. “Li Romagnuoli e Marchiani sono per natura inclinati all’ armi: onde servono a Venetiani, Francesi, Toscani e Spagnuoli, perche il papa non è guerriero.” He advises the pope however, to become warlike. There was still the material for Ciceros, Brutuses, and Catos. Nature was not deficient, but art.

He is of opinion that the pope should assemble two armies; that of S. Pietro at sea, the other of S. Paolo on shore, somewhat in the way of janissaries. An armed religion had never been overcome, especially when supported by good preaching.

For he by no means overlooks this latter requisite. He advises that the most able men should be selected from all the religious orders, set free from their monastic vows, and permitted to devote themselves to learning and science.

In the monasteries, law, medicine and the liberal arts should be studied as well as theology. The golden age must be preached to the people, when there should be one fold under one shepherd; the happiness of delivered Jerusalem, and of a state of patriarchal innocence must be painted so as to awaken a longing desire for them.

But when would such a state of felicity arrive? “Then,” he answers, “when all temporal sovereignties shall be done away with and the vicar of

Christ shall rule over the whole earth." "Sarà nel mondo una greggia et un pastore, e si vedrà il secol d'oro cantato da poeti, l'ottima republica descritta da philosophi, e lo stato dell'innocenza de' patriarchi, e la felicità di Gerusalemme liberata da mano degli eretici et infedeli. E questo fia quando saranno evacuati tutti li principati mondani e regnerà per tutto il mondo solo il vicario di Christo."

The doctrine must be preached—according to his advice—that the pope was lord in temporal matters also; a priest after the order of Abimelech, and not of Aaron.

Such ideas were still entertained, either—for I will not decide between the two eras—towards the end of the sixteenth century, or during the first half of the seventeenth. We already know how extraordinary was the progress of the Roman power at that period. Before I return to the documents relating to that progress, I may be allowed to add a few words upon the historians of the Jesuits, whose influence was then at its height.

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*Remarks upon some of the Historians of the Jesuits.*

High conceit of themselves and leisure gradually led the greater number of the religious orders to write their own histories in great detail.

None have done this so systematically as the Jesuits. Their aim was to give the world a connected and comprehensive history of all they had accomplished, written by themselves. And in effect the "*Historia Societatis Jesu*," known to us under the names of Orlandinus and his continuers, is a work of the greatest importance as relates to that order—indeed we may say as relates to the history of the century generally.

Nicolaus Orlandinus, a native of Florence, had for a time been at the head of the college of Nola and the novices trained at Naples, when in 1598 he was summoned by Acquaviva to Rome, and appointed historian to the order. In his style of writing, as well as in the business of life, he was careful, extremely accurate, and cautious; but his health was extremely feeble. With great labor he brought his work down to the death of Ignatius. He died in 1606.

His successor in this occupation was Francisus Sacchinus, born in the territory of Perugia, by far the most distinguished of the Jesuit historians. He was the son of a peasant, who occasionally visited him at the Collegium Romanum, where he studied rhetoric; and it is told in his praise, that he was never ashamed of his origin. He devoted himself for eighteen years to the composition of his history, residing at the house of probation upon the Monte Quirinale, which he scarcely ever quitted. Nevertheless he spent his life in the contemplation of the great interests of the world. The restoration of catholicism was still in its fullest progress. What can be more attractive to a historian, than to describe the origin and beginnings of an event, the development and effects of which are within his own observation? Sacchinus felt all the peculiar characteristics of his subject—this general battle fought out in all the enthusiasm of orthodoxy. "I do not describe wars," he says "of nations against each other, but wars of the human race against the monsters and the powers of hell;—wars not embracing single provinces, but every land and every sea;—wars, in which not earthly power but the heavenly kingdom is the prize." In this tone of Jesuitical exaltation he has written the history of the government of Lainez (1553–1564); of Borgia down to 1572; of the cardinal Everardus Mercurianus down to 1580—each in one volume containing eight books: and of the first ten years of Acquaviva's administration in the same number of books. Altogether there are four tolerably thick and closely printed folio volumes, in spite of which he makes excuses for being so concise. And in truth it cannot be said that he is ever prolix or tedious. He is of course partial in the highest degree; he passes over whatever does not please him, and incorporates into his work those materials only which redound to the honor of his order, and so on;

nevertheless, much is to be learned from his books. I have here and there compared him with the sources he has drawn from, *e. g.* with those parts of the *Litteræ Annuæ* which are printed and were accessible to me—for in Germany books of this kind are very rare, and I was obliged to have recourse to the libraries of Breslau and Göttingen:—I have on all occasions found that his extracts were made with judgment, a feeling of what was characteristic, and indeed with talent. In the course of this work Sacchini had acquired so circumstantial and accurate a knowledge of the affairs of the society, that the general, Mutio Vitelleschi himself, summoned him to take part in them. For our sake it is to be wished this had not been the case, for Sacchini would then have finished his account of the government of Acquaviva, and one of the most important epochs would have been far better illustrated than it has been at a later period. Sacchini died in 1625. His last volume was completed and published by Petrus Possinus.

With the progress of time, however, enthusiasm declined. Even the “*Imago primi sæculi*,” of the year 1640, is far less rich in matter, more credulous of miracles, and more uncouth in style. Not till 1710 did there appear a continuation of Sacchini by Jouvençy, comprehending the last fifteen years under Acquaviva. Jouvençy also has unquestionable talent; he narrates in a style descriptive and flowing, though not devoid of pretension; but unfortunately he interpreted the word *Historia* too literally, and did not choose to write annals as Sacchini had done. He therefore distributed the matter which he found at hand under different heads: “*Societas domesticis motibus agitata;—societas externis cladibus jactata;—vexata in Anglia;—oppugnata;—aucta,—&c.*” In consequence of this arrangement, he did not devote the necessary attention to the point, undoubtedly the most important—the revived spread of catholicism in protestant countries. The method of annals was besides far more appropriate to such a subject. With all his historical labors, Jouvençy only succeeds in producing a compilation of fragments.

And in fact he met with little applause. The order once even had the project of causing this whole epoch to be rewritten on the model of Sacchini, and it was afterwards strictly followed by Julius Cordara, who continued this history from 1616 to 1625. But the spirit in which former authors had written was irrecoverably lost. Cordara’s volume is very useful, but not to be compared in reach of thought or in power with the productions of his earlier predecessors, or even of Juvencius. It appeared in 1750. After that time the order were forced into too many struggles for existence to allow them leisure to think of a continuation of their history. The epoch of their greatest glory was moreover past.

Besides this general history, there exists, as is known, a great number of provincial histories of the order. In most of them the general history forms the groundwork: it is often copied literally. This is most strikingly the case in Socher, “*Historia provinciæ Austriæ*,” where the author repeatedly copies Sacchini even in particular expressions, *e. g.* he reproduces the “*puDET referre*” of the original thus, “*puDET sane referre.*” (Sacchin. iv, vi, 78. Socher, vi, n<sup>o</sup> 33.)

But I will not enter into a criticism of these authors; the field is far too wide, and in these days moreover they are not attractive, when too little, rather than too much, credit is attached to them; one remark only may be allowed me upon the history of Ignatio Loiola.

On comparing Orlandinus with both of the other more weighty historians of Loiola, it is striking how far more he agrees with the one, Maffei (*De vita et moribus D. Ignatii Loiolæ*) than with the other, Pietro Ribadeneira. The manner of this agreement is remarkable. The book of Maffei appeared as early as 1585; it was not till fifteen years later that Orlandinus produced his, and from the great similarity between the two, Maffei might easily appear to have served as a model. Nevertheless, Maffei is on all occasions more elaborate and mannered in his style: Orlandinus more natural, more simple, and also far more de-

scriptive. The riddle is solved, on learning that both drew from the same source, the Notes of Polancus. Maffei does not mention him, but we learn from a special treatise by Saechinus, "Cujus sit auctoritatis quod in B. Cajetani vita de b. Ignatio traditur," which we find in the later editions of Orlandinus, that Everardo Mercuriano had presented him with the MSS. of Polancus. According to that authority, Orlandinus principally drew his materials from this same Polancus; no wonder therefore if Maffei and Orlandinus agree. We have, however, the original notes in a more genuine form in Orlandinus than in Maffei: the former is more industrious, more detailed, and more true to his authorities; the latter places his glory in historical ornaments and good Latin.

But whence arise the differences in Ribadeneira's statements? The cause of them is, that he drew principally from another written document—the Notes of Ludovicus Consalvus.

Both Consalvus and Polancus derived their information from the oral communications of Ignatius himself; as far as I can see, however, Polancus picked up the accidental and occasional expressions of the general of the order, whilst Consalvus knew how to draw him out upon occasions to give a circumstantial narration; as for instance, of his first spiritual call.

And thus it seems that we have to distinguish a double tradition; the one by Polancus, repeated in Maffei and Orlandino, the other by Consalvus, repeated in Ribadeneira.

Consalvus is by far the most remarkable: he gives authentic communications, from the mouth, as we have every reason to believe, of Ignatius himself, to which, however, later writers have not adhered.

But here, as in all tradition, it is easy to detect an expansion of the original and simple material. This process was begun even by Ribadeneira; *e. g.* he derived the account of the eight days' ecstasy of Ignatius at Manresa, whence he was awakened by the word of Jesus, from the narratives of the lady Isabella Rosel of Barcellona. "Examen Ribadeneiræ in comment. præv. AA. SS. Julii t. VII, p. 590."

But people were far from being contented with him. He did not touch upon many of the miracles which were commonly believed. "Nescio" says Saechinus, "quæ mens incidit Ribadeneiræ ut multa ejus generis miracula præteriret." On that very account Polancus set about his collection of them, and caused Mercurian to have it arranged and completed by Maffei, whence they found their way into Orlandinus.

But even his legends did not satisfy the wonder-seeking jesuitism of the seventeenth century. As early as the year 1606, belief prevailed in the sanctity of a cave at Mauresa, where it was said that the "Exercitia spiritualia" of Ignatius were composed, although neither of the two traditions mentioned a syllable of such a story, and the Dominicans maintained, doubtless correctly, that the real cave of Ignatius was in their monastery.

At that very time the differences between the Dominicans and the Jesuits were at their height; motive sufficient on the part of the latter to fix on another spot as the scene of the foundation of their order.

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And now let us return to our MSS., concerning Gregory XV and Urban VIII.

94.

*Relazione delli ecc<sup>mi</sup> Sri Hieron. Giustinian K<sup>r</sup> Procr., Ant. Grimani K<sup>r</sup>, Franc. Contarini Procr., Hieron. Soranzo K<sup>r</sup>, amb<sup>ri</sup> estord. al sommo pontefice Gregorio XV l'anno 1621 il mese di Maggio.*

This, like all reports of the same kind, is of inferior importance.

The description of the new pope and his government can be but cursory after so short a residence: a few remarks upon the journey of the writers, the conclave, the birth and early life of the newly elected pope, and the first workings of his

administration, constitute nearly the whole subject-matter. In this instance more might have been done, as Geronimo Soranzo, the regular ambassador, who had resided five years at the Roman court, was associated to the other three envoys, and delivered in a common report with them.

The interest felt by the Venetian senate was not however of the same kind as ours; it was political, not historical. The personal character and the court-history of a deceased ruler no longer excited any curiosity, and could be of no essential importance. Soranzo contents himself with a few remarks. "Non debbo tralasciare di narrare qualche cosa delle più gravi che mi sono occorse di maneggiare in sì lunga et importante legatione."

The most important part of the report is, that wherein he explains the position which Venice assumed with respect to the see of Rome, in its recent differences with Spain.

"Gli Spagnuoli facevano considerara S. S<sup>ta</sup> quelle sì opportune congiunture di ravvivar le ragioni della chiesa in golfo. L' amb<sup>r</sup> si affaticò di mostrare il giusto, antico et indubitato possesso del golfo, aggiungendo che la rep<sup>ca</sup> per difenderlo ricorrerebbe ad ajuti stranieri, si valerebbe di Inglesi, Olandesi e di Turchi med<sup>mi</sup>, e se S. S<sup>ta</sup> avesse fomentato l'ingiuste et indebite pretensioni di Spagnuoli, arebbe posta tutta la X<sup>ta</sup> in grand<sup>mo</sup> scompiglio. Un giorno S. S<sup>ta</sup> mi disse "Stimiamo necessario che le cose del golfo non si alterino: le novità seguite in esso ci son spiacciate grandemente: lo abbiamo detto a chi ne ha parlato."

It appears that there were some grounds to fear that the old differences would break out into open hostilities.

Soranzo only endeavored to persuade pope Paul V that the republic was not favorable to the protestants. "Lo resi al pieno capace della bontà e del puro zelo della republica."

The ambassadors entertained the conviction that the new pope would not be inclined to the Spanish party. The manner and form of his election seemed to countenance their opinion.

"Nella eletione di Gregorio XV si mostrò l' effetto del spirito santo. Borghese, che aveva per far il papa a sua voglia sei voti oltre il bisogno, era risoluto di far eleggere Campori: ma tre delle sue creature dissentendovi, nascendo più altri inconvenienti, più per motivo et istigatione d' altri che per inclination propria venne alla nominatione di Ludovisio sua creatura. Questo cardinale aveva l' amore di Aldobrandino, fu tenuto da Spagnuoli di placidi pensieri Francesi suo confidente l' aveano."

The pope's nephew also appeared to be independent of the Spanish party. "Mostra sinora genio alieno da Spagnoli," are the words of the delegates.

A change however was soon visible.

## 95.

*Vita e fatti di Ludovico Ludovisi, di S. R. Ch. vicecanc. nepote di papa Gregorio XV, scritto da Luc. Antonio Giunti suo servitore da Urbino.* (Cors. 122 leaves.)

"Ludovico, ch' è poi stato il card<sup>i</sup> Ludovisi, nacque in Bologna dal conte Oratio della famiglia di Ludovisi e della contessa Lavinia Albergati l' anno 1595 a 27 d' Ottobre." He was brought up in the Jesuits' college at Rome, became doctor of divinity in 1615, accompanied his uncle during his nuntiatura to Bologna in 1617, entered into the prelature in 1619, and was made a cardinal on the 16th of February, 1621, the day after the coronation of his uncle, thus acquiring that high political station which we have described in the text.

"Darò," says the author, "qualche cenno delle cose parte da lui proposte, parte da lui coadjuvate o promosse nel pontificato del suo zio Gregorio."

1. These were his prominent characteristics. "Ascoltava tutto con flemma più che ordinaria: gli ambasciatori mai si rendevano satii di trattar seco, ..... si dava a tutti, occioche tutti si dassero a lui. Mostrava guistitia e misericordia insieme, senza passione o doppiezza."

2. His appointments. He advanced the cardinals who had contributed to the election of his uncle, to different legations, Orsino to Romagna, Pio to the March, Ubaldini to Bologna, and Capponi to the archbishopric of Ravenna. They were thus repaid for their services. Nuncios were sent to all courts; the Massimi to Tuscany, Pamfilì to Naples, Corsini to France, Sangro to Spain, Caraffa to the emperor, and Montorio to Cologne. Aldobrandino was general and Pino was paymaster in Germany. The greater portion of the instructions of these nunciatures are extant, which renders the following account of the manner in which they were drawn up the more interesting. "Quantunque fossero distese da m<sup>r</sup> Agucchia prelato Bolognese, nondimando il card<sup>le</sup> fece in esse particolar fatica nelle annotazioni di capi, di motivi, del senso di S. Beat<sup>a</sup>, de' ripieghi e consigli suggeriti dal suo proprio avvedimento e sapere." We see that they were sketched by the cardinal, the pope's nephew, and completed by Agucchia, a fellow countryman of Ludovisi.

3. Bulls concerning the papal elections. The forms which had heretofore prevailed were altered; secret scrutiny was introduced, and the adoration abolished. Giunti mentions the disadvantages resulting from the adoration: "Rendeva i cardinali più timidi nel dire il parer loro, partoriva e fomentava gravi disgusti tra gli escludenti e gli esclusi, cagionava che il pontefice si eleggesse senza la debita premeditazione, mentre i capi delle fazioni manifestavano le loro volontà, faceva che la somma delle elezioni fosse per il più appoggiata a cardinali giovani." We may readily believe that Ludovisi had many other more private grounds for making these changes, which however are not mentioned.

4. The establishment of the propaganda; the canonization of saints: all these things we have treated of.

5. The transfer of the electorate; and the share which Ludovisi had in that measure.

6. The acquisition of the Heidelberg library: "..... per la quale (la biblioteca Palatina) si operò molto il card<sup>le</sup> Ludovisio, atteso che riputava uno degli avvenimenti più felici del pontificato del zio di poterla conseguire. Fu destinato il dottor Leon Allaccio, scrittore Greco dell' istessa biblioteca Vaticana, che andasse a riceverla et accompagnarla."

7. The protection which Ludovisi gave to the capuchins, whom he esteemed very highly, and also to the Jesuits. Vitelleschi says, that through the especial protection which God always afforded to the company, it happened that it always had some great cardinal as its patron; for instance, Alessandro Farnese, Odoardo Farnese, Alessandro Orsino, and now Ludovisi. He had richly endowed the Jesuit churches at Rome and Bologna out of his own private property, and left by his will 200,000 scudi towards the completion of the former. Even during his lifetime he presented them yearly with 6000 scudi. The author reckons that sum among the cardinal's other charities, which he states to amount to the sum of 32,882 scudi a year.

8. The election of Urban VIII which is here ascribed to the cardinal: "supe-  
rando con la sua destrezza le difficoltà che si trapevano." His quitting Rome and proceeding to his archiepiscopal seat in Bologna was completely his own choice.

9. His after-life: he occasionally preached in Bologna, and induced the Bolognese to add Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier to the list of their patron saints: but the chief thing was, that he strenuously opposed the wavering policy of Urban VIII, as might have been expected from the tenor of his own government. On occasion of the victories of Gustavus Adolphus in 1631, he offered the Spanish court 100,000 scudi, and the produce of his Spanish abbeys, of which he possessed ten, during the continuance of the war. Giunti copies the letter in which Ludovisi grounds this offer upon the "presenti bisogni della Germania e dell' augustissima casa di S. M<sup>a</sup>, base e sostegno della religione cattolica." This offer was not accepted by the Spaniards; Olivarez answered him that although the king refused his proposal, his majesty would not fail to show



the cardinal all the favor which he could desire, and which might be esteemed interested if he accepted it.

Nothing is to be found here of the intention ascribed by a Venetian to the cardinal, of summoning a council against pope Urban VIII.

The general style of this biography is that of an official panegyric.

Although it contains much useful and credible information, it omits all mention of the more questionable facts.

The cardinal died soon afterwards. "La cui anima," concludes Giunti, "riposi in cielo."

## 96.

*Istruzione a monsr vescovo d'Aversa, nuntio destinato da N. Sig<sup>re</sup> alla M<sup>te</sup> Cesarea di Ferdinando II Imperatore. Roma, 12 Apr. 1621.*

We have seen the important results of Caraffa's exertions; even on this account the instruction which Gregory XV wrote for him when he first proceeded on his nuntiatura would have been interesting; but it also deserves attention as it develops the views taken at Rome, after the battle of Prague.

Gregory begins by assuming, that the object of the protestants was to root out the house of Austria, to seize upon the imperial throne, and then to rush into Italy, and rob and plunder that noblest portion of the globe. God however had given a different turn to events, and it was for man to improve this to the utmost.

He recommends the nuncio to devote his attention to the following points.

I. The strengthening of the empire by the catholics. He promises assistance to the emperor, and urges him to follow up the victory promptly.

II. Establishment of the catholic religion. The pope is delighted at its progress in Anstria and Moravia. He is comforted that the Calvinists at any rate are not tolerated in Silesia, and yet he would not sanction the toleration even of the confession of Augsburg, which approaches most nearly to catholicism, in Hungary ("la confessione che, quantunque rea, si dilunga assai meno dalla professione cattolica di quello che facciano le piu sette cattoliche"). But Bohemia is what he is most solicitous about. He recommends the following means for the restoration of catholicism:

"1. Fondare in Praga un' università cattolica.

"2. Rimettere nelle antiche parrochie cattolici e per le città i maestri di scola parimente cattolici.

"3. L'uso dei catechismi e di buoni libri per tutto, ma per li fanciulli et idioti l' antiche canzoni spirituali in lingua Bohema.

"4. Librarj e stampatori cattolici, facendo visitare le librerie e stampe degli ereteci.

"5. L' opera de' padri Gesuiti e di altri religiosi.

"6. Ritornare in piedi li collegii di poveri, assegnando a quelli li beni ecclesiastici alienati."

All means of instruction and education. The nuntio is also directed to oppose the appointment of protestant officers. "Lasciandosi le menti humane più consigliare dal proprio interesse che da altro, incominceranno a poco a poco massimamente i giovani a piegare l' animo alla religione cattolica, se non per altro, per partecipare di pubblici honori."

III. Restoration of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The pope complains much on this point. The bishops still refuse to submit to the edicts of the council of Trent; the canons are given to corrupt practices; the chapters make a bad use of their patronage; even the emperor takes too many liberties. "L' imperatore istesso sotto varii pretesti di spogli, di juspatronati, di concessioni apostoliche, di avocarie, di incamerationi e di pienezza di potestà trattiene le chiese gli anni vacanti, et in quel mentre se ne prende per se l' entrate."

IV. The restoration of the papal authority. The emperors appear to be glad to see that the pope dared no longer issue excommunications and bulls. More-

over, the papal court has lost amazingly by the falling off in the supplies of money from Germany, which formerly amounted to 200,000 scudi a year. Gregory cannot entirely justify the proceedings towards Klesel, but he expresses himself on the subject in very gentle terms: "non è mai piaciuto troppo quel fatto." Verospi, the *auditor di rota*, was sent over to carry on the proceedings.

V. The relations of the emperor with Italy. This might be useful in the Valtelline affairs more especially. In Spain the sacking of fortified towns after conquest was not yet permitted. "Pare che il duca di Feria et altri ministri di S. M<sup>a</sup> Ces. in Italia si opponghino a quel consiglio, come coloro che vorrebbero ritenere i forti e con essi la gloria di quell' acquisto." The pope plainly sees the danger of this; the protestants in Germany could wish nothing more than to see the sword drawn in Italy.

VI. Behavior of the nuncio. He is of course recommended in the first place to Eckenberg; it is, however, most remarkable that the pope's nephew expresses himself with the utmost caution about the Jesuits: "Terra gran conto del padre Beccano confessore di Cesare, e si valerà con destrezza dell' opera sua, non lasciando intanto di osservare i suoi discorsi e consigli per scoprirne meglio i fini et avvisarmegli. E parimente a' padri Gesuiti ricorrerà con avveduta confidenza." "With cautious confidence!" An admirable piece of advice.

We perceive meanwhile what magnificent projects the pope then entertained. He already contemplated the restoration of all church property. We shall conclude our extract with this remarkable passage: "Secondo che s' anderanno acquistando de paesi tenuti avanti dagli eretici, ella faccia grandissima istanza con S. M<sup>a</sup> di ricuperare i beni ecclesiastici occupati da loro e di renderli alle chiese et alli veri patroni. Questo officio si fece per ordine di papa Paolo V, quando il marchese Spinola s' impossessò del palatinato, e l' imperatore rispose che non era ancor tempo di trattarne."

We find that Paul V had conceived the plan of the edict of restitution in 1620, but that it was then rejected by the emperor as premature.

The nuncio is now to press this point, and to represent to the emperor the merit he would acquire by it.

## 97.

*Instruzione a mons<sup>r</sup> Sangro, patriarca d' Alessandria et arcivescovo di Benevento, per andar nunzio di S. S<sup>a</sup> al re cattolico. 1621.*

Sangro is reminded that in Spain power now rests mainly in the hands of Uzeda and the grand inquisitor; he must therefore make it his especial business to recall to the mind of the latter his spiritual duties.

In order to discover secrets he is directed to frequent the company of the ambassadors of Venice and Tuscany: "de' quali si suol cavar molto."

The questions of immunity, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and *collettoria*, are treated at great length, but I must confess that the imperfect and illegible copy which I found, deterred me from entering further into these subjects. The principal thing is, of course, the explanation of political relations.

The nuncio is especially directed to demand the renewal of the war with Holland. He was to remind the court that Prince Maurice was already old and feeble, and that his death was to be expected daily: that the provinces were weakened by the schisms of the Arminians and Gomarists: that Count Henry hoped, with the assistance of the former, and Count Ernest with that of the latter, to get possession of the supreme authority: that the Zealanders were poor, and the Dutch hated by all their neighbors for their arrogance. "Laonde il re non può voltare le sue forze contra di loro in miglior tempo ovvero opportunità."

98.

*Instruzione a V. Sigria Mr di Torres, arcivescovo di Antrino, nuntio destinato da N. Sigre in Polonia. 30 Maggio, 1621.*

The misunderstanding between Paul V and Sigismund III was not wholly unimportant. "Se la pietà del re," says Gregory XV in this instruction which he gave to his first nuncio, "e la riverenza che a questa sede egli porta, non avesse ammorzato del tutto o almeno coperte le scintille de' dispiaceri loro, se ne sarebbe per li soffioni altrui acceso alcun fuoco di discordia manifesta."

Gregory now endeavors to smooth over everything: he is penetrated by his sense of the merits of this king, who could not have been made a better catholic in Rome itself.

The nuncio is directed, above all, to maintain an irreproachable conduct: "perche tutti gli pongono gli occhi adosso e prendono ancora esempio da santi costumi di lui, et il re medesimo il propone a suoi prelati per norma." A diligent attendance at the banquets of the chief nobles would indeed be no bad means of acquiring influence, but in the end tend to diminish the respect which a nuncio ought to inspire.

It would be advisable that the nuncio should, as formerly, visit the churches in person.

The main point, however, still was education. The institution of the Dottrina Christiana, as it subsists in Italy, was to be introduced in Poland also. Catechisms and religious books were to be provided, and worldly or protestant songs superseded by catholic ones.

99.

*Instruzione a V. Sria Mr Lancellotti, vescovo di Nola, destinato da N. Sre suo nuntio in Polonia.*

I do not know whether in 1622 or 1623, but certainly during the pontificate of Gregory XV.

The instruction which had been drawn up for Torres was also communicated to Lancellotti. Since that time, at the order of the propaganda, all bishops had been obliged to report the state of their dioceses; and out of their reports the nuncio was to collect his information.

With regard to political affairs this instruction is more explicit. The nuncio is to maintain the good understanding between Poland and the house of Austria by every possible means, for this keeps the Turks and the rebellious subjects of the emperor in check.

The Poles greatly wished to conclude a peace, or at any rate a truce of twenty years, with Gustavus Adolphus, who also proposed that, should he die without issue, the line of Poland would succeed to him; but Sigismund would listen to nothing. "Benche Gustavo per conditione espressa che morendo lui senza figliuoli gli avesse a succedere S. M<sup>te</sup> e la sua stirpe, s'oppose a questi consigli." It was only out of deference to the Poles that he consented to a short truce.

The affair of the united Greeks had already been explained in the instruction to Torres, but it is here treated more clearly and fully.

"I Greci commossi al tempo di Clemente Ottavo per opera di Rupaccio Paciorio, che fu prima vescovo overo vladica di Vladimiera e poi metropolitano di Chiovia, si contentarono i vescovi o vladici loro, eccettuati quelli di Leopoli a di Premisla, che nella loro ostinatione si rimasero, d'unirsi alla chiesa Romana, e di riconoscere, come fecero l'anno 1595, il papa per loro capo secondo la forma e professione di fede nel concilio Fiorentino contenuta. Ma tante discordie ne nacquerò, e così si posero nelle diete a impugnare quella unione li nobili Greci, dagli heretici favoriti, che s'è havuto a mettere sossopra il regno: imperocche pochi del clero e molto meno del popolo l'hanno voluto abbracciare, affermando tutti essere per privati disegni e per ambitione di pochi stata fatta e senza loro partecipazione. Onde si conservano bene li vescovi e pastori cattolici, ma

questi soli se ne stanno, senza trovare pecorelle che seguitare li vogliano, e di più corrono gran rischio d'essere dalla sedie loro cacciati e che vengano ancor ad essi levate quelle chiese che tolte già alli scismatici furongli concedute. Onde in tutte le diete se ne fa lo strepito grande; e nell' anno passato avvenne che un vescovo o fosse il patriarca scismatico di Gerusalemme mandato in Moscovia et in Russia dal patriarca di Costantinopoli, si fermò fra Russi, e vi creò tanti scismatici quanti sono gli uniti, et eccitò li cosacchi, che sono tutti Greci scismatici, ad addimandare nella dieta con offerte grandissime, perche il regno per la guerra col Turco avesse bisogno di loro, che all' antiche loro pretensioni si sodisfacesse: ma il vescovo di Santo Angelo, all' hora nuntio, ne divertì l' impeto, sicche tra per questo e per pubbliche necessità, che a nuove contese non lasciavano luogo, si pose con l' autorità del re il negotio in silenzio. Si vive non di meno dagli uniti nel medesimo timore; e li più prudenti prelati ne pronosticano alla fine de' mali eventi se alcun provvedimento non vi si piglia: onde avrebbero alcuni havuto per lo migliore che l' unione non si fosse mai fatta, apportando essi che sarebbe stato più agevole il ridurre li nobili singolarmente e di famigli in famigli alla chiesa cattolica, perche si vede per prova che tutti coloro che ad uno abbandonano il rito Greco e lo scisma, stanno nella nostra chiesa perseveranti."

## 100.

*Relatione fatta alla congregazione de propaganda fide da Dionysio Lazari sopra alcune cose che possono essere di servitio alla santa fede cattolica. 1622.*

Dion. Lazari had been in England for some time—"molti mesi," as he expresses himself—and describes how catholicism may be restored there.

He proposes three different means of effecting this object, viz. negotiation with one, or with many, or violent measures.

He thinks much may be effected with king James personally, who was indifferent in his opinions, and timid. "Per la pratica che ho di lui, lo stimo indifferente in qualsivoglia religione. It would be well to nourish his suspicions by means of forged letters; "Far artificiosamente avisar qualche suo ministro fuori del regno di persona da loro creduta fedele, e nell' istesso regno far trovar qualche lettera a nome supposito che trattasse in forme segrete queste materie." Buckingham also might be won over; his wife being the daughter of a catholic and secretly of that faith herself ("è segreta cattolica figlia anche di segreto cattolico"). Buckingham was very anxious for connection with foreign powers, and might thus be most easily gained, especially as he was always in danger from the parliament. "Essendo composto il parlamento quasi per la maggior parte di puritani, stimarebbe egli specie d'efficace vendetta l' indurre il re al cattolicissimo."

Influence over the mass of the people. It would be highly useful to obtain freedom of preaching. "Il che si potrebbe fare per via di danaro, proponendo, per così dire, una gabella di predicatori et auditori, inducendosi il re molte volte per l' interesse a cose contrarie a sua volontà."

Violent measures, he says, were not to be thought of. But it is plain that the peaceful ones he proposes could never have been carried into execution.

Lazari was one of those people who think that they can influence the course of events by intrigues and dexterously-laid plots, which however never succeed.

From the present generation he hopes nothing as it is entirely nurtured in protestant opinions; the prince alone, afterwards Charles I, appears to give rise to some expectations. "Io v' ho grandissima speranza, per vederlo d' indole molto ingenua, di costumi assai generosi, molto sobrio nel detestar li cattolici."

## 101.

*Istruzione al dottor Leone Allatio per andare in Germania per la libreria del Palatino.* 1622. (*Hofbibl. zu Wien. MS. Hohenb.*)

The instruction by which Leo Allatius, then scriptor in the Vatican, was commissioned to take possession of the library of Heidelberg.

This instruction is to be found not only at Vienna but in several other libraries, *e. g.* the Chigi library at Rome and in the collections of the instructions of Gregory XV. The literary interest attached to it has caused it also to be known in Germany. Quade, Baumgarten and Gerdes, one after the other, had it printed in Latin.

Having once come within the province of protestant erudition, this instruction necessarily became the subject of discussion. In his history of the formation, the plunder and destruction of the ancient collections at Heidelberg, (Heidelberg, 1817,) p. 235, our learned fellow-citizen and friend Herr G. R. Fr. Wilken has advanced important objections to its authenticity.

It must be acknowledged that the Latin translation is written in a tone calculated to raise suspicion. Fortunately however that is removed when the original manuscript is placed before us.

In the Latin translation it is stated, for example, in reference to the consecrated medals which were given to Allatio for distribution among Tilly's soldiers: "unum adhuc R. T. D. suppeditamus stratagema, ut scilicet sibi magnum numerorum comparet copiam, quos a sanctis canonisatos esse fingat." No doubt it is inconceivable that the Roman court could have expressed itself so to one of its own servants.

On consulting the original, we find it quite different. "E qui soggiungerò a V. S. che se le darà un grosso numero di medaglie con l' indulgenza della canonizzazione de' santi fatta da N. S." I understand by this, medals struck upon the occasion of the canonization of the saints, which had been determined on by Gregory XV, together with an indulgence.

As little is it to be found in the original that Allatio, as stated in the Latin translation, spoke German to the Duke of Bavaria. Baumgarten writes, "tradito brevi a Sancto Patre fidei ipsius concredito, Germanico idiomate cum affandi." In the original on the contrary it stands thus: "presentando a Sua Altezza il breve di N. S<sup>e</sup>, le parlerà a nome di Sua S<sup>ta</sup> conforme al tenore di esso."

This translation is equally a mockery of all probability and of the Italian original.

But when we see the original is written in so much more reasonable a manner, and under circumstances which leave no doubt, we can no longer hesitate as to its authenticity.

It certainly is true, however, that Allatio was ordered to spread the report of the intended removal of the library to Munich and not to Rome. "In ogni caso sarà bene di metter voce che si abbia da condurre solamente a Monaco e non a Roma." We have already seen how often the utmost caution was impressed upon the papal delegates, as a duty. Allatio was charged with similar instructions; for example: "Massimamente per i paesi sospetti sarà sempre meglio di andare in habito corto, come persona negoziante del dominio Veneto." So much dissimulation was thought necessary.

We must not wonder at such directions being given in writing. All at that court, and particularly in Ludovisio's chancery, delighted in writing. Most important political views are contained in the instructions composed by Aguechia, but they are also full of trifles of this kind. The author wished to have the merit of thinking of every thing.

Besides, they might well fear exciting the rage of the reformers by the loss sustained by the metropolis of their religion. The library was to be escorted on its road by a troop of horse.

*Instruzione al padre Don Tobia Corona de' chierici regolari mandato da papa Gregorio XV, al re di Francia e prima al duca di Savoia per l'impresa della città di Giuevra, 1622. (In the Library of Frankfort on the Maine, MSS. Glauburg. Tom. 39, n° 1. 26 leaves, 4°.)*

This instruction commences thus: "L' Italia che dall' eterna providenza è stata eletta a reggere hora l' imperio temporale, hora lo spirituale del mondo."

Geneva was intensely hateful to this spiritual government; "non solo come piena di huomini appestati ma come catedra di pestilenza."

To punish and destroy that town was the chief duty of the pope—the vicar of Christ, and of the duke of Savoy, who assumed the title of count of that district. The popes and dukes of Savoy had often attempted to do so, but their efforts had always failed, in consequence of the protection which had invariably been afforded to the Genevese by France.

At that time however the state of things was altered. "La Francia tratta il soggetto di domare i ribellati heretici, et ha da ricever piacere che per togliere loro le forze e le riputatione si faccia il medesimo senza suo costo in altre parti."

The pope had, from the commencement of his reign, devised a plan, and thought to carry it through by the mission of a regular ecclesiastic: "Poiche habbiamo un' argomento di religione, si conviene fuggendone il rumore coprirlo più che si puote: vuole inviarvi un religioso. La P. V<sup>ta</sup> porterà da per tutto questo negotio come nato nell' animo di Sua S<sup>ta</sup> senza altra origine che dello spirito santo."

The pope's first object was to excite the Duke of Savoy's warlike propensities, and on the duke's requesting assistance, to represent to him how greatly the papacy was exhausted by the support given to the emperor and to the Liga, the claims made upon Rome by Poland, and the expenses occasioned by the occupation of Avignon; notwithstanding, he should certainly be led to hope for some assistance: "che Sua S<sup>ta</sup> non sarà stretta a S. A. di tutti quelli ajuti che dalle picciole forze uscir potranno." The pope also desired to have the requisite information as to the right of Savoy to Geneva.

The matter of the highest importance, however, was, what arguments should be used to the king of France. 1. He was to be warned not to bring upon himself the suspicion of persecuting the protestants merely for political purposes; 2. but that these well understood, also required the destruction of Geneva. "Se Ginevra non fosse stata ricovero di Calvino, la M<sup>a</sup> S. non havrebbe di presente da portare l'armi contro l' ostinati e perversi suoi popoli Ugonotti, non si vedrebbe nascere le repubbliche contro la monarchia. . . . Sono repubbliche" (the Huguenots) "popolari che in ogni palmo di terreno e fino nell' istessa corte e forse nella camera del re hanno lor cittadini e seguaci. . . . Già la republica loro (Ugonotti) è piantata, già ne sono publicate le leggi, e già in ogni provincia hanno costituiti i magistrati, i consigli et i governatori dell' armi: più non hanno da fare che da andare eglino o muovere l'armi al re per cacciarlo di casa."

It is obvious to what an extent the monarchical element is mixed up with these attempts of catholicism. Geneva was to be destroyed, as the head and adviser of the Huguenot republics; she could now receive no support, as other protestant bodies had sufficient work on their hands, and the English were bound by treaties.

And of what importance would be the territory of Savoy, even with this addition, in comparison with the power of France? The pass could not be held against the Swiss, since the king had possession of Bresse. "I cantoni cattolici, con quali la corona è più congiunta, ne riceveranno e servitio e piacere; certo che il cantone di Friburgo circondato da Bernesi heretici, benche sia valoroso e di loro non tema, haverà nondimeno più caro di confinare per via del lago con quella città divenuta cattolica e posta sotto il dominio di un principe amico e cattolico, che libera et heretica remanente."

Cardinal Retz, the Constable (Luines), and Père Arnoux, were mentioned to Father Tobia as the men from whom he was to expect the greatest assistance.

We shall soon touch upon the consequences of this mission.

## 103.

*Relazione di Roma fatta nel senato Veneto dall' ambasciador Rainiero Zeno alli 22 di Nov. 1623. Informat. Polit. Tom. XVI. 101 leaves.*

The ambassadors who returned from their missions generally express themselves with modesty and deference both towards the princes from whose court they came, and towards their employers: Rainier Zeno is the first who displays great self-complacency. He not only declares that he lays before them a balance of the papal income and expenditure, made out with the utmost diligence and care (f. 80); but also recalls to their notice the lively colors with which he had painted many of the cardinals in his despatches (f. 111); he says of pope Urban, without any circumlocution, "in two words I demolished his arguments;" and expressly affirms that God had given him the talent of penetrating the innermost thoughts of men. He quotes cardinal Ludovisio as having said in praise of the republic of Venice, that none but men of the most approved ability were selected for the embassy to Rome.

Rainier Zeno was afterwards implicated in the troubles which occurred at Venice in 1628: all that he wrote on that occasion bears the stamp of the same conceit manifested in this report, and which characterised so many Italians and Spaniards of that century.

Heartburnings and jealousies could not fail to arise between men of this character; accordingly Rainier Zeno was subject to the most unpleasant scenes during his embassy.

They occurred chiefly during the reign of Gregory XV. Ludovisio exacted a degree of reverence and obsequiousness, which Zeno was little disposed to give: they consequently soon came into violent collision.

In the latter part of his report Zeno details these quarrels, and piques himself on having often given short answers to the pope's nephew and reduced him to silence. It is matter of peculiar pleasure to Zeno that by secret means he got intelligence of things which Ludovisio imagined to be enveloped in the profoundest secrecy, and then let him perceive that he knew all about them; he is delighted at the displeasure manifested by Ludovisio. "Vedevo," he says, "che appresso di me non poteva restare in quel gran concetto di sapere ch' egli con tutti ascosamente ambiva." But we are not to believe that these disputes were at all injurious to the objects of his mission; on the contrary, he says that the republic rather gained in reputation by them; and that when it was intended to place the Valtelline as a deposit in the hands of the Spaniards, Ludovisio feared nothing so much as the thunder of the Venetian protests ("il fracasso che era per fare io, il rimbombo delle mie proteste.")

These times however passed away. Urban VIII had ascended the papal throne, and Rainier Zeno made it his chief business to describe that pope's habits, his court, and government, as far as they were then known.

He repeatedly states that the only solicitude of the cardinals was to say what they knew to be agreeable to the pope; and thinks it a natural consequence that none thought of bringing the papal finances into order. There does not exist any instrument, in his opinion, so fitted to throw Christendom into confusion, as the head of a pope.

Upon this he sketches a portrait of Urban VIII. "E' prencipe d' aspetto grave e venerabile, di statura grande, di colore olivastro, di lineamenti nobili, di pel nero che comincia tirar al canuto, d' atillatura più che ordinaria, e di gratia singolare ne' gesti e ne' moti del corpo. Parla per eccellenza bene, et in qualsivoglia discorso che s' entra seco, ha da difendersi quanto vuole, e d' ogni materia mostra d' haver peritia straordinaria. Ha mostrato sin hora diletto grande

della poesia, l'uso della quale non ha mai intermesso, nè pure nelle occupazioni et negli studii più serij: perciò gl'intendenti di questa arte e delle lettere che chiamano di humanità sono stati sempre beneduti da lui, et gli ha favoriti cortesemente in quello che ha potuto: non l'ha però questo diletto astratto da quello che importava più e che era più necessario per li carichi che successivamente li sono passati per le mani, dico dallo studio delle leggi, nel quale ha faticato incessantemente dalla prima gioventù sino a questi ultimi anni con tanta maggiore applicatione, perche così richiedeva la carica del perfetto della signatura di giustizia, magistrato che richiede studio et acutezza grandissima et esattissima per la varietà delle materie che vi concorrono. Delli affari del mondo e degl'interessi de' prencipi è intendentissimo, quanto che se nelle scuole politiche avesse fatto continua dimora."

It is not necessary for us to quote further; the resemblance is only general.—The more delicate features of that intellectual physiognomy—whether it is that they were not developed till later in life, or that Zeno could not comprehend them—are not to be found here.

The same applies to his descriptions of the pope's kinsmen and of the cardinals, whom he goes through in detail.

One thing only is worth observing, that he recommends his countrymen to expect no service whatever from the Venetian cardinals. "Priuli," says he, "languido di spirito come di corpo...." So contemptuously does he treat them. Of Venier he does not speak, for fear of being called to account by his family.

He then comes to the political relations of the court, and expresses his delight that this time a pope was chosen who was not in love with the Spaniards.—Albuquerque had found the ground unusually hard, and his demands had not been complied with. Zeno represents the terms on which Urban VIII stood with France, in the following manner:—

"Non è da dubitarsi che il pontefice verso il regno di Francia habbi molta propensione d' affetto, additandocelo molte congetture probabilissime: hebbero a quella corte principio le sue grandezze, alle quali, se bene ascese per meriti proprii, non nega però egli medesimo che di grande ajuto li fossero le attestazioni d' Henrico quarto della sodisfattione che haveva del suo modo di negoziare et del gusto che sentirebbe di vederli partecipato l'honor solito a conferirsi alli altri residenti in quella carica; quadra benissimo a Sua S<sup>ta</sup> il trattare de' Francesi ingenuo et libero, lontano dalli artifici, lontano dalle duplicità proprie delle altre nazioni; ha una certa conformità di genio alle qualità de studii alli quali s' applicano et de' quali si dilettono più li Francesi, ch' è la pulitezza delle lettere, l'eruditione più acconcia la poesia, la cognitione delle lingue, in che per quanto le permettono le sue attioni, s' è pigliato molto piacere. Stima quel regno, quanto si possa dire, per reputarlo equilibrio dell'ambitione d'altri, li cui fini mirano senza dubbio alla monarchia universale."

The pope was much displeas'd at the connection existing between the Venetians and heretics and unbelievers: he thought he might have found other assistance.

Zeno ends by recalling to mind the sweat and labor expended on the duties of his office, the sleepless nights, the bitter vexations, which had undermined his health. "Nevertheless," says he, "I rejoice more in having worn out my life in the service of my country, than if I had lived a whole century in ease and pleasure, unemployed."

## 104.

*Relatione degli ecc<sup>mi</sup> signori ambri straordinarii Corner, Erizzo, Soranzo e Zeno ritornati ultimamente da Roma, letta all' ecc<sup>mo</sup> senato, 25 Febr. 1624. (i. e. M. V. 1625.)*

On the declaration of Pope Gregory XV that he would no longer transact business with Rainier Zeno, the Venetians sent in his stead Geronimo Soranzo. Nevertheless, as we have already seen, Zeno was in Rome when Urban VIII



was elected. Both of them were appointed to congratulate the new pope on his accession. Corner and Erizzo were likewise sent to complete the embassy.

The report which they drew up in common is free from those effusions of personal vanity in which Zeno indulged, and has a certain importance, from the circumstance that the politics of the republic were again complicated by the affairs of the Valtelline.

Pope Urban appears to have been much displeas'd at the Venetians for having joined in the attack of the French upon the papal garrisons: "che i cannoni della republica si fossero voltati contra i luoghi tenuti in deposito della S. S<sup>ia</sup>, che chiamò luoghi dell' istessa chiesa."

"Nè mancano," state the envoys, "in Roma soggetti d' ogni grado et d' ogni qualità che proponevano a S. S<sup>ia</sup>, come ella medesima ci disse, ad usare contra quell' ecc<sup>mo</sup> senato le censure ecclesiastiche."

They endeavored to excuse themselves as well as they could, alleging that it was the intention of the Spaniards to make themselves all-powerful: "..... rendersi patroni di quelli passi, per facilitarli la monarchia di questa provincia." Religion was, however, in no danger: they were the less to be blamed for making treaties with ultramontanes, because they were prevented by the pope himself from raising troops in the territory of the church.

Urban VIII had imagined that they would have made him some conciliatory proposals in regard to this matter, but they were not empowered so to do. He on his side was inaccessible to their requests, and they were compelled to be satisfied with only softening his anger: "non si impetrava altro che mitigamento dell' ascerbità uostrata del suo animo."

This could not have been a very hard matter to attain, as the anti-Spanish feeling of Urban had already manifested itself. He declared "che non poteva parlar alto, perche troppo era circondato da' Spagnoli, e che a Madrid lo chiamavano heretico, ma che armato si habrebbe fatto rispettare."

These words contain the germ of his later opinions and actions.

The report we are now considering chiefly treats of matters of this sort, but also attempts to give a description of affairs in general. Let us see how the heads of the government in the first years of Urban VIII are described.

"Quelli che di presente sono in maggior autorità preso il pontefice nella essentia degli affari, si restringono nel sig<sup>r</sup> cardinale Magalotti e nel sig<sup>r</sup> Don Carlo Barberino, fratello della Beat<sup>te</sup> Sua. Mostrano però ambidue di non conoscere e non havere questa autorità: schifano i congressi, parono non esser informati dei negotii, non gustano di esser frequentemente visitati, e con questa maniera di procedere, differente assai dal costume dei parenti dei pontefici passati, conservano in maggior riputazione la Santità Sua, volendo dar ad intendere che tutto dipende dai soli cenni di lei.

"Era solita la Beat<sup>te</sup> Sua alle volte nelle occorrenzo più gravi chiamare anche a se li cardinali Bandino, Melini, Scaglia, Santa Susanna et qualche altro, perche conoscendoli di natura molto severa, procurava con tale apparenza dar segno di stima verso il sacro collegio e verso le persone loro, non già perche volentieri inclini o molto si fidi delle loro opinioni; e di questo concetto della S<sup>ta</sup> Sua, ben noto a detti cardinali et ad altri, tutti se ne dogliono, dicendo che dopo fatte le deliberationi delle cose ella le comunica per non admettere il loro consiglio. E si sente anco che va ogni giorno più tralasciando queste communicationi, anzi omettendo in tutto e per tutto le consultationi con cardinali, così per conservare in se medesimo il solo despotic dominio et autorità, come anco perche conoscendoli dipendenti et interessati chi per l' uno chi par l' altro principe, giudica così convenire al suo servitio maggiormente.

"Nelle occorrenzie della rep<sup>ca</sup> sono intervenuti nelle consulte m<sup>r</sup> Gessi e m<sup>r</sup> di Montefiascone, come stati nontii in questa città e bene informati della cose. E talvolta si è introdotto anche Anzolo Badoer, che sotto altro nome e cognome pur si trattiene in Roma positivamente: è fatto sacerdote, et habita per sua maggior sicurezza una casa congiunta con il monasterio de' frati della scalla, nella cui chiesa è solito celebrare la messa. Ma come habbiamo detto, il card<sup>l</sup>

Magalotti et il sig<sup>r</sup> Carlo Barberino sono le stelle fisse di quel firmamento: et i negottii ridotti in queste due sole teste passano con molta segretezza, sicche quello che non si può penetrare con la congettura ovvero che non viene riferito dal medesimo pontefice, difficilmente si può sapere per altra via.

“Il sig<sup>r</sup> Don Carlo mostra la istessa indipendenza da principi nella quale professa conservarsi Sua S<sup>ta</sup>. E' in età di 58 anni, ben compassionate a forte. E' inclinato alla soddisfazione de' popoli per conservare la città abbondante di tutte le cose. Nella sua casa è buon economo, et ha mira di far denari assai, sapendo egli molto bene che l'oro accresce la riputatione agli huomini, anzi l'oro gli inalza e li distingue vantaggiosamente nel conspetto del mondo: oltre che si tiene per massimi comune non esser conveniente nè ragionevole che chi una volta è stato parente del papa, resti dopo la sua morte in angusta fortuna. E' huomo di poche parole, ma sensitivo. Ha mostrato somma riverenza verso la serenissima Republica, et havendo noi nel complir seco detto che auguravamo lunghi anni a Sua Beat<sup>ne</sup>, ci rispose egli con qualche acerbità che quando il papa avesse ad essere rispettato et honorato come papa, alludendo alle cose correnti della Valtellina, li desiderava vita lunga, ma che quando avesse dovuto seguir altrimenti, pregava il sig<sup>r</sup> dio a chiamarlo a se quanto prima.

“Il card<sup>l</sup> Magalotti professa egli ancora vivere indipendente. E' huomo sagace et accorto: mostra grande vivacità di spirituo e d'inquietezza, et è in concetto di poter esser guadagnato. Crescendo in età et esperienza il card<sup>l</sup> nepote si crede che non passeranno d' accordo insieme e che il papa penserà però di valersene in qualche legatione opportunamente.”

## 105.

*Instruzione a M<sup>re</sup> Sacchetti vescovo di Gravina, nuncio destinato di N. S<sup>re</sup> per la M<sup>a</sup> cat<sup>ca</sup>. 1624. (Barb. fol. 26 leaves.)*

Sacchetti's commission referred, first, to the domestic affairs of Spain, and, secondly, to the general policy of Europe.

1. There were always numerous misunderstandings and jealousies between Rome and Spain. For example, the Roman court was offended that cardinal Lerma had been deprived of his revenues, and summoned before a secular tribunal. While the pope endeavored to stop the progress of that proceeding, he recommended Lerma to give up all hopes of temporal grandeur; nothing more was to be done, since Olivarez stood so high in favor; and he had better make up his mind, after having lived so long for others, now to live for himself and for God. On the other hand, the nuncio was referred to Olivarez, with whom the Roman court was on good terms at that moment. The following remarkable passage occurs, with relation to this matter. “E' avvenuto che la gelosia della regina per qualche sospetto d' altri amori del re l' ha provocata a dolersene col re di Francia suo fratello, a segno tale che venne pensiero a questo di far doglianze e querele pubbliche contro il cognato. Di cio scrisse l' antecessore di V. S<sup>ta</sup> e che vi haveva posto rimedio con far confidente della regina il conte Olivares di diffidentissimo che era prima.”

The nuncio was also recommended to address himself to the inquisitor general. He was charged to urge him to be on his guard against the introduction of heretical books into Spain and the Indies.

The idea had been suggested in Spain, to secure to the German line a more peaceable possession of their later conquests by two new marriages. The hereditary prince palatine and Bethlem Gabor were to marry two princesses of the imperial family; by which means it was hoped that the troubles prevalent in Germany, and still more in Hungary, would be allayed. At first this was not believed in Rome; however, after fresh information it could no longer be doubted. The pope hastened to remonstrate with the king against the scheme. It appeared, he said, from certain letters, that it was by no means the object of the English, even should the prince palatine be sent to the imperial court, to allow him to turn catholic: and who could think of trusting so unsteady a man

as Gabor? He, the pope, could neither believe nor approve such a project; he therefore commissioned his nuncio to oppose it with all his might. "V. S<sup>ma</sup>, ma con destrezza et a tempo, facci per impedirli (questi due matrimonj) tutto quello che umanamente può."

We know that pope Urban had considerable share in the defeat of these rather far-fetched but well-meant plans. The mission of the rota, which we have mentioned, is accounted for by these expressions.

## 106.

*Istruzione a V. S<sup>ria</sup> arcivescovo di Damiaata e chierico di camera per la nuntiatura ordinaria al re crist<sup>mo</sup>. 23 Genn. 1624.*

This is an appendix to the instructions of Sacchetti.

The pope condemns here, in the most vehement manner, the plan for the restitution of the Palatinate, and calls in aid the influence of the king to induce Saxony not to oppose the progress of Bavaria. Besides, he wishes for nothing more than the destruction of Oranges, which was only a rendezvous for heretics.

The most important however are the domestic affairs. King Louis XIII is described in the following manner: "Il re è fuori di modo virtuoso et aborrisce tutti quei viti che sogliono accompagnarsi alla dominazione: non è altiero, ma humanissimo: non è amatore della propria opinione, ma più volentieri crede a buoni consigli: non ama il riposo, ma è dedito alle fatiche e le tollera fortemente, senza conoscere altro piacere che quello della caccia: non nutrice pensieri dimessi ma è avidissimo di gloria, senza dilungarsi punto dalla pietà. Con la M<sup>a</sup> S. possono i ministri di stato et i serventi nelle caccie, a quali volentieri s' accosta per godere la libertà, che non concede la stretta pratica de' grandi. Il più caro di quelli che hanno l' adito a S. M<sup>a</sup> con occasione delle caccie è il signore di Toiras, huomo cauto e prudente, che non si rimescola negli affari di stato per ascondere la sua autorità, ma ne è capace. . . ."

Catholicism was making a brilliant progress under that monarch. The nuncio was recommended to assist with all his might all the missions, more especially those in the south of France, and to defend their cause at the king's court.

He found, however, the principles of the Gallican church always arrayed in invincible and active opposition to him.

One portion at least of the members of the Sorbonne maintained the doctrine of the independence of the temporal power, and of the divine right of bishops: some even promulgated the opinion, that the curates had as much authority in their cures, as the bishops in their dioceses. The pope regards these doctrines as abominable. He was extremely annoyed that though Richer, who was a most zealous champion of that doctrine, was excommunicated, he cared nothing about it, but continued to say mass.

In the mean while the parliaments took active measures to limit the ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The appellations, *comme d'abus*, the inquiries into the business of the dataria, and the interference with the jurisdiction of the bishops, appeared to the pope so many usurpations. "Favoriscono chiunque ad essi ricorre, et in questa maniera procurano di soggiogare le provincie a loro non soggette, come la Bretagna, la Provenza e la Borgembrescia."

The parliament also interfered with the laws for the prohibition of books. The nuncios would fain have prohibited works like those of De Thou and Richer, but they could not. The new nuncio was recommended to prevent the appearance of pernicious books, rather than to wait till after they had appeared. "Le stampe de' libri sono il fomite delle false dottrine: et è necessario che ella procuri di tenersi amorevoli i librari, accioche l' avisino di mano in mano e' libri che si stampano: imperoche stampati che sono porta seco difficoltà di ottenere la proibitione."

It is obvious that the war between the curia and Gallicanism, which, in many of its phases, had kept the old Bourbon monarchy in a constant state of agitation, had now broken out in full force and extent.

## 107.

*Istruzione a V. Sria monsr Compeggi, vescovo di Cesana, destinato da N. Sigre suo nuntio al S<sup>mo</sup> Sig<sup>r</sup> duca di Savoia. 1624.*

This is a remarkable instruction, inasmuch as it throws light on the consequences of the mission of Don Tobia Corona. We have seen that the plan against Geneva failed chiefly in consequence of the still powerful opposition of Luines and Rohan, and the weight of the Huguenot party generally; however it was by no means abandoned.

“Da chi venisse il motivo di tal impresa, dal papa o dal duca, non si sa bene: perche il pontefice lasciò brevi e lettere di esortatione al medesimo sig<sup>r</sup> duca et al principe del Piedmonte, donde poteva farsi congettura che il papa ne fosse autore: ma nel ricevere l' esortatione si mostrò tanto prouta l' A. S. che non parve lontano dal vero il credere che avesse indotto il papa a scrivergli.....Le difficoltà che incontrò il padre Corona, non furono dalla parte del re e della regina, che piegarono subito alle persuasioni ponteficie, ma della parte del contestabile Luines, seguitato da principali ministri, o per proprio interesse o per adulatione, e da alcuni grandi del partito Ugonotto. A Luines si crede che instillasse questa avversione all' impresa il duca di Roano, e cercandosi della cagione che ha potuto spignere questo ad opporvisi, altra non se ne trova fuori della propria inclinazione al mantenimento degli eretici, essendo egli tale, ed il timore di perdere il seguito dentro alla Francia, mentre che i seguaci suoi havessero havuto a soccorrere i Genevrini. Il trattato del padre Tobbia restò a segno che non solamente il re non rimase offeso di questa missione, ma niuno, etiandio di quelli che l' intendessero bene, hebbe ardire di biasimarla; e solamente dissero alcuni che non era quello il tempo di intraprendere un tanto affare, altri, che non doveva il duca mettere in queste strette il re non dopo il fatto, imperciocche allora S. M<sup>ta</sup> non havrebbe potuto non dar lode alla pietà e generosità del duca, ma che antecedentemente non doveva la M<sup>ta</sup> S. violare quella fede sotto la quale pensano di riposare sicuri i Genevrini. Dall' hora in qua si è erudito che il sig<sup>r</sup> duca pensi a tentare la via d' una sorpresa, e adesso non se ne ha più dubbj, impercioc che S. A. se n' è dichiarata con la S<sup>ta</sup> di N. Sig<sup>re</sup>, supplicandola a volerlo assistere. La S<sup>ta</sup> S. ha risposto che volentieri e con quel medesimo modo che fece papa Gregorio; ma perche il necessario segreto della sorpresa non è capace di questa via, S. A. si è rivoltata a contentarsi che N. Sig<sup>re</sup> gli prometta di fare tali ufficii col re christianissimo dopo il fatto che la M<sup>ta</sup> S. non habbi a sdegnarsene.”

Some affairs peculiar to Piedmont are also mentioned. They prepared the way for later disputes. The duke laid claim to the nomination to episcopal sees, while the pope conceded only the power of recommending to them; and showed moreover some displeasure at certain taxes laid upon the clergy.

## 108.

*Ragguaglio dello stato di religione nel regno di Boemia e sue provincie incorporate. 1624.*

Carlo Caraffa reached Prague in the month of May 1621, and proceeded immediately to the business which pope Gregory XV had especially entrusted to him, viz., the restoration of catholicism in Bohemia.

Eighteen months afterwards, as he himself states, in November 1622, he sent to Rome an account of his labors, under the title of *Relatio Bohemica*, which was forwarded to the newly established propaganda. I have seen the original report which was circulated among the members of the congregation, viz. cardinals Sauli, Bandini, Barberini (afterwards Urban VIII), Borgia (afterwards the vehement opponent of Urban), Ubaldini, Santa Susanna, Valerio Sagrato, Zollern, and the prelates Vives, Aggucchi and Scala. Zollern was to take a copy and make reports from it.

Caraffa made additions to this report fourteen months later, (consequently in January 1624,) and sent it under the title mentioned above to Urban VIII; “in

order," as he says, "to inflame his paternal heart still more with love towards the Bohemians."

There is extant a detailed printed work by Caraffa, "Commentaria de Germania sacra restaurata;" one of the most important works of reference for the history of the first ten years of the thirty years' war. But he could not there enter so fully into an account of his labors in Bohemia, of which he always thought with pride, as in a report specially directed to that purpose: moreover a printed work required to be written with considerable discretion and care, whereas he expresses himself in his report with complete freedom and in great detail.

It embraces indeed only the commencement of the changes effected in Bohemia, but for these it is most important.

I have already made use of it in the text, but necessarily with great compression; I will here add some particulars, showing what difficulties, created chiefly by the government of the country, the nuncio had to contend with, in carrying his views into execution.

1. The introduction of the Latin ritual.

"Havendo io tenuto sopra cio proposito col Plateis e considerando sicome quei pochi Boemi che erano cattolici frequentavano in ogni modo le chiese di nostro rito, dove pure ascoltavano i divini ufficj in lingua latina, giudicai non essere disperabile che l' istesso potessero fare anche quelli che di nuovo si convertissero, insinuandosi massime loro da predicatori che questa lingua sia quasi in un certo modo d' essenza ne' divini ufficj in tutti li paesi cattolici e particolarmente in quelle chiese che si comprendono sotto l'imperio occidentale per segno della superiorità e maggioranza della chiesa Romana sopra tutte le altre: però diedi ordine ad esso Plateis, che quanto prima avesse potuto, usasse ogni suo studio per restituire l' uso del predetto idioma in quelle chiese che gia si erano levate di mano agli eretici: onde il giorno de' santi apostoli Simone e Giuda dell' anno 1621, con l' occasione di essere stata provvista dall' arcivescovo di parroco cattolico la chiesa di Santo Stefano, principale parrocchia di Terra nuova, habitata dal più minuto volgo, tra il quale sono pochissimi cattolici, fu celebrata alia presenza di numero grandissimo li heretici nella predetta chiesa l'immaculatissimo sacrificio della messa in lingua latina con l' asperzione dell' acqua benedetta, con l' invocatione de' santi e con tutti i riti Romani, due secoli dopo che n' era stata esclusa la lingua latina e che per molti anni non vi si era celebrato nè nell' uno nè nell' altro idioma. Il quale esempio hanno poi seguito con le chiese della città tutti i luoghi del regno senza sentirsi romore o strepito alcuno nel popolo: et io essendo in Praga ho visto detto popolo stare con molta attenzione alle funtioni divine."

2. Abolition of the cup at the Lord's supper.

"Inteso poi da me il senso della sacra congregazione del santo ufficio per le lettere e scritture all' hora mandatemi, risolvei di vietarlo (il calice) onninamente e non dar più orecchie alle ciance e preghiere di detti regnicoli, argomentando che se avessero voluto essere obbedienti figli di santa chiesa, camminerebbero così in questa come in ogni altra cosa di concerto col restante del corpo cattolico; ma se sfuggissero di ricedere da questo abuso radicato anche negli animi de' cattolici per la pretesa concessione di Pio Quarto, tenerlo per segno di superbia et ostinatione e per indicio di non veri cattolici: onde tralasciato ogni altro rispetto e timore allegato da politici, i quali da questa novità immaginavano sollevazioni o ruine irremediabili, feci proibire a tutti li parrochi che non porrebbero ad alcuna persona la specie del vino, comandando loro che a chiunque le domandava ambedue, chiedessero se era cattolico, e confossandosi tali gli enunciassero la necessità di ubbidire al rito Romano il quale esclude i laici dal calice. Così molti che non erano tocchi da vero zelo, sentendo questo si rimanevano nella loro ostinatione, non comunicando nè nell' una nè nell' altra forma, e noi intanto conseguivamo l' intento nostro, che non si porgeva il calice: ma non fu però niuno di quei preti toranti all' obbedienza che havevano in cura le chiese riconciliate il quale avesse l' animo di porgere la sola specie del pane in faccia

degli heretici che frequentavano dette chiese: sino che il cancelliere Plateis diede intrepidamente principio a questa santa impresa nella parrocchia di San Martino, come di sopra si è notato. Il quale uso introdotto poi a laude di Dio nell' altre chiese si osserva con intera quiete, ancorche mi habbiano in cio dato assai che fare i politici. Perciocche vedendosi gli heretici svanito il disegno fatte di dovere in ogni modo conseguire da veri sacerdoti cattolici il santissimo sacramento sotto l' una e l' altra specie, ebbero l' anno passato 1622 ricorso da politici: e qualunque maniera con loro si tenessero, a me per adesso non importa riferirlo: basta che estorsero una lettera del principe Liechtestain, che all' hora si trovava qui, in virtù della quale, come se fosse per ordine di Sua M<sup>a</sup>, chiamando i due parrochi della madonna del Tein e di Santo Enrico, stati già predicanti, comandarono loro che nella solennità della pasqua porgessero indifferentemente a ogn' uno, di qualunque rito fosse, la comunione sotto l' una e altra specie. Così il giovedì in caena domini per mera perfidia di detti politici nella chiesa del Tein fu commessa grandissima abominazione, ricevendo il venerabile corpo del gignore consacrato sotto le due specie del pane e del vino da legittimo sacerdote più di mille scellerati heretici, dandosi in tale guisa per colpa d' huomini cattolici il santo a cani. A questo non mancò il Plateis di fare l' opposizione che se li aspettava, ma niente potè contro la temerità loro: onde egli per sostenere la proibitione dell' uso del calice deliberò fare animo e distribuire il sacramento, come tre giorni dipoi fece, pubblicamente sotto la sola specie del pane, nella parrocchia di San Martino. Ma havendo io havuto notizia di questo empio attentato, fui subito a farne acerba lamentatione con Sua M<sup>a</sup>, dolendomi con ogni più efficace maniera che i suoi ministri si volessero ingerire in quelle cose che concernono la reverenza verso il tremendo sacramento dell' altare, che meramente riguardano lo spirituale e la salute dell' anime, e che senza rispetto niuno s' intromettevano negli affari di religione, non mostrando segno alcuno di obbedienza verso dio e la santa sede Romana, della quale la maestà Sua si era sempre mostrata tanto ossequente. Da che fuori di modo commosso l' imperatore diede subito rigidissimi ordini a detti politici, acciò lasciassero la cura delle cose ecclesiastiche e di religione agli huomini di chiesa, facendo loro grave riprensione per la temerità commessa: onde essi gagliardamente si incitarono contro di me e del Plateis, come quelli da quali si persuasero essere proceduto il rabbuffo fattoli da Sua M<sup>a</sup>: et oltre al minacciare aspramente il Plateis, non si astennero dal manomettere anche l' autorità mia, insinuando a mons<sup>r</sup> arcivescovo che egli s' io non li mostravo sopra cio special breve di Sua Beat<sup>e</sup>, non fosse tenuto ad obbedirmi in una cosa di tanto rilievo come il sopprimere in Praga l' uso del calice; e non tralasciando di sollevare i predetti e farli animo, persuadendo loro che non havessero timore alcuno di me nè dell' arcivescovo, perche dal governo politico, al quale in quel regno per antiquato stile devono soggiacere gli ecclesiastici, sariano sempre protetti e sostenuti, operarono che il curato del Tein facendo nuova varicatione si ridusse in aperta disubbidienza, e prese ardire di predicare al popolo che non volesse tollerare che i papisti, che miravano tiraneggiare il tutto, li togliessero l' uso del calice, e pregassero dio per lui vero difensore del paterno antico rito: dimodo che quel volgo fece un poco di tumulto, rappresentandosi quella sera sino al numero di mille alla casa di detto curato come in sua difesa. Il che venuto a mia notizia, cavai subito da Sua M<sup>a</sup> Cesarea indignatione e comandamento che il detto prete fosse subito arrestato e consegnato a mons<sup>r</sup> arcivescovo: come fu senza dilatione alcuna eseguito: e quel popolo, che prima si era mostrato così ardente per la sua indennità, non fece motivo alcuno, perche lo vedesse condurre prigionie in faccia del giorno e di tutta la gente. Et egli dopo alcune settimane di carcere se ne morì dentro di quella, supplendosi alla cura di detta chiesa, che è la principale di terra vecchia, con altro parroco cattolico e con la predica del cononico Rottua, soggetto insigne per dottrina e zelo, il quale amministra tuttavia questa carica con molto profitto e con grandissimo concorso così di cattolici come di heretici, i quali volentieri ascoltano le prediche di questo buon sacerdote per la sua efficace e grata maniera di dire."

## 3. General proceedings.

“Per decreto di Sua M<sup>ta</sup> in conformità delle risoluzioni prese nella congregazione prefata tenuta in Vienna si sono dipoi riformate tutte le città del regno, cacciando da esse e da loro contorni li ministri e predicanti heretici. In ciascuna di esse oltre il parroco si sono messi il capitano, il giudice, il primate del consiglio et un cancelliere cattolico, restandone in eterno bandito l' esercizio heretico havendo l'imperatore per prova conosciuto, coll' esempio della fedeltà di Budueis e con la perfidia di quasi tutte le altre, quanto importi che le città siano heretiche o cattoliche. Et ancorche il principe Liechtestain soprasedesse già dalla incominciata riforma rispetto a gran rumori che si spargevano del disgusto di Sassonia, poi la proseguì, havendogliene io fatto reiterare l'ordine: ma però se li sospese circa li circoli di Egra e Culma per essere contigui alla Sassonia e pretendersi che la proprietà loro sia dell' imperio e non della corona di Bohemia. Con tutto ciò resta per ancora nel regno qualche predicante protetto da baroni heretici o da poco buoni cattolici, e particolarmente ne sono nel circolo di Leitmeriz spalleggiati da un barone cattolico, che professando grande strettezza e fratellanza con l' elettore di Sassonia si persuade farli in questa maniera cosa gratissima: et havendolo io esortato a cacciarli e fattogliene parlare ancora da altri, ha promesso mandarli via, ma dubito che ritenuto dalla moglie, che è heretica, non vorrà farlo se non forzatamente. Ne sono anco rimasti in quelle città nelle quali si trovano acquartierate militie heretiche, non havendo voluto li commissarj regj esporsi col riformarli a pericolo di tumulto: ma hora che i sospetti di guerra vanno scemando, si darà licenza alli soldati heretici, ovvero se li assegneranno altri quartieri, acciò habbia luogho la riforma. Ne resta uno ancora nella città di Kuttembergh, scusando il principe di Liechestain di non poter cacciarlo, perche quegli huomini non vorrebbero poi lavorare nelle miniere che ivi sono: tuttavia col ritorno dell' imperatore a Praga spero in dio che si rimediarà da ogni cosa. Nè devo tralasciare che nel mio passaggio da Ratisbona a Praga, havendo traversato una gran parte della Bohemia, e così da Praga a Vienna ho trovato in ogni luogo la riforma effettuata, eccettoche nella città di Jaromir, dove erano in alloggio alcune fanterie del colonnello duca di Sassonia: ma dipoi ho mandato stretto ordine di Sua M<sup>ta</sup>, acciò sia riformata: et in ciascuna di esse città s'istruiscono i figliuoli nella dottrina christiana, insegnandoselli orare in lingua latina.

“Sono state sotto rigide pene prohibite dentro e fuori di Praga le conventicole degli heretici, sotto qualunque pretesto le facessero, la qual commissione fu data molti mesi addietro a mia richiesta: ma non ostante che io più volte n'habbia reclamato col governo di Praga, non era stata mai eseguita.

“Dal senato della città di Praga si sono levati tutti gli heretici, supplendo i loro luoghi di persone cattoliche, e se li è tolta ogni essenziale autorità, lasciandogliene solamente qualche apparenza nelle cose che non sono di molto rilievo, annullando in specie tutti li privilegj pregiudiciali alla religione cattolica concessi da re passati, potendo benissimo farlo l' imperatore havendosi per forza d' armi riguadagnato questo regno già apertamente ribellatoseli. L'accademia o collegio di Carlo IV a gloria divina e della religione cattolica si è restituita alla sua primiera istituzione sotto la cura de' padri Gesuiti, li quali hanno ancora la soprintendenza di tutte le scuole del regno, et a' medesimi l' usare diligenza che non si stampino o vendano libri contrarj alla verità cattolica, essendosi sottoposti alla loro censura i librarj e gli stampatori. Si è havuto intorno alla predetta accademia qualche difficoltà, volendocisi deputare un presidente laico, il che da me non veniva bene inteso, ma finalmente spero che sarà lasciata questa cura a mons' arcivescovo, pretendendo egli per suoi antichi privilegj essere cancelliero del regno.

“Alla casa de' poveri istituita in Praga da Ferdinando Terzo si sono di più assegnati 4 m. talleri annui: onde si è accresciuto il numero loro da ottanta, che prima vi sene alimentavano, fino a ducento. A padri Gesuiti si sono dati per una volta 20 mila talleri da spendersi nella fabbrica del loro collegio: et in questo non è occorso che si impieghino li miei ufficj, non havendo bisogno di

alcun mezzo appresso dell' imperatore l' evidenti utilità che dalle loro attioni si traggono. Per argomento dell' entrate capitolari della cattedrale sono stati assegnati beni che rendono 6 m. talleri annui, e per le archiepiscopali 24 mila: ma perche questi beni sono assai guasti e rovinati, monsignor arcivescovo desidera ritenersi per qualche tempo il mons<sup>r</sup> d' Ossegg, assegnato già alla mensa archiepiscopale sotto Ridolfo in vece della pensione camerale che veniva difficilmente pagata. Nell' arbitrio di monsignor arcivescovo si è riposta la provincia delle parrocchie di Praga e di tutto il regno, etiam che prima fossero possedute da signori particolari che erano tutti ribelli, essendosi risorbatò l' imperatore questo jus, mentre si sono venduti li beni di essi ribelli, havendosi anche havuto riguardo che per molte leghe intorno a Praga siano tutti comprati da cattolici."

## 109.

*Relatione alla S<sup>ta</sup> di N. S<sup>re</sup> papa Urbano VIII della cose appartenenti alla nuntiatura di Colonia per Mr Montorio vescovo di Nicastro ritornato nuntio di quelle parti l'anno di N. S<sup>re</sup> 1624.*

Montorio arrived in Germany in the midst of the disorders of war. He represents the dangers which would have threatened the catholics, if Mannsfeld, who held the Upper Rhine country from Strasburg to Mayence, and the Bishop of Halberstadt, who had possession of Westphalia, could have managed to unite their forces to those of Baden-Durlach. All these leaders, however, were severally defeated. He then describes the advantages arising from these victories, and the condition of the German church.

The counter reformation had recommenced in Fulda with great violence; the catholic party, with the assistance of the infant and the army of Liga, had entered Osnabruck; they had hopes of making an archduke, bishop in Minden; they had endeavored by special missions to work upon the chapter in Bremen to elect a catholic coadjutor, but a Danish prince had this time carried the election; the nuncio hoped, however, to see the catholic faith at least tolerated in all the Hanse towns; it appeared to him that the emperor had a right to demand this, as those towns drew considerable profit from the Spanish and Portuguese trade: a church had already been opened in Altona, from which great hopes were entertained for the north: "per potere in qualche tempo fondarsi un seminario, onde possino pigliarsi operaj, dopo che avranno appreso la lingua Danica e Norvegica, per ridurre al lume delle vera fede quei popoli più settentrionali."

Montorio thought that this progress ought to be accompanied by some reform in the internal affairs of the German church. The prelates dressed in the habit of the laity, and did not scruple to go to the wars: concubinage prevailed openly, and the nuncio had prevented a certain Hornberg, who was otherwise an unexceptionable candidate, from being raised to the See of Wurtzburg on account of that offence. The German bishops paid little attention to the pope; they appointed to benefices during the reserved months, and presumed to do many unlawful things by means of their officials. "Dispensano ne' gradi matrimoniali prohibiti, ad sacros ordines et beneficia vacata, super defectu natalium, concedono extra tempora, dispensano super defectu ætatis, anche talvolta hanno dispensato con persone institute in sacris di prender moglie." They entitled themselves, "by the grace of God," without thought of the apostolical see, and looked upon their ecclesiastical possessions almost as private property. In the convents, matters were not better. The abbots acted like absolute rulers. In the towns, nothing was going on but banquets, and assemblies to which both men and women resorted: in the country convents, the monks followed the sports of the field, and nothing was to be seen but hounds and huntsmen.

The nuncio would willingly have commenced reforms, but was prevented by contagious diseases, the turmoils of war, and political business.

He treats of these with great ability. I could not incorporate into my history, all that he says of the affairs of the electorate, and will therefore quote it here.



“ Possono esser note a S. Beat<sup>e</sup> le cose all’ hora occorse, ed io benchè mi fossero giunti assai tardi i brevi che mi mandava papa Gregorio, acciocchè intervenissi alla dieta per tale effetto adunata in Ratisbona, mi mossi nondimeno nel maggior rigore dell’ inverno con grandissime spese, disagi e pericoli per comparirvi: e condottomi sino ad Herbipoli da ministri di S<sup>ua</sup> e da principi elettori ivi congregati, a quali avevo dato avviso della mia mossa, mi fu significato non esser più necessaria la mia persona, poichè la conclusione del negotio era ritardata da più alta capione che dal mancamento del consenso de’ principi ivi adunati, e che il vedersi ivi compariti tanti ministri apostolici havrebbe accresciute le difficoltà, mettendosi in gelosia li protestanti, come che quella traslatione fu trattata più tosto come materia di religione che di stato. Mi rimasi perciò d’ andarvi, tanto più che il Magontino, che come degano del collegio elettorale era quasi arbitro del negotio, praticato da me alcuni mesi prima, stava costante nell’ offerta fattami di voler secondare la mente del papa e dell’ imperatore. Li deputati di Treveri havevano ordine dal suo principe, datoli a mia istanza, di non iscostarsi dalla deliberationi del Magontino e del Colonicense. Io non starò qui a divisare a V. Beat<sup>e</sup> le difficoltà che incontrai per disporre il Magontino a consentire a detta traslatione: perche hora diceva abborrire la città di Ratisbona come d’aria nemica alla sua sanità, hora diceva trovarsi esausto di denari e da non potere supplire alle spese che ivi gli saria convenuto di fare, hora che il negotio non era maturo, non essendoci il consenso di Spagna e di Sassonia, hora temeva le minacce del re d’Inghilterra, di Dania e di altri settarj, hora affermava che quella traslatione havrebbe accesa nuova e più cruda guerra in Germania, con danno evidente della religione cattolica, mentre, i principi ecclesiastici, che havevano portato fino all’ hora e dovevano portare per l’avvenire il peso, esausti per le contributioni passate alla lega, spogliati d’ogni loro avere dall’ insolenze e rubamenti non meno de’ nostri che de’ nemici soldati, non solo non potevano nè havevano modo di apparecchiarsi a nuova guerra, ma erano ridotti ad estremità tali che erano costretti licenziare le proprie famiglie a vivere quasi privatamente: non lasciava di porre in considerazione il duca di Neourgh, come più prossimo di sangue al palatino, la cui persona non havrebbe recata tanta gelosia a protestanti, che temeano la grandezza del Bavaro, a cui conforme le costituzioni imperiali secondo la bolla aurea come a più prossimo doveasi quella dignità, nella quale il medesimo duca haveva protestato non volere consentire sino all’ ultimo spirito che altri fosse a se preferito: basta che in quattro o cinque giorni che mi trattenni con lui in Acciaffemburgo, dopo lunghi discorsi fatti in voce et in iscritto, ottenni la resolutione che io desiderava. La traslatione fu fatta, et ancora si mantiene. Il palatinato è in parte occupato dal Bavaro, in parte da Spagnuoli, nè altro resta al palatino che la città di Franchinthal depositata in certo tempo in mano della serenissima infanti di Fiandra con concerto del re Inglese.

“ Mentre per detto negotio io ero in Acciaffemburgo, giunse ivi la nuova della presa di Adilbergh: et havendo io già fatto officio per commissione di Sua S<sup>ua</sup> col sig<sup>r</sup> duca di Baviera per la libreria Palatina et havendone havuta offerta, mandai subito un’ espresso al sig<sup>r</sup> conte di Tilly, facendoli istanza per la conservazione di essa, poichè mi veniva affermato per la qualità e quantità de’ libri massime manoscritti essere di valore inestimabile: e mi rispose S. E. che il tutto era in poter suo ben conservato per eseguirne l’ ordine dal sig<sup>r</sup> duca: di che havendo dato conto a patroni, havendo essi mandata persona a pigliarlo, fu detta libreria dopo alcuni mesi condotta a Roma.”

## 110.

*Istruzione a V. S. Mons<sup>r</sup> Caraffa vescovo di Tricarico destinato da N. S. suo nuntio in Colonia. 26 Giugno 1624.*

Luigi Caraffa succeeded Montorio: he had been nuncio at Cologne during the time that Carlo Caraffa held that office at Vienna.

The pope unfolds to him his views of German affairs in a very long and de-

tailed instruction, wherein he discusses all the points of internal church discipline which had been suggested by Montorio. The apostolical see had already lost much, both in income, consideration, and authority; the nuncio was to endeavor to recover what had been lost. "V. S. stia attentissima a tutto quello che può sustentare l' autorità apostolica e specialmente a procurare che da essa eschino le dovute provisioni beneficali." It is remarkable that the instructions here given to the nuncio are immediately founded upon the recommendations of Minuccio Minucci. For example, he was to send to Rome a list of the German ecclesiastics who were worthy of promotion. "De' più costumati, de' più dotti, de' più nobili, de' meglio appoggiati all' autorità d' alcun principe cattolico..... Così noi aremo notizie tali che sollecitamente la sede apostolica potrà provvedere prima che scorra il suo tempo." Literally the same course which had been recommended by Minucci in 1588. Nevertheless, time had suggested other measures, of which the most important was, that Rome had the power to appoint a catholic coadjutor to a bishop who was growing old, even during his lifetime. This had already been done with the greatest success in Paderborn and Münster.

The most important object, however, was the further diffusion of catholicism.

The Liga was to be supported with all possible vigor; the nuncio was to take care that every body paid his rate for that object. An ecclesiastical company was founded in Cologne for the conversion of protestants, in which the princes of Austria and Bavaria took part, and which possessed considerable sums of money; the nuncio was not to suffer it to fall into decay. Certain princely houses were pointed out as affording some hopes of conversion to catholicism, particularly Darmstadt and Saxony. The nuncio was to foster this disposition, "so that those princes might not be able to resist the grace which God was about to show them." He was more especially to further the establishment of seminaries, and the introduction of the Jesuits. This is perhaps the most important part of the whole instruction, and I will quote it at length.

Sarà opera degnissima di S. S<sup>ria</sup> l'impiegarsi a coltivare i seminarj già fatti et a procurare che altri se ne faccino di nuovo; e per queste simili opere chi non vede che i padri della compagnia di Gesù sono maravigliosi? Laonde il predecessore di S. S<sup>ria</sup> diede principio a praticare l'introduzione di quelli in Franchfort, scrivendo sopra di cio caldissime lettere a Cesare, e voleva fare altrettanto l'elettore di Colonia. N. S<sup>re</sup>, per sollecitare l'effettuazione di questo buon pensiero, fece scrivere al nuntio presso l'imperatore che non si riscaldi: col quale S. S<sup>ria</sup> s'intenderà per quello che restasse da fare, avvisandone le speranze e i successi. L'elettore di Magonza ha fatto rappresentare alla S<sup>ia</sup> di N. S<sup>re</sup> che per propagare la religione cattolica, che col favore divino piglia piede nel palatinato inferiore, niuna cosa viene giudicata più spediente quanto l'erettione de' seminarj e delle case dove possino convenire i nobili del Reno: e per cio fare, propone a S. B<sup>ae</sup> che si potrebbero comodamente applicare i beni d'alcuni monasterj e specialmente di Germersheim, Spanhaim et Odernhaim, posti nella diocesi di Magonza et altre volte occupati da principi Palatina del Reno: la quale proposta è stata stimata da S. B<sup>ae</sup> di molto rilievo, e prima di risolvere voleva che l'antecessore di V. S<sup>ria</sup> presane diligente informazione avvisasse distintamente lo stato di detti monasterj col suo parere: ma perche la brevità del tempo non gli avrà permesso eseguir tutto, S. B<sup>ae</sup> vuole che ella supplisca al rimanente con ogni sollecitudine et accuratezza.

"L'elettore di Colonia ancora vuole istituire un' università nella sua città di Munster: e di cio è stato ragionato nella sagra congregazione de propaganda fide, inclinando la S<sup>ia</sup> di N. S<sup>re</sup> che si facci deita università, con conditione però che oltre alle scienze vi si insegnino le leggi canoniche e civili. Serrva a S. S<sup>ria</sup> per avviso, accioche ella tratti in questa forma con detto elettore, quando S. A. le parlerà d'havere ottenuto per detta erettione il beneplacito apostolico."

## 111.

*Relazione dell' illmo et eccmo sigr Pietro Contarini Kr ritornato dell' ambasceria ordinaria di Roma, presentata alli 22 Giugno 1627 e letta il medesimo giorno nell' eccmo senato.*

Pietro Contarini had passed more than three years and a half—about forty-four months—at the court of Urban VIII, when he wrote this report.

He treats in four distinct parts, of the temporal and the spiritual administration, of the most important affairs, and the most influential members, of the court.

His account of the extension of the spiritual jurisdiction is remarkably full and instructive. He thinks that it had never yet in Italy been exercised with such rigor; that the court of Rome had become very dangerous to other princes, from its double object of maintaining an immediate rule over ecclesiastical persons, and a free disposal of ecclesiastical property. Urban VIII often said that if a Venetian nobleman were to become pope, he could not be more favorably inclined to the Venetians than he himself was: notwithstanding these professions they never obtained the slightest favor from him.

Altogether Contarini had a bad opinion of the whole system of the Roman government, the main principle of which was nepotism.

“L'inclinazione dei papi di far grandi i nepoti da in questi tempi il primo moto all' attioni, dichiarazioni e dipendenze con altri principi. Prima si pensa ad imprese contra infideli, ad acquisto di stati, ma come gli anni son brevi, le difficoltà molte, così si ferma il concetto senz' effettuazione alcuna: doppo altra strada si prende più facile, accumulando grandi ricchezze, comprando stati.”

He describes as follows the men immediately about Urban.

“Per ordinario si consiglia il pontefice con il card<sup>le</sup> Magalotti, cognato del fratello, e che tiene anco il carico di segretario di stato, per le cui mani passano tutte l' espedizioni. E' cardinale d' ingegno grande, vivace: lo stima assai il papa: l' ha voluto sempre appresso di se, et in particolare nella legatione di Bologna, dove le diede la viceregenza di quel governo. E se vi è alcuno che arrivi ad avere predominio nell' animo della S<sup>a</sup> Sua, quest' è l' uno, nè si sa se per proprio affetto et inclinazione di lei o se per la grande accortezza del cardinale, che bene conoscendo il genio di chi così lungamente si è servito di lui sa valersi delli mezzi proprj per condursi a questo segno: e può dirsi che negli affari di momento di esso solo si vale. Egli però s' affatica d' aggiustarsi alle inclinazioni del pontefice, le contraddice meno che può, e nelli suoi sensi procura d' incamminare le proprie attioni per conservare il posto, la confidenza e la reputazione che le apporta l' esser adoperato nelli maneggi più gravi. Procura con allontanarsi da tutte le apparenze, fuggendo l' audienze ordinarie de' ministri di principi, de' cardinali e quasi d' ogni altro (ma solo tratta i negotij ch' espressamente gli sono incaricati) di non acquistar l' odio che per l' ordinario suole cader sopra quelli che si veggono più vicini e partecipano dell' autorità o gratia del principe: e lo fa maggiormente per non ingelosire il card<sup>le</sup> Barberino, che da principio non mostrò di ricevere intiero gusto di vederlo avanzarsi tanto, e più valersi il pontefice di lui che della sua persona: e perciò bene spesso per questa causa s' udirono da Barberino parole che dinotavano il suo sentimento. Hora nondimeno lascia correr le cose come vanno, e mostra confidar nel zio, o per sollevarsi del peso degli affari, o perche non sa o conosce di non poter fermare il corso alla fortuna di questo. Il tutto pure si partecipa col medesimo cardinal Barberino, con S. Onofrio e Don Carlo.

“Il primo, come nipote, è veramente amato. Vorrebbe la S<sup>a</sup> Sua che non più applicatione attendesse alli negotij: ma egli v' apparisce alieno assai, nè il suo naturale punto si vede inclinato, et pare che quasi a forza assista solo dove per il carico che tiene non può far altrimenti, scaricando il peso degli affari più gravi sopra l' istesso card<sup>le</sup> Magalotti, contentandosi di spogliarsi di quello che dovrebbe esser suo particolare per vestirne il zio, contro la pratica degli passati pontefici, sia o per propria debolezza, o per non saper volersi di quella autorità

che gode chi arriva a posto tanto eminente. E' di ottimi, virtuosi e lodevoli costumi, di soave natura, e con esempio unico non vuole ricever donativi o presente alcuno. Sarà nondimeno vivendo il pontefice al pari d' ogni altro cardinale grande e ricco. Hor deve haver intorno 80 m. scudi d' entrata di beneficj ecclesiastici, e con li governi e legationi che tiene deve avvicinarsi a 500 m. scudi, e tutto il meglio che cava, sarà suo, principiando a farsi delle investite di momento. E poco spendendosi in breve tempo, verrassi ad accumular ricchezze immense.

“ Il card<sup>l</sup> S. Onofrio essendo vissuto del continuo nei Cappuccini, sequito tuttavia in una vita religiosissima, non s' ingerisce se non in quello le viene commesso, e degli affari del mondo poco ne sa e meno n' intende; e bene si è conosciuto la sua inabilità in questo nell' assenza di Barberino, mentre fu necessario di trattare e negotiar seco. Hora si ritrova alla residenza della sua chiesa di Sinigaglia.

“ Il sig<sup>r</sup> Don Carlo pure, fratello del pontefice, è generale di santa chiesa, e tutto quello che appartiene alla militie, alle fortezze, alle galere, è sotto il suo comando. E' signore d' intelligenza, prudente, cauto nello discorrere e trattare, e la cura dell' entrate e maneggi della camera ottimamente l' intende, essendo stato huomo di negotio e versato in queste materie. Qualche cosa ha rilasciato dalla sua prima applicatione agli affari, per non aggravar maggiormente li suoi anni, essendo il più vecchio delli fratelli e per qualche sua dispositione ancora.

“ Due altri nipoti tiene la S<sup>ta</sup> Sua. Il sig<sup>r</sup> Don Taddeo, nel quale si pensa di stabilire la casa, giovane di anni 23 incirca, di nobilissime maniere, di grande ingenuità, et è sommamente amato da tutta la corte. Qualche disegno vi è nel pontefice di farlo prefetto della città dopo la morte del duca di Urbino, che hora gode questo titolo, carico degnissimo, che a tutti precede e dura in vita e dopo la morte anco del pontefice tiene luogo nel solio. E Don Antonio, commendatore di Malta, di anni 18. Ha intorno 14 m. scudi di commende. E' di uno spirito pronto, vivace, et a suo tempo vi vorrà esser per la sua parte: desidera egli parimente il cardinalato, e si crede lo compiacerà la S<sup>ta</sup> Sua. Molti che non amano il card<sup>le</sup> Magalotti, lo vedrebbero volentieri quanto prima promosso a quella dignità, con opinione possa egli arrivar dove non giugne il fratello a farle contrasto et oppositione.”

The affairs of the Valtelline are here discussed in all their relations.

“ L' altro importante negotio è quello della Valtellina, intorno al quale pure grandemente vi travagliò la Santità Sua, ma con fortuna diversa, se bene nel principio vogliono che potesse applicarvi maggiori e più risoluti rimedj. L' esser entrato in affare tanto arduo li primi giorni del ponteficato, uscito e non ben ancora rimesso da una grave indispositione, con il pensiero più applicato al primo che a questo negotio, causò forse che si lasciò correr molte cose che allora il provedervi non era difficile, sicome il remediarsi poi dopo riuscì impossibile. Fu il deposito della Valtellina fatto dai Spagnoli in mano di Gregorio XV, e Chiavenna con il suo contado la consegnarono con le medesime conditioni al presente pontefice. Le prime negotiations passarono per mano del commendatore Silleri con tanta cautela e segretezza che il certo d' esse non solo si comunicava alli ministri di V. Serenità, che pure ne doveano aver tanta parte ma con fatica veniva a loro notitia il vero di quanto si trattava. In niuna altra cosa premeva il pontefice che nel ricevere soddisfazione per il pagamento delli presidj ch' egli teneva nelli forti della Valle, e dopo infinite doglianse et istanze conseguì, credo, fra l' uno e l' altro re intorno 200 m. scudi. Questo danaro andò diminuendo il dispiacere del deposito, che prima e dopo anche dannò sempre grandemente, stimando non esser sollevato dall' interesse, niuno pregiudicio potesse apportarle la longhezza et irresolutione di tal meneggio.

“ Quelli del Valtellina s' offerivano al papa per vassalli, assicurandolo che li datii che potrebbe imporre sopra li vini e formaggi basterebbono a mantener li presidj ordinarj per difesa di quella Valle. Molti consideravano al pontefice che il ritornar la Valtellina alli Grisoni e rimetter in mano degli heretici li cattolici non si poteva da esso nè sì dovea se non con grandissimo scandalo e danno

eseguire, che darla ai Spagnoli niuno n' avrebbe assentito, et ai Francesi o ad altri quelli non lo permetterebbono; nè meglio vi fosse che si conservasse alla chiesa la Valtellina, non contenendo alcun' altra conditione di momento quel paese che dei passi, che si possono havere o pretender per venirsene et andarsene oltre ai monti: questi restando in potestà del pontefice patre comune, gli avrebbe aperti e concessi sempre secondo il bisogno e necessità d' ogn' uno. Le ragioni se bene poco fondate non lasciano di far impressione, e talvolta anche persuadono dove apparisce alcuna speranza di comodo et utile. Del concetto se ne lasciò intender la S<sup>ta</sup> Sua, et aggiunse anco, quando vi fosse qualche difficoltà nel restar alla chiesa, ne si potrebbe investir un suo nipote. Era promosso dai Spagnoli il partito, a loro però nè ai Francesi piaceva: in fine si fermò da Sillieri il trattato ben noto a V. Serenità che non fu in Francia approvato dal re, in particolare nella parte che Spagnoli avessero il passo per le genti che andassero in Fiandra e per le medesime solo che ritornassero: poiche il formar della Valtellina una quarta lega, che tanto pretesero Spagnoli, meno il pontefice v' assenti. Fu mutato per questa causa l' ambasciatore, o fosse per la caduta del cancelliere e di Puysieux segretario, l' uno fratello e l' altro nipote del medesimo Sillieri. E giunse in Roma mons<sup>r</sup> di Bettune, ministro di miglior consiglio, di più generosi e risoluti partiti, disautorrizzò il negotiato del suo precettore, insistè e parlò sempre per il trattato di Madrid, nego assolutamente il permettere per qualsivoglia maniera a' Spagnoli il passo, e sollecitò in frequenti audienze il pontefice a risolvere alcuna cosa poiche nè a maggiori lunghezze nè a più tarde dilazioni potea la lega assentire.

Il pontefice, che non stimò mai tanta risoluzione nelli collegati nè da questa causa fossero per condursi all' armi, massime che l' suo nuntio in Francia e quello di Suizzeri affermarono del continuo alla S<sup>ta</sup> Sua con lettere che 'l marchese di Covre mai avrebbe presentate l' armi del re dove vi fossero le insegne della Beat<sup>e</sup> Sua, s' andò pure continuando nelle irresolutioni, e quanto più accrescevano et apparivano le difficoltà, tanto maggiormente veniva ella a persuadersi (nè vi mancava chi la confermava in questo) che in fine nelle contese essa ne resterebbe posseditrice. E benche Bettune per ultimo significò al papa che il re e la lega insieme la supplicavano di rimettere ai Spagnoli li forti conforme allo obbligo del deposito, accioche essendovi necessità di mover l' armi non s' attribuisca a poco rispetto l' andar contro quelle della S<sup>ta</sup> Sua, e se all' hora il pontefice si risolvea e predea partito come dovea, offerendo ai Spagnoli li forti, il tutto veniva ad aggiustarsi con la riputatione sua e soddisfazione degli altri, poiche non gli habrebbono ricevuti li Spagnoli non trovandosi in termine di poterli difendere, e cessava la causa di dolersi mentre in tempo eseguiva il pontefice le conditioni del deposito, nè poteva alcuna contraddire lasciandoli a Grisoni; corsero alcuni giorni: in fine surprise il marchese di Covre Plata Mala: allora il pontefice pretese et adimandò tre mesi di tempo, e dopo si ristrinse a tanto che bastasse di scriver in Spagna e farne l' esibitione, dicendo che li ministri d' Italia non tenevano facoltà di ricever li forti. Ma essendo di già avanzate et ogni giorno procedendo di bene in meglio l' intraprese di Covre, non fu stimato a proposito, anzi sarebbe riuscito dannoso il suspender i progressi, per attendere poi di Spagna risposte incerte: a così andò il pontefice a poco a poco perdendo tutto quello teneva in deposito, solo restandole Riva e Chiavenna, che sole furono succorse dai Spagnoli. Si doleva S<sup>ta</sup> Sua che questi, se ben ricercati alle prime difese, mai vennero al soccorso, et essi di non essere stati chiamati in tempo, di modo che mal soddisfatti Spagnoli, non contenti Francesi, ella somnamente disgustata stimando poco rispetto s' avesse portato alle sue insegne, del continuo e grandemente con ognuno se ne querelava: nè altrimenti facevano Spagnoli, mentre attribuivano tutti gl' inconvenienti a lei, e di lei più d' ogni altro si dolevano: et ancorche dopo spedisse il nipote legato in Francia et in Spagna col fine ben noto a V. Serenità, e conoscendo haver preso altra maggior mossa le armi d' Italia, più gravi si rendessero i pericoli se vi applicasse da dovero, con tutto cio non si è potuto levare il primo concetto che dagli antecedenti mal incamminati principj non siano derivati gl' inconvenienti

che si sono dopo visti. Ugualmente Francesi come Spagnoli attribuivano le durezza e difficoltà che si sono incontrate in questa negotiazione, alle pretensioni del pontefice, volendo che ad esso fossero consignati li forti, senza dichiararsi quello che n' havrebbe fatto, negando però assolutamente di volerli demolire. Da che si ha reso sopramodo difficile il trovar ripiego conveniente, si è consumato tanto tempo, fatte tante spedizioni, et in fine portato il negotio in Spagna, che in Roma difficilmente s' havrebbe terminato."

## 112.

*Relatione dello stato dell' imperio e della Germania fatta da monsr Caraffa nel tempo che era nunzio alla corte dell' imperatore l' anno 1628.*

The most circumstantial report which has ever come in my way, consisting of 1080 folio pages in a Roman copy. It is not rare in Germany, for I bought one at Leipsic, and another copy exists in a private library at Berlin in a beautiful folio volume, which a certain Wynman presented in 1655 to the bishop of Eichstadt, with a pompous dedication.

It consists of four parts, in the first of which the disturbances in Germany generally are described; in the second, the condition, possessions and relations of Ferdinand II; in the third, the German principalities according to the circles; and in the fourth, the more recent alliances which had been formed in Germany.

The author declares that he will write nothing but what he has himself seen, or learned from some trustworthy source. "Protestandomi che tutto quello che scriverò, parte n' ho praticato e visto io stesso per lo spatio di 8 anni che sono stato in Germania, parte n' ho inteso di persone degne di fede, parte n' ho cavato della lettura de' libri communi e delle lettere e cancellarie tanto d' amici quanto d' inimici, che sono state intercette in diversi tempi, de' quali alcune sono date alle stampe, altre no."

We see that he had in view from the first a systematic compilation of his materials.

The printed Commentaries of Caraffa are arranged in chronological order, whereas the work now before us is composed more in the form of a report; it is only in the first part that the events are chronologically arranged.

I cannot conceal that I have often had doubts as to the genuineness of this document.

The connection is excessively loose. We first meet with the report on Bohemia again with some few omissions; we then find a very remarkable statement concerning the election of a king of Hungary in 1625, but inserted in its wrong place; and lastly, what indeed is more important, a report of the year 1629 (but in which there is no trace that it is Caraffa's,) concerning Germany, the emperor, and the princes, is here given, somewhat amplified, but otherwise literally copied. Many other portions of this work are evidently stolen. King James I of England is mentioned as the "presente re d'Inghilterra," which could not be said in 1628.

We should guess that some compiler had put together these documents without any system or design; but after further consideration this conjecture does not appear to be probable.

Most important and striking facts relating to recent times, of which no compiler would have dreamt, are here added to the Ragguaglio of Caraffa.

Circumstances are related which could only be known to the initiated. For example, the author appears conversant with those negotiations of Urban VIII with England through the agency of the capuchin Rota, which were kept so profoundly secret.

The nuncio also occasionally speaks in the first person.

I conclude, therefore, that this work really proceeded from Caraffa, but was not completed by him, owing either to want of time or inclination, or perhaps, of power to do so; for his Bohemian report has somewhat of the same diffuse

and formless character. He probably intended on his return to Aversa to fill up some of his leisure hours with the arrangement of his materials.

Under all circumstances, this work eminently deserves our attention, even in the form it wears.

The reports which are herein contained, and more or less worked out, are of the highest value. The historical remarks also differ materially from those contained in the printed commentaries.

I extract two passages which appear to me most remarkable.

I. The decay of the German principalities;—for of course much more attention is here devoted to German and Austrian affairs than to those of Rome or the church.

“ Per il passato era tanta l'abbondanza che li principi di Germania a pena potevano saper la quantità de' regali, datii, argenti, et altre dovittie venute da ogni parte, et hora a pena ritrovano il principio per haverle, e pare che vivano solo alla giornata, e quello che da una giornata, l'altra lo consuma. Non vi è raccolta grande di danaro, se non di cose rifiutate da' creditori e che sono più di titolo che di realtà. Di tal negligenza e sì poca economia e di sì fatto errore varie s'assegnano le cause: chi dice ciò venire per la liberalità de' principi, chi per le conditioni de' tempi iniqui, chi per le frequenti guerre, chi per le seditioni de' cittadini, altri finalmente assegnano la causa a' ministri, prefetti e vicarii: veramente si vede tali officii haver voluto abbracciare più di quello che potevano stringere et essere arrivate troppo oltre le comodità prese da governatori: con questo il poco consiglio, l'interesse proprio anteposto al commune, cose che poterono estinguere il gran Romano imperio, perche non ponno estinguere il Germano? Nasce anco la rovina di Germania dall'otio de' principi e dal loro troppo deliziare, o dalla poca forza d'ingegno, o da una precipitosa vecchiaja, o pure per esser tanto nemici del governo che più si contentano di dare in mano d'un'altro il maneggio delle cose pubbliche, benchè riconoschino spesso la poca idoneità di colui, e quasi a foggia di alcuni antichi Eritrei farli secondi principi, da loro solo differenti per nome, ma pari nel total maneggio, come fu Joab appresso David et altri appresso altri principi. I quali maneggiatori, come presi dalla plebe, abusavano et abusano la loro data potestà, e più con la passione che con la moderatione della virtù governandosi, e dati in preda a parassiti et adulatori costituivano e costituiscono altri sottoministri indegni, che con prezzo e ragione di parentela et ambizione corrompevano e corrompono la giustizia, et a tale esempio dietro e se tirando altri principi circonvicini facevano commune giustizia cio ch'era proprio interesse.”

II. The election of a king of Hungary.

“ Sopraggiungendo alla dieta li voti del regno di Schiavonia e di Croatia, che erano quasi tutti cattolici, e superando con questa giunta la parte de' cattolici et aderenti di Sua Maestà di non poco la parte degli heretici e non confidenti, la voce sparsa della volontà di S. M<sup>a</sup> dell' electione veniva giornalmente meglio intesa. Tuttavia li deputati dell' imperatore, per meglio assicurarsi delli voti della dieta, volsero prima di proporre l' electione dell' arciduca farne esperienza con l' electione del palatino, che si doveva fare per la morte del Thurzo, desiderando S. M<sup>a</sup> che si facesse un cattolico e particolarmente il sopradetto conte Esterhasi, ancorche secondo le leggi e costituzioni di quel regno avesse proposto alli stati quattro soggetti, due cattolici e due heretici: et il negotio riuscì felicissimamente, poiche detto conte fu eletto con 150 voti, non havendo havuto il contrario più che 60. Fatta questa prova e con essa rincorati maggiormente li confidenti et amici dell' imperatore, parve nondimeno alli ministri di S. M<sup>a</sup> che oltre alli sopradetti voti 150 saria stato bene a superare qualche buona parte delli 60 contrarij con presenti e con doni acciò riuscisse l' electione con maggior soddisfazione del regno, e collo spendere, per quanto fu detto, da 20 m. fiorini si hebbe l'intento della maggior parte di loro, come si sperimentò nell' altri negotii della dieta. Li Betleniani e suoi aderenti, ancorche non fosse all' hora pubblicata la volontà dell' imperatore, sebbene si teneva per sicuro che volesse fare eleggere re l' arciduca, non mancavano di contrariare al possibile.

“Soggiungerò un’ esempio dell’ ardire di una donna in questo proposito, dal quale, si come è straordinario, si conosceranno le forze di detti contrarii. La madre del barone Bathiani, che è de’ più principali signori di qualità e di stato e di aderenza d’ Ungaria, hebbo ardire di mettere in considerazione all’ imperatrice che non doveva permettere che si facesse questa elezione, perche si veniva a pregiudicare a S. M<sup>a</sup> stessa, poiche se fosse venuta qualche disgratia alla vita dell’ imperatore, lei per l’ interegno, come coronata regina d’ Ungaria, finche fosse stato eletto un nuovo re, haveria governato quel regno. Ma l’ imperatrice, con somma prudenza dissimulando, le rispose che la ringraziava dell’ affetto, ma che lei doppo la morte dell’ imperatore, se fosse sopravvissuta, non voleva pensare ad altro che all’ utile della figli di Sua M<sup>a</sup> suo marito: al quale subito diede parte della sopradetta proposta.

“Ma ancorche il negotio dell’ elezione si stimasse già sicuro, l’ impedì tuttavia molti giorni il contrasto grande nato tra ministri più supremi di Sua M<sup>a</sup>, includendosi ancora mons<sup>r</sup> arcivescove di Strigonia et il nuovo palatino con mons<sup>r</sup> cancelliere et altri che vi havevano interessi, come era l’ ambasciatore di Spagna et io come indegno ministro apostolico. Il contrasto fu se seguita detta elezione si doveva far subito la coronatione. Alcuni dicevano di sì: perche con questa veniva l’ arciduca ad assicurarsi totalmente nel regno, il che non saria stato se fosse stato solamente eletto, per l’ accennata di sopra elezione del Gabor, essendo gli Ungari huomini volubilissimi e per lo più infedeli: 2<sup>o</sup> dicevano che la coronatione, se si fosse fatta, haveria giovato assai nella prima dieta imperiale, se l’ imperatore avesse voluto far eleggere Sua Altezza in re de’ Romani: 3<sup>o</sup> per il matrimonio dell’ infanta di Spagna, essendosi colà dichiarato di volere l’ arciduca prima eletto e coronato re di Ungaria. Altri per il contrario, tra quali ero io et il padre confessore dell’ imperatore, dicevano che questa coronatione non si doveva fare all’ hora, perche li stati di quel regno non haveriano mai permesso che seguisse detta coronatione se Sua Altezza non avesse promesso loro e giurato, tanto nelli punti politici come di religione tutto quello che promise il padre stando nelli maggiori pericoli; onde non vi essendo all’ hora detti pericoli e potendo con il tempo migliorarsi assai le cose di S. A., o per la morte del Gabor o per li felici successi dell’ imperio o per altro, non era bene intrigare la coscienza di questo principe giovane con serrarli la porta a’ progressi della religione et impedirgli insieme l’ acquisto di maggiore autorità politica e dominio nel regno: 2<sup>o</sup> dicevano, e questo per lo più li camerari, che nella coronatione vi saria andata una buona spesa, come ancora nell’ accrescimento della corte di Sua Altezza, onde stando all’ hora imminente la spesa grossa del viaggio d’Ulma, si saria potuto differire in altro tempo, non potenda probabilmente apportare alcun detrimento detta dilatione, perche se il Gabor avesse voluto pigliare pretesti, venendo qualche accidente di morte all’ imperatore, tanto l’ haveria pigliato ancorche l’ arciduca fosse stato coronato, come fece contro l’ imperatore ancorche fusse eletto e coronato; che per elezione in re de’ Romani e per il matrimonio dell’ infanta di Spagsa bastava che l’ arciduca fusse vero re d’ Ungaria, e come tale si potesse intitolare per la sola elezione. Standosi dunque in questo contrasto, ancorche l’ ambasciatore di Spagna facesse nuove istanze per la coronatione, dicendo che in Spagna non haveriano fatto il matrimonio dell’ infanta con l’ arciduca, stimandosi altrimenti la successione nel regno non sicura, Sua M<sup>a</sup> con la solita sua pietà si dichiarò che non voleva che si facesse, stimando secondo il consiglio del suo padre confessore che fosse contro coscienza se l’ arciduca avesse giurato, come non poteva far di meno, quello che era stata forzata giurare Sua M<sup>a</sup> nelli pericoli grandi, quali all’ hora non vi erano.”

## 113.

*Relatio status ecclesie et totius diocesis Augustanæ, 1622.*

This report is of no particular importance, and is chiefly taken up with the affairs of the city of Augsburg.

The labors and final expulsion of the protestant “pseudo-doctors” from Augsburg is the author’s main topic.



He expresses a hope that, after this had been effected by the emperor, chiefly through the instrumentality of Hieronymus Inhof and Bernhard Rehlingen, catholicism would again become universal.

## 114.

*Legatio apostolica P. Aloys. Carafæ episcopi Tricaricensis sedente Urbano VIII, Pont. M. ad tractum Rheni et ad prov. inferioris Germaniæ obita ab anno 1624 usque ad annum 1634. Ad Citem Franc. Barberinum.*

This is a very curious report, consisting of 104 pages: it is rather prolix, but contains some good things.

First comes the account of the journey, in which much space is occupied by insignificant details. The nuncio, among other places, goes to Fulda. He makes a great merit of having reduced the number of quarterings requisite as a qualification for the dignity of abbot of Fulda, from sixteen to eight.

The account he gives of the disputes between the Liégeois and their bishop is very minute: he took an active share in them, and transferred the nunciatura from Cologne to Liège.

The most important part of his report is unquestionably a description of the existing catholic universities within the district of his nunciatura.

We learn from it how completely the higher branches of instruction were then in the hands of the Jesuits. They predominated in Trèves and Mayence; Paderborn, Münster, and Osnabrück, where a high-school had been lately established, were absolutely in their power; but they taught only the humaniora, philosophy and theology. Jurisprudence was altogether neglected. In Cologne, which was always the first of the universities, medicine was only taught by two professors, and their lectures were attended by few pupils. The chief misfortune in Cologne had been that the teachers were too well provided for by rich prebendal stalls. "Earum opibus ad vitam clementem et suavem instructi, raro aut nunquam ipsi sacram doctrinam tradebant, sed aliorum vicaria opera passim utebantur. Hinc sine pondere et methodo instruebantur academici, et anni quindeni facile circumagi solebant priusquam universam illi theologiam audirent. Ea res vero antehac non parum incommoda fuerat archidiœcesi Coloniensi et præsertim ditionibus Juliæ Cliviæ ac Montium, quod pro adeunda in iis animarum procuracione reparandisque religionis catholiciæ ruinis parochi et sacerdotes idonei hoc pacto nisi post longissimum diem non instituebantur." The Jesuit fathers reformed that abuse. The college of the Three Crowns at Cologne, which was placed under their charge, enjoyed considerable reputation, and contained in 1634 about twelve hundred pupils. The love of ease and enjoyment, however, was not so easily eradicated. The feasts of the masters increased luxury and the expenses of promotion. "Tota quadragesima sunt quotidie academicorum symposia." Caraffa's description of the catholicism and good living of the Cologne people is very amusing. "Populus Coloniensis religionis avitæ retinentissimus est, quam utique semel susceptam nunquam deseruit. Tolerantur quidem in civitate familiæ aliquæ sectariorum, sed vetitum eis est exercitium omne sectarum suarum, et ære gravi mulctantur si qui clam habere privatos conventus et audire Lutheri aut Calvinii buccinatores deprehendantur. In senatum ipsum nulli cooptantur qui catholici non fuerint, et quotquot in eo conscripti ad curiam veniunt, sententiam dicere aut ferre suffragium non possunt nisi prius eodem die intervenerint rei sacræ in proximo palatii senatorii sacello. Noctu ipsi cives excubias habent in potioribus plateis civitatis, nec vis aut injuria metui potest, quia strepitu quovis exciti adsunt et opitulantur, grassatores vero ac sicarios in vincula conjiciunt. Sed et plateæ omnes catenis ferreis noctu vinciuntur, ne pateant liberis excursionibus, ideoque populus maxime in tranquillo agit. Inter alia plebis commoda illud imprimis commemorari debet, licere cuique ineunte hieme boves et sues emere eosque fumo arefacere ac in escam anni consequentis, qua vescuntur avide, domi servare. Spatium vero ejusdem anni eis concedi solet ad pretium repræsentandum, dum interim alqui a senatu

constituti mercatoribus solvunt: nec unquam opifices ulli, quamvis inopes, patiuntur suam fidem in ea re desiderari, quia deinceps haud foret integrum eis rursus ejusmodi annonam rei cibariæ illo tam insigni subsidio æris publici coemere. Sunt et triclina tribuum communia, in eisque possunt omnes iis diebus quibus feriantur in hebdomade, constituto pretio admodum facili, convivari."

Not only towns and universities, but princes and events are described; Ferdinand of Cologne, "gravitate morum, professione pietatis et ingenii maturitate nulli secundus;" Frederic of Wurzburg, "linguarum etiam exterarum peritia, morum suavi quadam gravitate, prudentissima dexteritate omnibus carus;" Casimir of Mayence, "eloquens vir in Germanico idiomate, legationibus functus."

L. Caraffa also records many of the remarkable events of that period. I know not what was the foundation for the opinion that Wallenstein could have taken Stralsund: "si, quod multi existimant, pecuniam quam urbem capere non maluisset."

He regards it as a great misfortune that Tilly did not venture to throw his troops into Saxony, on the first breaking out of disturbances in that country. His description of the state of Cologne after the battle of Leipsic, and of the views which France manifested at that moment, are also very remarkable.

"Ex accepta clade ad Lipsiam fractæ vires fuerant et fracti catholicorum animi, et tunc repente imperitia vel metus in propugnandis arcibus aditum hosti victori magnam aperuerunt, ut viscera imperii mox infestis armis invaderet, ex quo Fulda, Herbipolis, Bambergæ, Moguntia, Wormatia, Spira aliæque urbes atque oppida fuerunt exiguo tempore vel expugnata vel dedita. Colonia superfluit principum exulum perfugium, et hi thesauros qua sacros qua laicos in eam civitatem importaverant, si quibus licuerat tamen illos avehere antequam ingrueret ea belli vehemens et subita tempestas. Ibidem anxie curæ principum et dubia consilia erant, an, sicut proposuerat orator Gallus, expediret deinceps neutri parti, seu Cæsaris seu Gustavi regis, tam arma principum eorumdem quam arma ipsiusmet civitatis Coloniensis favere. Id Coloniæ suadebat orator christianissimi regis; sed necessarium fore affirmabat ut in eam urbem pariter atque in alias ditones principum electorum cohortes prædiariorum ex regis sui legionibus introducerentur: tunc enim reveritus Coloniæ Gustavus rex alio arma convertisset, aut si venire hostis nihilominus deliberasset, provocasset merito christianissimum regem, ac fœdere extincto inimicitiam et iram ejus experiri cœpisset. Gravis nimirum videbatur ea conditio admittendi cohortes prædiarias regis externi in civitates ac ditones imperii; sed graviores multo erant conditiones aliæ, quibus ut neutri parti faverent deinceps proponebatur, quia in bello tam acipiti Cæsarem non juvare sed quasi deserere videbatur maxime alienum a professione pervetere civitatum ac principum ipsiusmet imperii. Hoc superesse tamen consilii et eum portum securitatis unice adeundum esse judicabat pariter apostolicæ nuntius Parisiensis, ad quem scripseram de ingenti clade religioni catholice templisque et aris illata per Gustavum regem."

This is followed by a minute account of the tragical end of Wallenstein, which I shall give elsewhere.

## 115.

*Relatione della corte di Roma del Sig<sup>r</sup> K<sup>r</sup> Aluise Contarini dell' anno 1632 al 1635.*  
(Arch. Ven.)

This is a very full report, in thirty-five chapters, written upon one hundred and forty pages, and doubly important, as Aluise Contarini came immediately from France to Rome, and was therefore better enabled to judge of the peculiar political station assumed by Urban VIII in those times.

He begins by describing the spiritual and temporal government of the pope.

This he esteems thoroughly monarchical. Of all the old congregations one only, that of the inquisition, met regularly. The cardinals have no other privi-

leges (except that the carriages of individuals stopped when they met them) than the purple, and a vote in the election of pope: the pope liked them so little that in important matters he generally employed inferior prelates, who had more to hope from him than the cardinals, who were more independent.

But the tighter the rein is drawn, the more do real authority and influence decline. "L' antica veneratione sta oggidi molto diminuita."

The inhabitants of Urbino were exceedingly discontented. "Quei sudditi si aggravano molto della mutatione, chiamando il governo di preti tirannico, i quali altro interesse che d' arricchirsi e d' avanzarsi non vi tengono." The author always laments that Urbino had fallen into the hands of the pope, as being a great disadvantage both to Spain and Venice.

In a second part he describes the principal actors. "Nacque il papa Urbano VIII del 1567" (others say 68) "d' Aprile, onde cammina per li 69 di sua età, conservato dal vigore della complessione non soggetta a qualsivoglia malattia, e dalla vivacità dell' ingegno. La statura mediocre, il color bruno, il pelo bianco, l' occhio vivo, il parlar pronto, la temperatura sanguigna e biliosa. Vive con gran regola. Regola in gran parte le sue attioni coi moti del cielo, dei quali è molto intelligente, ancorche con censure grandissime a tutti gli altri n'abbia proibito lo studio. Li suoi moti sono subiti e vehementi, tali che alcuna volta confinano con la pazzia, non potendo con la pazienza frenarli, se ben egli dice che questa commotione della bile di quando in quando vaglia molto eccitando il calore alla preservatione di sua salute. Cavalca, villeggia, cammina, ama l' esercizio. Non s' affligge per le cose moleste: e tutte queste parti concorrono a predirli qualche anno di vita ancora, non ostante che nel tempo del mio soggiorno assai decaduto sia.

"E' arrivato al papato con un servitio continuo di 30 e più anni alla corte. Fu prima prelato di segnatara e poi governatore di Fano. Poco appresso, per opera di Francesco Barberini suo zio paterno, prelato pi poco grido ma di gran ricchezze accumulate con parsimonia Fiorentina, comprò ufficii in corte e finalmente il chiericato di camera. Clemente VIII lo impiegò in diverse cariche, ma particolarmente sopra quella del novo taglio del Po, dacche sono arrivate in gran parte le differenze presenti dei confini con la republica, per la cognitione che professa di quell' affare e per il disgusto che allora non si eseguisse a modo suo. Fu poi dall' istesso Clemente mandato nunzio in Francia, prima straordinario per tenere a battesimo il re presente, e poi ordinario di Enrico IV suo padre, dove si mostrò zelantissimo dell' immunità ecclesiastica. Paolo V successore di Clemente lo confermò nella medesima legatione di Francia: poi lo fece cardinale, legato di Bologna, e ritornato a Roma prefetto della signatura di giustizia, carico d'onore et impiego ben grande. Finalmente del 1623 fu in luogo di Gregorio XV con pratiche molto artificiose assonto al pontificato nell' età sua di 56 anni: et oggi corre il XIII anno: con disgusto di tutta la corte, alla quale non meno che ai principi torna conto i pontificati brevi, perche tanto più tengono conto di tutti, abbondano nelle gratie, non temporalizzano come se fossero hereditarij del papato: e finalmente la corte in generale trova impiego e fortuna nella frequenza delle mutationi.

"In ogni stato hebbe il papa di se stesso grande opinione con affetti di dominio sopra gli altri e disprezzo al consiglio di tutti. Par ch' egli esercita oggidi tanto più liberamente quanto che si ritrova in posto sopra a tutti eminente. Ha ingegno grande, ma non giudicio: ingegno, perche nelle cose che da lui solo dipendono e che riguardano la sua persona e casa, si è sempre condotto ove ha desiderato, senza omettere gl' inganni e gli artificii di lui molto connaturali, come si vide particolarmente nelle pratiche del suo papato, nelle quali seppe far convenire nella sua persona le due fattioni contrarie di Borghese e Ludovisio, solo col far credere all' una d' esser inimico dell' altra negli affari poi generali, nei quali si richiede il giudicio di saper ben congiungere gl' interessi della sede apostolica con quelli degli altri principi, si è osservato il papa esserne per sempre stato manchevole. Tale lo dichiarano il negotio di Valtellina; la guerra di Mantova, che non sarebbe seguita se il papa si fosse dichiarato contro il primo

innovatore; la perdita di Mantova, attribuita ai viveri che riceverono gli Alemanni dallo stato ecclesiastico, senza quali conveniva loro o disassediarla o morirsi; la prefettura di Roma data al nipote, privando la sede apostolica dell' assistenza di tanti ministri di principi che sono il più bel fregio di lei, et aggravando lo stesso nipote d' invidia, di riguardi e d' un posto assolutamente insostenibile dopo la morte del pontefice; il mal termine usatosi contro l' ambasciatore di V Serenità mio predecessore, lasciandolo partire senza soddisfazione; l' ultima compromissione di Francia nel cardinale Antonio nipote prima persuasa et acconsentita, poi ritrattata e proibita, con nota appresso il mondo di grande artificio, per non dire inganno, e con divisione della propria casa. Tralascio il gran detrimento che sotto il presente pontefice ha fatto la religione cattolica in Fiandra et Alemagna; i pericoli all' Italia per la negata dispensa al duca di Mantova, e molto più per aversi portato il papa in modo che ha disgustato tutti i principi grandi e piccioli, che nessuno gli è amico: onde si è reso incapace di poter esercitar con essi loro quelle parti di autorità e di paterno consiglio che potrebbe pacificarli et unirli insieme alla difesa della religione: parti che sono state così esattamente maneggate e conosciute proprie de' pontefici che per sostenere il nome di padre comune, dal quale proviene loro ogni venerazione, e per mantenere l' unione tra i principi christiani, che cagiona in essi molta autorità, si sono esposti ad azzardi, a viaggi, a pericoli, non militando nel nome di padre quei puntigli che nell' intrmissione degli altri principi possono facilmente incontrarsi.

“ Si è sempre professato il papa presente neutrale, attribuendo a sua gloria l' aver arricchita et ingrandita la sua casa senza comprar stati in regno di Napoli nè sottomettersi a favori dei principi grandi. Nell' interno però suo egli è affettionato a Francesi, le loro prontezze e risoluzioni essendo più conformi al genio di S. S<sup>a</sup>, in ordine di che ha fatto le maggiori dimostrazioni quando seguì l' acquisto della Roscella. Persuase la pace con Inglesi, affine che la Francia potesse accorrer al soccorso di Casale allora assediata dai Spagnoli: consigliò ai medesimi l' acquisto e la conservazione di Pinarolo per necessario equilibrio alle cose d' Italia: trovò sempre pretesti di deferir o diminuir i soccorsi in Alemagna, con opinione, la qual vive tuttavia, che a S. S<sup>a</sup> sia dispiaciuta la morte del re di Svezia e che più goda o per dir meglio manco tema i progressi de' protestanti che degli Austriaci. Anzi è opinione comune che quando anche fosse portato il papa dal card' Barberino tutto Spagnolo, a qualche unione con essi temerebbe facilmente a maggior rottura di prima. E la causa è questa: perche governandosi il papa con artificio e credendo che Spagnoli facciano il medesimo, saranno sempre tra di loro anzi gelosie d' inganni che confidenza di ben vera unione.”

It is not necessary to quote the description of the pope's nephews, which Aluise Contarini here gives. Even Francesco Barberino depended completely on his uncle, although the pope loved him the best, and he devoted his whole energies to business. “ Nessuno nipote di papa fu giamai alle fatiche del negotio assiduo come egli è, non avendo minimo divertimento: ma egli è ancho vero che nessuno manco di lui ha operato.”

He gives up describing the cardinals individually, only observing that hypocrisy prevails through the whole body. “ Sarà tal card<sup>le</sup> sanissimo che per facilitarsi il papato vorrà esser creduto infermo: caminando zoppica: discorrendo tosse: uscendo si sta tutto in una seggiotta racchiuso. Tal altro che sarà buon politico, si mostrerà lontano da ogni negotio, nei discorsi s' ammutisce, ne' quesiti si stringe le spalle, nelle risposte generalizza.” In reading this, the thought occurs to one that it must be the origin of the fable which was invented concerning the promotion of Sixtus V to the papacy.

The third part is devoted to the political relations of Rome, and contains most important and vivid descriptions of events: it is, as I have said, by far the most important for our purpose.

Although Urban was decidedly favorable to the French party, he did not always accede to their demands in ecclesiastical matters. “ Bisogna anche confessare, ch' essi hanno addimandato delle gratie difficili, come la disposizione dell' abbazie di Lorena, la nullità de' matrimonj tanto del duca Carlo di Lorena

come di monsieur et altre simili." Francesco Barberini was not so complete a partisan of the French as his uncle. Though the French no longer expected an open declaration in their favor, they were well aware that the pope would not declare himself against them: it was a great advantage to them even that he was believed to be favorable to their views, and that the opposite party did not trust him.

The Spaniards on the other hand were highly displeased, and made it matter of reproach to cardinal Borgia that he had permitted Urban VIII to be elected pope, affirming that he had been gained over by the promise of future favors. They perceived the influence of the pope's dislike towards them, in the negotiations concerning the Valtelline, in the policy of the French, and in the position maintained by Bavaria. On the other hand Barberino alleged, that the concessions which he made to the Spaniards excited no gratitude among them. We see therefore that the misunderstanding was mutual.

Contarini enters into the greatest detail respecting the relations existing between Rome and Venice, and attributes their differences chiefly to this cause,—that other powers were feared by Rome as being greater, or were treated with indifference as being inferior, whilst Venice was looked upon and treated as an equal.

Some discontent prevailed at Rome because the English and the Dutch enjoyed certain privileges there. When however the temporal authorities ventured to touch any ecclesiastic, a general storm was sure to arise.

Contarini advises his countrymen not to allow themselves to be duped. The nuncio, he says, was directed to maintain the best understanding with the most popular Venetian priests, and such as had most penitents to shrive. "E V. V. E. E. tengano per costante, che col mezzo di questi tali vengono i nuncii a risapere il midollo delli arcani." On that account it was the more necessary not to relinquish the authority of the republic over them.

There likewise existed constant disputes about the boundaries. Urban VIII was in no respect favorable to the Venetians; and especially endeavored to raise Ancona at the expense of Venice.

## 116.

*Discorso della malattia e morte del card<sup>l</sup> Ippolyto Aldobrandino camerlengo di S<sup>a</sup> Chiesa col fine della grandezza del papa Clemente VIII. 1638.*

The sudden extinction of the newly-founded family of the Aldobrandini made an extraordinary impression at Rome, and this feeling pervades the work under review. "E' stato superato della morte quel gran ingegno!" are the words with which it commences. The daughter of Giov. Giorgio Aldobrandino was the only surviving member of the family, and would naturally inherit enormous wealth.

The following passage gives a tolerable idea of the state of Roman society at that period: "Il marchese Lodovico Lanti, il conte Gio. Francesco da Bagni, Berlingieri Gessi e Bernardino Biscia, aspettando tutti quattro a gara il pontificato de' loro zii, ambivano le nozze della principessa Aldobrandina." Each of these nephews presumptive strove to gain the hand of the richest heiress of Rome, by means of his uncle's expectations of the tiara.

Nevertheless they neither gained the heiress nor the power of a *nepos*. Ippolyta married a Borghese, to the great astonishment of our author, since Paul V had persecuted the Aldobrandini, and imprisoned the father of Ippolyta. Nevertheless she married his *pronepos*. Later in life, however, she married, as we know, the nephew of a reigning pope, Innocent X; a circumstance which was brought about by the peculiar position, and for the interests, of the Roman court.

## 117.

*Relazione di q. Zuanne Nani Kr Procr ritornato di ambasciatore straordinario da Roma, 1641, 10 Luglio. (Arch. Ven.)*

Various misunderstandings continually existed between Rome and Venice; and one of a most singular nature arose in the year 1635.

A pompous inscription in grandiloquent words, in the sala regia of the Vatican of Pius IV, recorded an action of the Venetians famous in their annals, and one upon which they always prided themselves: viz: their victory over Frederic Barbarossa, by which they maintained that they saved pope Alexander III from destruction.

But by degrees the expression of this inscription came to be considered in Rome as inadmissible. The increasing rigor of Romam orthodoxy pronounced the words, "Pontifici Venetæ reipublicæ beneficio sua dignitas restituta," to be insulting. The spirit of contention for precedence which then ruled the world, was directed towards this absolute and half-forgotten incident. In addition to this, doubt was thrown upon the truth of the incident as related in the Venetian histories. Pamphlets were written on both sides of this question, which has been revived at the present day.

I cannot believe that it can be doubtful, to any one at all versed in historical criticism.

However, it was not alone historical conviction, but political jealousy also, which induced Urban VIII first to alter, and eventually to erase, the above-mentioned inscription.

The republic took the matter up in the same spirit; and as the disputes concerning the boundaries, and the precedence of the new prefetto, became daily more bitter, Venice for some time did not send any regular minister to Rome.

Nani, who went thither in the year 1638, was only in the capacity of ambassador extraordinary. He remained there about three years and a half, and his report proves that he had acquired an accurate knowledge of the Roman court.

The principal object of his mission was to induce the pope to render some assistance to the republic in the event of any attack from the Turks, which was at that time not improbable.

It is a curious fact, that this request of the Venetians came at an opportune moment, as it enabled the pope to oppose the necessities of the republic to the incessant claims for assistance made by Austria, which was then so hardly pressed by the protestants and the French.

Nani would willingly have prevailed upon the pope to mediate between the belligerent powers, but Urban did not possess the general confidence which would have been requisite to qualify him for that office. "Pullulando tante amarezze colle corone, restava faccia, per non dir quasi odiosa l'autorità del pontefice.

In conclusion, the Venetian minister mentions the desire of Urban to appear strong in a military point of view. Those who wished to be in his good graces turned the conversation on his fortifications. He himself frequently alluded to them. He said that within twenty days he could bring together more than twenty thousand men. He reckoned up the treasure which he possessed; for immediate necessities he had laid by 400,000 scudi, and it was believed that there still remained in the castle of St. Angelo three out of the five millions accumulated by Sixtus.

We will now refer to what Nani relates of the person and government of Urban VIII.

"Il pontefice è nel principio del settantesimo terzo della sua età nel fine del XVII del pontificato, dopo un spatio di 324 anni che altro papa non ha goduto così longo governo. E' di forze robusto e gagliardo, e per tale li piace di esser creduto: et in effetto, levato qualche dubbio di flussioni e d'accidenti improvvisi ai quali pare sottoposto, è in tale costituzione di buona salute che può mantenersi più anni. Usa governo esquisito nella sua cura. Al presente, ch'è più grave l'

età, manco s' applica alle faccende, delle quali non suole però prendersi più disturbo di quello che vuole. La mattina è dispensata in audienze et in negotii, il dopo pranzo è riservato alla quiete et alla conversatione domestica, nella quale è allegro e faceto, come in ogni altro discorso crudo e facondo, e nelle audienze stesse passa volentieri dal negoziare al parlare di cose piacevoli e di studio, al quale è dedito assai. Possede gran talenti e gran qualità. Ha memoria meravigliosa, petto e vigore che lo rende alle volte troppo costante nelli suoi sensi. Ha spiriti grandi aceresciuti dall' esperienza del governo e dei negotii. Deterisce assai al suo proprio parere, perciò non ama di consultare nè cura le qualità dei ministri, che possino maggiormente far risplendere le sue risoluzioni. Non molto inclina al gratiare. E' ardente, et alle volte con li ministri medesimi dei principi non ha potuto dissimulare il suo fervore. Ama che sia trattato seco con destrezza e soavità: e se vi è strada di poter far declinare dai suoi sensi l' animo di Sua S<sup>ta</sup>, questa è sola, la quale, se pure alle volte non può profittare, avanza certo, che se non si spiega, almeno non si rompe. . . . .

“ Nel governo presente è desiderata maggior e miglior consulta, perche dove manca il discorso, suole mancar la ragione: e veramente pochissimi sono li ministri e pochi quelli che habbino autorità e confidenza a palazzo. Appresso il pontefice non si sa alcuno che possi, e preponendo S. S<sup>ta</sup> il proprio parere a quello di tutti, sogliono li altri o lodarlo o secondarlo. Si usò in altri tempi che havevano i papi appresso di se tre e quattro cardinali e con la loro discussione risolvevano i più gravi negotii, e si teneva per arcano dei nepoti medesimi introdurre suoi dipendenti nella confidenza del zio, per condurlo poi e guadagnarlo dove o non potevano essi spuntare o non volevano scoprire gli affetti loro proprj.

“ Barberino non ha voluto cireuire in tal modo la libertà del papa: ma riservando a se solo il postu più vicino alle orecchie di S. S<sup>ta</sup>, obbliga gli altri a stare retirati et al solo parer di lui sottoponere le proprie opinioni, non mostrando gusto che da chi si sia parli al pontefice di negotio senza sua precedente partecipazione. Non si serve però nè anco di questa autorità che gode solo con quella libertà che per avventura compirebbe al ben publico et al suo proprio interesse: ma non osando respirare contro le risoluzioni e li sensi del papa, prende molte volte l' habito della costanza medesima di S. S<sup>ta</sup>, essendosi in tal maniera sottoposto al disgusto delle corone e d' altri principi e di loro ministri per non divertire e non sopire molti strani accidenti.

“ Appresso di questo li cardinali pur si dogliono e massime le creature di non haver apertura nè confidenza. Di pochissimi ministri si serve il sig<sup>r</sup> card<sup>o</sup>, mentre la mole dei negotii et altre circostanze di molti lo possono render bisognevole. Pancirola e Ricchi, auditori di rota, sono li più domestici e li più adoperati.

“ Pancirola è soggetto maturo e di molta esperienza, che fu impiegato in Piemonte per la pace sin nel principio delle guerre di Mantova. Serve per li negotii del governo dello stato ecclesiastico, e non havendo havuto che trattar meco, non mi resta che dire delle sue condizioni.

“ Ricchi è di gran spirito, pronto et sagace: dirige quasi tutti li negotii dei principi e particolarmente ha in mano quelli della republica. E' dipendentissimo da Barberino, qualità che lo rende oltre modo grato al sig<sup>r</sup> cardinale. Ha incontrato disgusto di molti ministri de' principi, nè meno è amato dall' universale. Non ha altra esperienza che quella che li concede l' impiego presente, che è grande. Ha egli sempre trattato meco, e nelle mie lettere e nella forma dei suoi officii l' averanno più volte veduto descritto V.V. E.E. Tratta con destrezza e con flemma e con altrettanto ingegno e solertia. Della serenissima republica parla con tutte le espressioni di riverenza e divotione. Tiene a cuore certo interesse di pensioni del cardinal suo fratello, del quale ho scritto altre volte.

“ A questi aggiungerò mons<sup>r</sup> Cecca, segretario di stato, perche assiste al presente alla trattatione della lega. Non ha egli talenti più che ordinarij: ma per la lunga esperienza della sua carica tiene buona informazione de' negotii. E' vecchio assai, e si crede vicino al cardinalato, se ben dalli nepoti è poco amato, ma molto rispettato per l' affetto che li porta la S<sup>ta</sup> Sua. Servì il segretario del pontefice mentre fu nuntio in Franchia, e con passaggio mostruoso di fortuna ma

solito della corte occupò il luogo del padrone medesimo, e mentre questo vive ancora con poco buona sorte, Cecca gode carico, rendite è speranze più che ordinarie. Appresso Barberino non vi sono altri di credito e di talenti che meritino d'esser osservati.

“Per il governo dello stato vi è consulta dei cardinali e dei prelati, che in due giorni della settimana discute diverse occorrenze. Altre congregazioni sono dell'inquisitione, de propaganda fide, del concilio, de' regolari de' riti e d'altri simili interessi. Tutto però serve a discorso, perche la risoluzione resta al gusto di S. S<sup>ua</sup> e del nipote. Una congregazione di stato si tiene di quando in quando avanti il papa per le occorrenze più gravi, e non v'intervergono che le creature e i più confidenti che hanno servito nelle nuntiate: ma anco questa suole servire ad accreditare le deliberazioni più che a risolverle, perche nè si discorre nè si forma il decreto che per quell'opinione nella quale si sotragge o si lascia intendere esser S. S<sup>ua</sup>, et in effetto si querelano i pontefici di non haver di chi confidare, perche tutti li cardinali vivono con li loro interessi e rispetti verso i principi stranieri.”

## 118.

*Racconto delle cose più considerabili che sono occorse nel governo di Roma in tempo di monsr Gio. Batt. Spada.*

This contains an authentic account of the last days of Urban VIII, and abounds with passages descriptive of the life and manners of that period, more especially with reference to the police and the administration of justice.

The contests between the old families still continued—for instance between the Gaetani and the Colonnese: it was not only difficult to devise any terms of accommodation, but many whole days were occupied in drawing up a history of their quarrels, (as a preamble to the instrument for that purpose,) which should not be regarded by either party as an insult.

Dissensions frequently arose between the French and the Spaniards, who met in inns and taverns; each party drank to their king, and soon came to offensive language: the weaker side was always the most moderate, but as soon as it was reinforced, and encountered the opposite party in public places, they came to blows. The bargello had the greatest difficulty in separating them.

But though they were always at war between themselves, they vied with each other in open resistance to the court and the police of Rome.

The ambassadors were the most difficult to deal with; they gradually put forward those pretensions which eventually occasioned such violent disputes at Rome. They not only declared their own palaces to be sanctuaries, and allowed forbidden games to be established in them, but they also claimed the privilege of extending this exemption to the neighboring houses. Monsignor Spada was naturally opposed to these claims. “Che se si era usata cortesia con i S<sup>si</sup> ambasciatori di non entrare nelle case loro e delle loro famiglie, era uno troppo grande estensione quella che volevano introdurre hora, che nè anche nelle case vicine e comprese nella medesima isola si potesse far executione.”

The most important incidents, in an historical point of view, are, the two attempts made upon the life of Urban VIII, which are here related in the fullest and most authentic manner.

“1. Dal processo di Giacinto Centini, nepote del card<sup>i</sup> d'Ascoli, e d'alcuni complici . . . la sostanza era, ch'essendo stato pronosticato ch'al presente pontefice dovesse succedere il cardinal d'Ascoli, invaghito Giacinto del pronostico e desiderando di vederne prestamente l'effetto avesse trattato con fra Serafino Cherubini d'Ancona minor osservante, fra Pietro da Palermo eremita, che si faceva, chiamare fra Bernardino, e fra Domenico da Fermo Agostiniano, di procurare con arte diabolica d'abbreviare la vita a N. S<sup>se</sup>, et a quest'effetto fu risoluto di fare una statua di cera rappresentante il papa, come si essequi, e dopo molte invocazioni di demonii e sacrificii fattigli la fluire, distruggere e consumare al fuoco, con ferma credenza che distrutta quella dovesse terminare la vita di papa Urbano e farsi loco alla successione del card<sup>i</sup> d'Ascoli zio di Giacinto.



“2. La confessione di Tomaso Orsolini da Recanate. Che per instigazione di fra Domenico Brancaccio da Bagnarca Augustiniano era andato a Napoli per scoprire al vicerè un suposto trattato di principi d' invadere il regno di Napoli con interessarsi ancora S. S<sup>ta</sup>, e ch' il rimedio era di far morire undo de' collegati o il papa: al che fare s' offeriva il padre Bagnarea sudetto, mentre se li dessero sc. 3000, quali voleva dare al sagrista di N. S<sup>ce</sup>, già reso inhabile, e succedendo egli in quel carico, li haverebbe posto il veleno nell' hostia ch' avesse dovuto consegnare S. S<sup>ta</sup> nella messa, o pure quando non fosse succeduto sagrista, haverebbe operato che lo speciale Carcurasio suo parente, mentre medicava le fontanelle a S. S<sup>ta</sup>, vi ponesse il veleno, non passò però ad esprimere al vicerè questi particolari, poiche havendogli accennato di dover far morire il papa, vide ch' il vicerè non si applicò.”

## 119.

*Historica relatione dell' origine e progressi delle rotture nate tra la casa Barberina et Odoardo Farnese duca di Parma e Piacenza. (In the library of Vienna. Historia Prof. N. 899. 224 leaves.)*

This is a party production written in the form of a letter, wherein the origin of all these quarrels is ascribed to the bad will of the Barberini family. The monti of the barons are connected by this author with the monti of the state: the pope had been easily persuaded to make the necessary concessions, since they contributed to render the barons more subservient to him. (“Nella erettione di simili monti il principe era mallevadore, riservatosi il beneplacito di poterne dimandare l' estintione a suo piacimento.”)

I cannot discover that this work, in spite of its voluminous size, contains any disclosures of particular importance, or that it has any great merit, and indeed I have made use of it on this subject. Perhaps the most remarkable of its contents are the accounts given of the anti-Austrian, and in some respects anti-catholic, tendencies of pope Urban VIII.

“Si lasciava tal volta intendere, essergli ben grati li progressi de' cattolici contra li heretici, ma esservi insieme da temere che un giorno queste prosperità cadessero a danno e precipitio de' medesimi per le gelosie che si sarebbero svegliate in tutto il mondo, che il imperio dovesse assorbir ogni residuo di libertà che vi rimaneva. Corse fama per tutte le corti che dalli impulsì d' Urbano originassero quelle ombre del duca Massimiliano di Baviera, che aspersero una gran scisma nell' unione de' principi cattolici posti su i sbalzi, che domati li heretici fosse per convertirsi lo sforzo delle armi Austriache a dani di quei medesimi che erano stati ministri delle grandezze di quella casa: e per dir tutto, vi fu chi in quei tempi si vantò di sapere che la missione di Ceva, confidente ministro della casa Barberina, in Francia con titolo di nontio straordinario, havesse ne' suoi più reconditi arcani segrete commissioni d' eccitare il re di Francia a mischiarsi nelle turbulenze di Germania, a fine che intendendosi con Baviera si pensasse al modo di alzare qualche argine alla crescente potenza della casa d' Austria.”

This at any rate proves the fact that such views were widely disseminated at that period.

## 120.

*Della vita di papa Urbano VIII e historia del suo pontificato scritta da Andrea Nicoletti. (8 volumes in folio MS.)*

It is much to be regretted that so few good, or even available, biographies of eminent persons are extant.

The cause of this misfortune is not to be attributed to any neglect of their memory, which was generally indeed overrated, or at any rate highly esteemed by their cotemporaries; it may rather be ascribed to the following causes.

At first, when the remembrance is fresh, and the materials are still within

reach some scruples are entertained as to cotemporaries; the whole truth cannot be told; a number of persons would be compromised, and much animosity excited against the subject of the memoir himself.

When the cotemporaries have also quitted the scene, and the time for speaking out is arrived, the memory of facts is obliterated, and the materials scattered abroad: nay, the interest in the persons and events has declined, and is only revived in the minds of those who regard them as subjects of historical research.

The following expedient was frequently resorted to in Italy.

The materials for a biography were given into the hands of an intimate friend or servant of the family, who had been privy to, and well informed on, every thing that could illustrate the subject; he put these together, and arranged them into a connected narrative, which however was not intended for the press, but was preserved in manuscript among the archives of the house.

The feelings of cotemporaries were thus spared; while it was rendered possible at some future time to refresh the rapidly fading memory, and to give to the past all the truth and vivacity of the present.

It is to works of this description that the history of Andrea Nicoletti belongs.

It contains the recollections of the family of Urban VIII concerning the personal character and the actions of that pope. The chief bulk of the work is composed of the whole diplomatic correspondence which took place during the twenty-one years of Urban's reign.

This biography in fact consists chiefly of a compilation of the despatches of the nuntiatura.

I do not mean their final reports, the so-called *Relationi*, but the very despatches themselves; as was most fitting for a biography. The pope always appears therein as the directing, determining, and working head.

I saw attempts at similar compilations in Venice; but as the active proceedings of the republic are thrown into the back ground, and the mass only of the received despatches are inserted, while we are left in the dark as to the effect they produced, the attention is distracted, and soon wearied.

In the work before us the very reverse is the case; the vocation of the papacy, the difficult political situation of Urban VIII, the immediate significancy of all the information as bearing upon the great events of Europe, conspire to produce unity of design, and to excite interest.

The extreme importance of the information here given concerning the period of the thirty years' war, is sufficiently obvious: it throws a light upon that subject in all its phases.

Wherever the author gives an opinion, or states a fact on his own authority, we are not bound strictly to follow him. Occasionally, perhaps, authentic information failed him, but the official character is apparent in the origin and first conception of such a work: I will quote but one example. In the third volume of his work, page 673, Nicoletti maintains that Urban VIII learned with the bitterest grief (*"il rammarico fu acerbissimo"*), that a peace had been concluded between England and France; nevertheless we learn from Aluise Coutarini, who had a personal share in all the negotiations, that the pope had actually recommended those negotiations to be entered into, and the treaty to be concluded. The error of Nicoletti arises from his having overlooked this statement, in the enormous mass of his materials, and from his judging what the actions of the pope would probably have been, from his own idea of the ecclesiastical position of the sovereign pontiff. We might mention many similar cases: this, however, does not prevent our believing him, when he merely extracts.

His method generally is, to insert the papers in full detail, with only such alterations as were required to give them the form of a narrative. The worst therefore that could happen would be, that he either left out or misplaced some circumstance. But, from the nature of his task, which chiefly consisted in arranging existing materials, and more especially from the nature of his work,

which was not intended for the public, we should not infer that this was ever done, nor indeed have I found a trace of it.

Although I have diligently examined these volumes, and did not let slip the occasion of getting possession of such important historical matter, it is impossible in this place to give any more circumstantial account of them. Whoever has had to examine into correspondences, must be aware how much must be read, in order to arrive at the truth on any one fact. I have not space for such various materials.

I must, however, extract the description given by Nicoletti of the last moments of Urban VIII, which are very remarkable, and of his personal character, as conceived by our author.

“Tomo ottavo,” near the end. “Erano in quei giorni nel fine di Giugno caldi eccessivi in Roma e molto più del solito pericolosi: nondimeno, parendo al papa di essersi alquanto rihavuto, e sapendo che diciassette chiese erano senza i loro vescovi e non avere il cardinale Grimaldi, tornato dalla nuntiatura di Francia, ricevuto il capello cardinalizio, si dichiarò di volere tenere il concistoro nel prossimo lunedì. Il cardinale Barberino credette di poterlo indurre anche alla promozione de' cardinali: perciò non gli oppose la pericolosa sua debolezza e la febbre lenta che se gli poteva raddoppiare, anzi lodò il pensiero e confortollo, che fosse quasi in sicuro della sanità. Divulgatasi la voce del futuro concistoro, mentre si teneva il papa da alcuni moribondo e da altri indubitamente morto ma che per alcuni giorni si fosse la morte di lui occultata, si vide la maggiore parte di Roma impaurita, benché ciascuno fingesse nel viso allegrezza e contento per la ricuperata salute. Accortosi dappoi il cardinale Barberino che il papa non voleva venire alla promozione di alcun cardinale, giacché ne mancavano otto nel sacro collegio, o perché non rimanesse soddisfatto de' soggetti che se gli proponevano, o perché lasciar voleva al successore quella cura, fece con ragioni efficacissime e con preghiere l'ultima pruova di dissuadergli in quei giorni il concistoro, e tanto più si adoperò quanto vedeva, oltre il danno del papa, che egli sarebbe rimasto in discapito della stima e del credito suo, perché non facendosi i cardinali si sarebbe confermata l'opinione che universalmente correva, che egli per cagione delle guerre fosse caduto dalla potenza che haveva appresso il papa, e che se avesse la S<sup>ta</sup> Sua allungata la vita, avrebbe dominato il cardinale Antonio. Non essendosi a quelle preghiere e ragioni mosso il papa, monsignor Roscioli, conoscendo di dare gusto al cardinale Barberino e di giovare alla vita di Sua S<sup>ta</sup> col rimuoverlo dalla detta deliberazione, confidato nella benevolenza di Sua B<sup>ne</sup> verso di se, stabili di adoperarsi con ogni efficacia possibile, anche a nome pubblico de' cardinali e della città di Roma, di volerlo dissuadere dal concistoro. Preso adunque il tempo opportuno, entrò dal papa, e postosegli inginocchioni gli disse di non volerlo supplicare a nome de' suoi ministri nè per parte de' suoi nipoti nè della casa Barberina, ma della città tutta di Roma: imperciocché essendo la S<sup>ta</sup> Sua stata eletta per la salute de' popoli e per governare la chiesa, abbandonando la cura di se medesima con esporsi inferma a pericoloso accidente veniva insieme a lasciare in abbandono la città et il governo commessole della chiesa, non senza grandissimo dolore di tutti: importare più il suo bene o il suo male alla Christianità che alla casa Barberina o alla S<sup>ta</sup> Sua medesima: che perciò se non voleva differire quella fatica alle preghiere de' nipoti, lo facesse almeno per l'istanze della città di Roma, che la supplicava. Il papa dopo di essere stato alquanto pensoso ripose di non curarsi di prolungare più la vita, conoscendo il pontificato non esser più peso delle sue forze, et iddio avrebbe provveduto alla sua chiesa. Dopo questa risposta essendosi alquanto trattenuto, si accorse monsignor Roscioli che il papa haveva gli occhi pieni di lagrime, e sospirando si rivoltò al cielo e proruppe in ferventi preghiere a dio accioche la maestà sua divina lo volesse liberare dalla vita presente, mostrandosene grandemente annojato.

“Venuto finalmente il lunedì determinato per tenere il concistoro, concorse al palazzo gran moltitudine di popolo curioso di vedere il papa, che poco avanti haveva creduto per morto. Appena entrato, i cardinali si accorsero havere egli

ormai finita la vita, imperciocchè comparve languido, pallido e quasi smarrito nelle parole, e particolarmente nel fine del concistoro mostrava di essere rimasto quasi senza intendimento. Fu data la cagione all' eccessivo caldo della stagione accresciuto dalla calca della gente penetrata dentro; e non andarono senza biasimo i ministri più intimi del palazzo et anche il cardinale Barberino per non avere impedito il papa da quella sì faticosa funzione, non sapendo il popolo le maniffature che si erano fatte per distornelo: imperciocchè ognuno dal vederlo in così grande squallore et abbattimento di forze si sarebbe mosso a pietà, poichè chiaramente conoscevasi che il male gli haveva ingombrata la mente et il vero sentimento del governo delle cose. Dopo la propositione delle chiese e dopo avere dato il cappello al cardinale Grimaldi partissi dal concistoro sommamente aggravato dal male, come gli fu predetto.

“ Nel dì seguente fece un' atzione con la quale si acquistò fama di gran pietà e degna di rimanere per essemplio a tutti i principi ecclesiastici. Questa fu di chiamare alla sua presenza alcuni theologi in quella scienza e nella probità riguardevolissimi e dal papa creduti lontani dall' adulatione, a quali fatta prima dare piena cognitione di tutti li beni et entrate ecclesiastiche delle quali in tempo del suo pontificato haveva arricchita la casa Barberina, ordinò che gli riferissero se in alcuna cosa egli haveva trapassato il potere e l' autorità sua: perchè era preparato a ripigliare da' nepoti tutto ciò che aggravare gli poteva la coscienza avanti al tribunale di dio. Li theologi furono il cardinale de Lugo, il padre Torquato de Cupis della compagnia di Gesù, et alcuni altri. E si animò il papa a fare questa atzione dal sereno che vide in fronte al cardinale Barberino, quando chiamatolo prima di tutti lo fece partecipe di questo suo pensiero, che non ostanti l' ombre passate quasi volle parere di volere da lui prenderne consiglio. Lodò il cardinale la pietà della S<sup>ta</sup> Sua, e mostrò di haverne particolare contento, sperando maggiori felicità dalla mano liberalissima di dio, mentre solo per soddisfare a Sua Divina Maestà tutto ciò si faceva. Dicesi che il parere uniforme de' theologi fu, che havendo Sua S<sup>ta</sup> arricchiti li suoi nipoti, poteva con sicura coscienza lasciarli godere tutti li beni che haveva loro conceduti, e ciò per due ragioni: l' una perchè havendo promossi al cardinalato una quantità di soggetti quali non haveva proveduti di entrate secondo il loro grado, li medesimi nipoti havessero comodità di accomodarli secondo il loro bisogno: l' altro motivo per quietare la coscienza del papa fu, che havendo li sopradetti nipoti in sì lungo principato e nelle passate guerre contratto l' odio e l' inimicizie con diversi principi, era ragionevole di lasciarli ben comodi per mantenere il loro grado, anche per riputatione della sede apostolica, e non essere vilipesi, come suole accadere a quelli che dalla cima del dominare si riducono a stato inferiore; onde l' essere bene provisti di ricchezze e di beni di fortuna gli avrebbero fatti maggiormente rispettare: et oltre di ciò li medesimi nepoti havevano di loro natura tali viscere di christiana pietà che avrebbero erogate l' entrate in beneficio de' poveri et in altri usi più. E con queste et altre ragioni mostrò il papa di quietarsi.

“ Si andava dunque preparando alla morte, che da se stesso conosceva essergli vicina: ma fra questi pensieri e disposizioni si mostrava in tutti i ragionamenti pieno di giusto sdegno contro i principi d' Italia, sentendo immenso dolore che avesse a restare memoria che in tempo del suo pontificato si fossero collegati contro di lui et havessero assalito con eserciti lo stato della chiesa: onde talvolta prorompeva in parole acerbe, come se fossero stati senza pietà, senza religione e senza legge, et implorava dal cielo giusta vendetta per vederli da dio castigati prima di morire a almeno pentiti. Già, come altrove si è detto, si era con loro fatta la pace, firmata dalla S<sup>ta</sup> Sua e sottoscritta: ma in essa non venivano li due cardinali Barberini nè compresi è nominati: onde le creature più fedeli giudicarono che mentre la casa Barberina era per la vita del papa ancora tenuta, si dovesse impiegare ogni industria perchè i principi Italiani li dichiarassero inclusi nella medesima pace. Et il cardinal Bicchi, che agli stessi principi andò plenipotenziario per parte di Francia, affermò che per non essere certi della morte del papa non sarebbero stati lontani dal trattarla e dall' accettarla. Ma il cardinal

Barberino con ordini precisi vietollo, ordinando al Biechi che di ciò non ne trattasse punto, ancorchè i principi spontaneamente gliel' avessero offerto; nè volle mai sopra di ciò sentire consigli di alcuno, allegando per ragione che il volere loro essere inclusi ne' capitoli della pace e nominati in essa altro non era che un farsi dichiarare per autori di avere mossa la guerra, conciossiacosache ne' trattati di pace non sia mai solito nè si costumi di nominare i ministri, ma i principi e capi che a parte della guerra sono veuti.

“Vacavano in quel tempo, come dianzi fu detto, otto luoghi nel sacro collegio de' cardinali: onde grande era l'agitazione in che stava la corte, potendo così gran numero cagionare non picciola mutatione nelle cose de' capi di fattioni già stabilite. Il papa, come più volte disse a noi il cardinale Barberino, desiderando che i cardinali fossero in muggiore estimatione e meglio provveduti di entrate, pensò di ridurre con particolare constitutione tutto il sacro collegio al numero di cinquanta: onde stava fisso in non fare altra promotione. Barberino però, conoscendo che col lasciare tanti luoghi vacanti non avrebbe il papa ottenuto l'intento et avrebbe servito d'ingrandimento alla fattione del successore, più volte supplicollo che si lasciasse vincere dal consentimento comune in promuovere tanti soggetti che vi erano meritevoli della porpora. Ma il tutto gli riuscì vano, rispondendogli il papa di non volere che alcuni de' suoi successori col suo esempio potessero nel fine della vita privatamente senza decoro e stando in letto creare cardinali, e che questo esempio da Gregorio Decimoquinto ricevuto aveva e voleva con uguale gloria lasciare a' posteri. Vi si adoperarono altri personaggi e particolarmente il cardinale de Lugo, il quale per rendere efficaci l'istanze del cardinale Barberino suggerì al papa il decreto concistoriale delli tre cardinali fatti già spedito dopo il concistoro in cui fu fatta l'ultima promotione, e che il cardinale Barberino come vicecancelliere era obbligato a ricordarlo a Sua S<sup>ta</sup>, non perchè promovesse, come fu il caso di Gregorio, ma solo accioche dichiarasse i cardinali già creati e riservati in petto, la quale publicatione a tutto il sacro collegio pareva ragionevole, nè vi era bisogno di altro concistoro. Ma il papa, o che fosse sdegnato perchè il cardinale Barberino gli aveva proposti alcuni soggetti che non erano di sodisfazione di Sua S<sup>ta</sup>, o credesse di lasciare più gloriosa la memoria di se, stette saldo a tutte le istanze, ordinando che niuno più ardisse di parlargli di promotione.....

“Era l'aspetto di papa Urbano giocondissimo, ma pieno di maestà: e sebbene nel suo temperamento vi era alquanto di malinconico, sicchè quando si veniva all'emissione del sangue, che per l'ordinario era ne' tempi di primavera, gli uscivano dalle vene pezzetti come gelati di quell'humore, nè senza questo avrebbe potuto profittare tanto nelle lettere, dicendo il filosofo che la malinconia contribuisce assai per apprendere le scienze e ritenerle impresse nell'animo. La disposizione poi del corpo e delle membra era nobilmente compartita. La statura piuttosto grande che mediocre: le carni di colore olivastro e più tosto piene di succo che grasse: il capo grande, che dinotava un maraviglioso ingegno et una vivacissima memoria: la fronte spatiosa e serena: gli occhi di colore fra l'azzurro et il bianco: il naso proportionato: le guancie rotonde, ma negli ultimi anni notabilmente estenuate: la bocca piena di gratia: la voce sonora, ma soave, onde con la favella Toscana, che sempre ritenne finchè visse, uscivano da essa dolceissime parole piene di eloquenza e sparse di fiori di buone lettere e di erudizioni sacre e di antichi esempj; nutri infino da prelado la barba onestamente lunga e riquadrata, la quale con la canizie rendeva il suo aspetto più venerabile.

“Veramente era tanto amabile che da una troppa apertura in poi che dimostrava, se pure l'importanza del negotio non lo ratteneva, non vi era altro che da critici bene attenti vi fosse da tacciare. E se talvolta saliva in collera, ben presto tornava alla giocondità di prima. .... L'opinione de' saggi era che con esso lui stimavasi necessario di essere o di alto sapere o di niuno o di poco: poichè siccome non isdegnava di essere guadagnato dalla saviezza dell'uno, così compativa tanto all'altro che egli stesso lo soccorreva e sollevava, se però questo non fosse stato presuntuoso o orgoglioso, abusandosi della humanità e buona conditione del papa, il quale duro et inflessibile fu sempre con gli orgogliosi et

arroganti, sicome altrettanto amorevole e benigno mostravasi verso i rispettosi e modesti. .... Verso i sopradetti servitori e verso anche i parenti proprj era discretissimo in scegliere i tempi per volersene più comodi a quelli che a se stesso, non isdegnando talvolta di udire con pazienza qualche parola o atto di sentimento o di doglienze loro. E nelle sue malattie pareva che pigliasse più dispiacere de' patimenti e vigilie degli assistenti a lui che del proprio male o de' suoi dolori. Così anche non era facile a sfogamenti o lamenti delle persone: ma gli era grave il negare o vedere partire da se alcuno discontento. i Cui suoi più confidenti servitori era giocondissimo, e talvolta con essi usava de' motti o come si suol dire de' sali ingegnosi. .... Non si scordò mai degli amici antichi, o fossero assenti o morti, et in questo fu ammimirabile la sua benevolenza: onde ordinò al cardinale Biscia sua creatura, che era stato uno di quelli suoi più confidenti, accioche avesse la cura di dargli spesso nuova di loro, e se fossero morti, che pigliasse nota de' loro discendenti per provederli all' occasioni.....

“ Fiori in Roma nel suo tempo grandissima abbondanza di tutte le cose: e solea dire che egli da Firenze aveva havuto il suo nascimento, ma da Roma tutta la sua grandezza et avrebbe voluto che ogni persona godesse la felicità del suo pontificato, che gli ufficj venali della cancelleria fruttassero copiosamente, e perciò egli era gratiosissimo nelle spedizioni della dataria, che gli artigiani nelle loro facende facessero grossi ma leciti guadagni, e lo stesso facessero anche i mercanti di ogni sorte: e quindi era che nel suo pontificato correva tanto il danaro che ogn' uno di qualsivoglia professione rimaneva sodisfatto e contento. Diede tali ordini per l' annona che perdoni a spesa per mantenere l' abbondanza. Così il suo maggiore godimento era che gli agricoltori non restassero privi di quei guadagna che a lui pareva si richiedessero dal pericolo della vita e della facoltà che impiegavano nella vastità delle campagne di Roma e nell' aere insalubre: e quando quasi a niun' altro impiego pareva atta la maritima che della agricoltura, quivi fissò il pensiero, e tenne più volte proposito di seccare le paludi Pontine, per guadagnare quelle immensità de' paesi che hora sono sott' acqua, e cio per beneficio publico: ma altre cure gravi non gli lasciarono godere l' affetto di sì glorioso disegno. Nè volle mai, per mantenere la detta abbondanza, che si stabilisse il prezzo del grano e dell' altre vittovaglie, ma che ogni cosa fosse libera, ovviando in questo modo ai monopolj: onde i mercanti riempiendo i granari, ciascuno faceva a gara di venderlo a buon mercato, e così la città di Roma diveniva opulenta.

“ Se poi nel suo pontificato fiorirono le lettere, non è meraviglia: poiche non aveva migliore divertimento che coi letterati, quali accolse sempre con benignità e remunerollì. Così anche dell' altre professioni nobili fu amatissimo, come della pittura, scoltura et altre buone arti, sicche non isdegnò più volte e particolarmente un giorno, andando alla visita delle sette chiese con tutto il sacro collegio, giunto a Santa Maria Maggiore, doppo havere fatta oratione in quella basilica, di entrare con la stessa comitiva de' cardinali in casa del cavaliere Giovanni Lorenza Bernino colà vicina, per vedere alcuni lavori di celebre scoltura del suo scalpello.

“ L' essere egli stato necessitato per la medesima cagione d' imporre loro le gravezze e le gabelle: onde tal volta a tali avvisi si vide piangere, dicendo che volentieri avrebbe dato il proprio sangue o de' suoi congiunti più tosto che di sentire le afflizioni de' popoli e di Roma e gl' incomodi della camera apostolica. Et a monsignore Lorenzo Raggi, tesoriere di essa, il quale in tempo della sua ultima infermità andò alla audienza, disse che desiderava di vivere ancora due soli mesi per tre cagioni: l' una per havere più lungo tempo di penitenza e chieder a dio il perdono de' suoi peccati; l' altra per finire di rimettere in castel Sant' Angelo tutto il denaro che fu levato per la guerra di Castro; la terza per vedere finita la fabbrica delle mura di Borgo e di Trastevere et assicurata la città di Roma.

“ Se le azioni eroiche del Papa per debolezza della mia penna saranno senza eloquenza, senza nobiltà di stile et in somma improporzionate per un pontefice sì grande, nondimeno sono state scritte con pura e sincera verità: il che partico-

larmente mi fu imposto et inculcato da chi teneva sopra di me suprema autorità, cioè *che io scrivessi semplicemente da istorico, e mi tenessi totalmente lontano da ogni adulazione e vanità e da rettorici ingrandimenti, attendendo più alle cose che alle parole.*

“Ma tornando alla sua applicatione intorno alle cose sacre, oltre l' haveve fatto emendare e ristampare il ceremoniale Romano, non mancò di dare molti ordini per la cappella pontificia: però o per negligenza de' ministri o per distrazione ad altri gravi affari solo alcune cose principali sono rimaste in osservanza. Vero si fu che riformò anche l' uso delle indulgenze per chiudere la bocca agli heretici.

“Finalmente se Urbano non avesse intrapresa la guerra, o, per meglio dire, se non vi fosse stato provocato e tirato a forza, il che gli accelerò anche notabilmente la morte, non si poteva desiderare nè pontefice più glorioso nè principe di più egregie qualità, per mezzo delle quali per molti anni del suo pontificato conservò verso di se l' amore universale di tutto il christianesimo, sicché fino ad hora si benedice dai popoli la sua rimembranza per quegli anni felici ne' quali godettero la tranquillità e la pace.”

## SECTION VI.

## LATER EPOCHS.

WE have in the preceding section brought together all that immediately concerns Urban VIII; there remain a few manuscripts which connect his times with those of his successors.

## 121.

*Relazione della vita del card<sup>i</sup> Cecchini composta da lui medesimo.* (Barb. 275 pages.)

Personal memoranda, which, although they do not throw much light upon important matters of state, afford a most instructive example of the private life of an ecclesiastic, passed under remarkable circumstances.

The author gives us to understand that he composed this work for his own amusement. "Tra tutte le cose che apportano all' uomo sommo piacere, una è la memoria delle cose passate."

In the year 1604, Cecchini, then fifteen years of age, left Perugia for Rome.

He had placed his hopes of promotion on the Aldobrandini, with which family he was slightly connected; but Clement VIII died too soon for his interest, and after his death the Aldobrandini had no power. Cecchini had soon another source of hope, as he had been on intimate terms in Perugia with Scipione Caffarelli, who in the time of Paul V extracted such weighty advantages from his position of nephew to the reigning pope: Caffarelli, however, did not choose to remember his former acquaintance, and young Cecchini was driven to seek for another patron.

It was his good luck to ally himself with two cardinals, both of whom afterwards attained to the highest dignities—Ludovisio and Pamfilio.

The opinion soon gained ground in Rome that Ludovisio would obtain the tiara. When his nephew Ludovico entered the prelature in 1619, many looked upon him as the future cardinal padrone. All eyes were directed towards him; each of his friends and servants endeavored to supplant the others in his favor. Cecchini himself complains that an attempt was made to displace him, but adds that he had been able to maintain his post. It was even in his power to render his master an essential service; as a kinsman of the Aldobrandini he was enabled to bring about an intimate alliance between the two families. Cardinal Aldobrandini promised his vote to Ludovisio.

All measures were soon taken with a view to that cardinal's election. He hesitated a long time before he would take a pension from Spain of 1200 sc., which had been offered to him after the conclusion of the peace with Savoy; he feared to make the French his enemies. Cecchini was forced to speak with the French ambassador, and to obviate all suspicion which might arise from that cause.

Under these circumstances cardinal Ludovisio came to the conclave at Rome after the death of Paul V, in the full expectation of being chosen his successor.



Cecchini hastened to meet him; "I conduct the pope to Rome," said he, full of joyful zeal. "We must only beware of the cardinal d' Aquino, and then all will be well," was the answer of Ludovisio. "Ludovisio aveva tal sicurezza del pontificato che domandommi per burla chi saria stato papa: rispondendogli che il papa non era in Roma e che io l' avrei condotto, con gran fiducia mi soggiunse queste parole: ' Guardatemi del sard<sup>1</sup> d' Aquino, che faremo bene.' "

Everything answered their expectations; Ludovisio was elected pope, and his nephew embraced Cecchini in his joy, and made him his auditor.

This brought him into immediate contact with the higher powers. He took some little share in public business; at any rate he was privy to much that was going on, but his chief occupation consisted in the management of the cardinal's money matters. The revenues from Avignon and Fermo passed through his hands: the cardinal did not wish it to be known how much he spent, for he was exceedingly ostentatious. When Ludovisio was made minister of finance, Cecchini was also made auditor.

We meet here with the most curious abuses. Protections were issued in the name of the cardinal nephew, which were called "non gravetur." No man could be sued for debt who possessed one of these documents, and of course every one endeavored to secure himself against his creditors by a "non gravetur;" there were even some artisans who were thus protected. Cecchini, however, mentions far worse things. Suits were instituted, in the time of Paul V, against the prior and prince Aldobrandini, and Cecchini maintains that the fiscal general employed false witnesses to obtain judgment against them. Their death however had not been desired; the purpose only had been to force the Aldobrandini to give up to the Borghese family certain castles. Under Gregory XV the fiscal general was imprisoned on that account, "Era vivente Gregorio stato carcerato Pier Maria Cirocchi, che vivente papa Paolo fu fiscale generale, per molte imputationi, tra le quali la principale era che nella causa criminale intentata al principe e priore Aldobrandino, nella quale furono condannati in pena pella vita e della robba, egli avesse procurato di far esaminar testimonj falsi, sicome in effetto fece. La detta sentenza non fu data per altro se non perche il card<sup>1</sup> Pietro Aldobrandino si disponesse a cedere al card<sup>1</sup> Borghese li castelli di Montefortino e di Olevano, che aveva compruti dal duca di Zagarolo, sicome se volse la gratia della detta condennatione delli nepoti, lo convenne fare, con farli anco constituir prigionj in castello, dove stettero quattro mesi." Historical truth forbids us to pass over these detestable practices in silence, but it is fair to observe that Cecchini was naturally a partisan of the Aldobrandini.

Urban VIII was elected successor to Gregory. Cecchini had already found an opportunity of rendering him essential service, although it was only by his silence. Urban, while cardinal, had once said in a violent passion, that some matter should be remembered to cardinal Ludovisio's disadvantage; now nothing could well have been more to his own disadvantage than this threat, in the conclave, where Ludovisio was so powerful. Cecchini however held his peace, at the request of Magalotto.

There is another most characteristic trait of Urban VIII in this autobiography of Cecchini.

Urban felt himself deeply offended by the protest of Borgia; and as he ascribed some share in it to the cardinals Ubaldini and Ludovisio, he wanted to chastise them for it. He would have thrown Ubaldini into prison, had it not been for the resolute opposition of the fiscal; but that cardinal was forced to absent himself, nor would the pope tolerate the presence of Ludovisio in Rome. He summoned Cecchini, who was still in the service of Ludovisio, to his presence, and directed him to tell his eminence that within fourteen days he must repair to his bishopric of Bologna. This he declared to be his determination with the most vehement expressions of anger. "For a good hour," says Cecchini, "was I forced to listen while he threated Borgia, in the most insulting language, with punishment: I did not venture to interrupt him: he then repeated that Ludovisio had better depart, or that the sbirri would force him to

do so." This time also Cecchini had better have kept silence; but he thought it necessary to inform his master of what had passed. It gives us an insight into the character of the court, that Cecchini by this proceeding injured himself with all parties. Ludovisio thought that Cecchini should not have borne patiently the expressions of the pope, but should rather have come to a complete rupture. Cardinal Barberini was very angry because Cecchini ought first to have spoken to him, the cardinal nephew. But Urban himself was the most furious, more particularly as the matter was reported to him somewhat disfigured. He caused the unfortunate Cecchini to be brought again into his presence, and made a scene in which the old spite against his enemies, and regret for the expressions he had used—at what he had done, and now wished undone—the conviction of his omnipotence as pope, and the consciousness that the other had not acted wrong, were most curiously mixed up together. Urban VIII, however, was one who recovered himself after a time. Ludovisio had departed, and shortly afterwards died. Cecchini had indeed lost his former place, but had been invested with some other which brought him into occasional contact with Urban. "Monsignor Cecchini," said the pope one day to him, "forgive us, for we went too far in our conduct towards you." Cecchini says that tears came into his eyes, and that he answered with deep emotion. The maggiordomo of the pope visited him on the self-same day, and told him that Urban had looked forward to that hour for four years, and rejoiced from his heart that it had at length arrived.

Cecchini still maintained his connection with the Aldobrandini family, and we find him actively engaged at the marriage of Olympia, the rich heiress of that family. Cardinal Ippolyto died without having definitively settled this affair, and fears were entertained that the Barberini would not suffer so large an inheritance to slip through their fingers; Olympia was obliged to feign sickness. It was only by the assistance of the general of the Jesuits, who was consulted on all points, that the marriage with the young Borghese, according to the last wish of the cardinal, took place six days after his death.

This however did not make the Barberini drop Cecchini; after they had investigated whether he were not also in some sort of connection with the Farnesi, they employed him in putting Rome into a state of defence.

Cecchini immediately found that the new duty upon the wine of the country was unpopular. He declared to cardinal Barberini that that was a tax which the Romans had never endured—they had revolted against Eugenius IV on account of it; and he succeeded, although a monte had been established, payable from that source, in causing the farmer of the tax to be summoned. This man, seeing the extreme difficulty of levying the tax, willingly gave up his contract. Cecchini went immediately to the capital, where the Romans had assembled, and communicated this intelligence to them; at first they would not believe him, upon which the farmer of the wine duties was called, and confirmed the fact. All exclaimed "Viva papa Urbano, viva monsignor Cecchini." The people kissed his hands and his clothes.

Cecchini however had not yet attained his highest office. He had the good fortune of seeing on the papal throne the cardinal Pamfili, who was one,—perhaps the most zealous, of his early patrons.

At first the Barberini were favorably received by Innocent X. Cecchini was requested to visit the pope accompanied by the two cardinals. "Has cardinal Barberini said anything to you?" asked Innocent. "No!" He turned to Francisco and then to Antonio, and requested them to speak. They excused themselves. "We will no longer keep you in suspense," said the pope, "we have made you our datario; for this you are indebted to the Barberini, who begged this favor of us, which we willingly granted."

This situation, however, had much that was disagreeable. The pope was unstable, obstinate, and suspicious. From other sources we learn that the administration of Cecchini was not wholly free from blame: Donna Olympia Maidalchina could not endure him, because her sister-in-law donna Clementia also

received presents from him; but I have already alluded to these matters, which are of some importance in relation to the government of Innocent, as they led to most disgusting, scandalous scenes. Cecchini was rejoiced when donna Olympia was finally banished. This work was written about the commencement of 1652, at the time when she was in disgrace, and shortly after the death of Panzirolo, who died in November 1651.

It appears to me that a completely modern style pervades this work, not only in its opinions, but even in the several expressions, familiar in the daily life of Roman prelates of the present, or very recent times.

## 122.

*Diario veridico e spassionato della città e corte di Roma, dove si legge tutti li successi della suddetta città incominciando dal primo d' Agosto 1640 fino all' ultimo dell' anno 1644, notato e scritto fedelmente da Deone hora Temi Dio, e copiato dal proprio originale. Informatt. Politt. Tom XL, to the end of 1642. Tom XLVII, to the end of 1644. Tom. XLII, continuation, from 1645—1647. Tom XLIII, 1648—1650. (Altogether more than 2000 leaves.)*

I have not succeeded in finding any other information as to the author of this very voluminous journal, than what he himself occasionally furnishes.

It appears that he was in the service of Spain, and was employed in transacting the business of the Netherlands with Rome, but chiefly with the dataria. I should rather imagine that he was a native of Spain and not of the Netherlands. During the carnival he translated Spanish comedies into Italian, and had them acted by young people before a very brilliant company. He paid a religious veneration to the Spanish monarchy, to which he belonged; he frequently speaks of the "sacred monarchy," without which the vessel of St. Peter would soon sink. He looked upon the opponents and deserters of Spain with the most vehement and unrestrained hatred. He declares that the Catalans, who had for some time maintained their independence, were a nation of barbarians: one or two of them had asked some office in the dataria but he declared that they must first become good servants of the king. With still less patience could he bear that the Portuguese had placed a king of their own nation on the throne; his book is full of invectives against them. His opinion was that all the Portuguese who were settled in Rome were inclined towards Judaism. Bad as matters were, however, he did not despair. He yet hoped that, during his time, Holland would again tender her submission to the king of Spain; heresy had its period of success, which would eventually vanish. He was the most fervent and enthusiastic believer in the Spanish monarchy.

Every fortnight this devoted servant of Philip IV dictated a letter or report of the remarkable events occurring under his eyes, which was then sent to one of the grandees of Spain. They were originally *Avvisi*, (so common at that time,) which, when collected together, formed a journal.

It is composed precisely in the spirit natural to the author. The predilection of Urban VIII for France, and the general tendency of his politics made Deone look upon him with an evil eye. Pope Innocent X, on the other hand, who pursued a contrary line of policy, is treated far more favorably.

No point is left untouched by this author: ecclesiastical and literary matters; histories of the different monastic orders and of the court; domestic affairs, and politics; general political considerations and historical accounts of cities; all are separately discussed.

When we examine closely into the source of his information, we find that it was chiefly the following. It was the custom for all who had any business in the palace to meet on appointed days in the antechamber of the cardinal nephew: general conversation took place, in which every one told whatever news he had heard: there could be nothing worth notice which was not discussed there, and as far as I can discover from sundry hints here given, the author under review collected the principal part of his materials at these meetings.

He goes to work with the greatest integrity, and endeavors to obtain accurate information; he frequently adds facts which had been omitted.

He also occasionally saw the pope, the cardinal nephew, and the most influential statesmen; he notes down most carefully what he learned from their conversation, which occasionally is worthy of our attention.

It cannot be affirmed that the perusal of this long gossiping work is very interesting, but we learn to know persons and things as if they were before our eyes, so often and in such various characters and circumstances do they appear.

It would be impossible to make any extract which would give a sufficient idea of so voluminous a work: I must therefore content myself with those passages to which I have already referred.

1. "Una delle più belle memorie di questa già dominatrice del mondo è un monumento antico in forma rotonda di circonferenza grandissima e di bellissimo marmo presso a S<sup>an</sup> Sebastiano detto Capo di bove. Il Bernino, statuario famosissimo del papa per suo utile, ha posto in considerazione di fare una facciata sontuosa all' Acqua Vergine detta di Trevi: ottenne un breve di poter buttare a terra quella machina sì bella, et incominciò a metterlo in esecuzione: ma fu dal popolo Romano avvedutosene impedito, e l' opera cessa per non cagionare rumori.

2. "Martedì mattina tenne concilio generale in Campidoglio il popolo Romano, che fu numerosissimo più che mai, atteso che vi concorsero molti titolati, che per il passato non mai intervennero. La proposta fu che sendo il popolo Romano suppresso dalle gobelle imposte da papa Urbano si dovesse supplicare. Sua S<sup>ta</sup> per levare almeno la gabella della macina, tanto più che fu imposta fin che durasse la guerra all' hora in piedi, la quale hoggi è terminata. Passò il parito, e furono deputati sei gentilhuomini Romani per esporre al papa la petitione incontinent. Compare Don Cesare Colonna, zio del principe di Galliciano, il quale dimandò udienda da popolo Romano da parte della signora Donna Anna Barberina. Gli fu risposto che venisse, e postosi allo scabelletto trasse dal seno un memoriale, dicendo che era di Donna Anna Colonna, e chiedeva che si legesse. Fu letto, e diceva che non si dovesse mandare al papa per levar gabelle giuridiche e con legitima causa imposte da papa Urbano, il cui zelo verso la giustitia e meriti che ha con questa città non permettono che si ritratti il disposto di lui. Restò ogn' uno maravigliato da simil dimandita, volente impedire il sollevamento del popolo: ma fu però subito penetrato che la buona signora haveva perinteso che si levarebbe la gabella colli beni de' Barberini. Fu risposto al Colonna che 'l senato e popolo non faceva altro che esporre alla Sua S<sup>ta</sup> il bisogno della città. Questa risposta il Colonna portò correndo a Donna Anna, che stava aspettando per quest' effetto alla chiesa d' Araceli. .... Mercordì il cardinal Colonna havendo inteso la disorbitante proposta della sorella, mandò al senato Romano a farli sapere ch' egli non hebbe in quella sciocchezza parte alcuna, ma che era pronto di assistere alla giusta petitione del popolo. .... Venerdì mattina il popolo Romano di nuovo convocò consiglio pieno, e fu riferito che S. S<sup>ta</sup> s' era contentato di levar la gabella della macina con l' effecto di Don Taddeo Barberini, di modo che fu ben divisato la pretensione di Donna Anna Barberina."

## 123.

*Del stato di Roma presente. (MS. Findob. Fosc. n. 147.)* Also under the title of *Relatione di Roma fatta dall' Almaden.*

I cannot state positively whether this refers to the last days of Urban VIII, or the first of Innocent X, but it is extremely important as regards the internal affairs of Rome during that period; it treats of the Tiber and the Anio, the increase of the aria cattiva, the incomes of the Romans, pecuniary matters generally, and the condition of the several families. It is possible that this little work proceeds from the author of the Diario, and some traces lead us to that supposition.

However, I shall not make large extracts, as, if I do not mistake, I have seen

an old printed copy in the possession of the late Fea. I shall, therefore, quote only those passages to which I have referred in the text at page 189, vol. ii.

“Gregorio XIII considerando che quantità grande di danaro usciva da Roma e dallo stato per prezzo di grani che venivano per mare da Barberia ed altri luoghi, spesse volte riscaldati e guasti, e tal volta non giungevano a tempo o si restavano affatto, per sottrarsi da tutti questi mancamenti, fece smacchiare per molte miglia riducendo la campagna a coltura, sicché Roma da quel tempo di rado ha avuto bisogno di grano forestiero; ed il buon pontefice Gregorio ha conseguito il suo intento: ma lo smacchiare ha aperto il passo a’ venti cattivi, da quali nasce ogni intemperie, che cagiona certo morbo chiamato da Alessandro da Cività medico, trattando de morbi de’ Romani, capilentium, cosa sopra modo fastidiosa e più alli forestieri ch’ alli nativi, morbo anco cresciuto dopo la condotta di tanti fonti, dalli quali Roma, sendo bassa et umida di sua positura, vien resa più umida per la moltitudine dell’ acque delle fontane. Siccome Gregorio XIII smacchiò la campagna sotto Roma verso il mare grassa ed atissima per la coltivazione del grano, così Sisto Quinto smacchiò la campagna sopra Roma meno fertile, per terre il ricovero a’ masnadieri che infestavano le strade, e ben riusciva il disegno, perche li sradicò affatto.”

The author of this report was in favor of this proceeding of Sixtus V, because it allowed a freer passage to the Tramontana: but, how many evils were afterwards imputed to the Tramontana! (Cancellieri sopra il tarantismo p. 88.)

## 121.

*Compendio delli casi più degni e memorandi occorsi nelli pontificati da Gregorio XIII fino alla creazione di Clemente IX. (50 leaves.)*

The author asserts that he saw the clouds which hung over the Quirinal on the death of Sixtus V, (August, 1590.) It is evident, as the work comes down to the year 1667, that it cannot be the work of one author only; it must have been continued later on the same plan as it had been commenced, that is, as a collection of remarkable Roman events and anecdotes. For example, we read how the French monks in Trinita di Monte quarrelled with the Calabrians and others, and drove them out, so that they built the convent of Andrea delle Fratte, which was then situated among gardens; how the Jesuits awakened the other orders to a sense of their duty; the miracles which were worked, and notices of the buildings of the popes.

There is however much worthy of remark, for example, the following description of the death of Bianca Capello: “Volendo la granduchessa di Toscani, Bianca Capelli, avvelenare il card<sup>l</sup> Ferdinando suo cognato in certa confezione, il G. D. Francesco suo marito ne mangiò prima: il che inteso da lei, ne mangiò essa ancora, e tutti due morirono subito et il card<sup>l</sup> si fece granduca.”—Also of the dismissal of Cardinal Clesel from Vienna, which the Jesuit confessor of Ferdinand II would never consent to: “Verospi ebbe un giorno commodità d’ essere coll’ imp<sup>re</sup> senza il Giesuita, e con bella maniera fece capace l’ imp<sup>re</sup> che non poteva ritenere detto card<sup>l</sup> e solo il papa esser suo vero giudice, e talmente commosse Cesare che lo fece piangere e glielo fece consignare.”—It likewise contains traits of manners. A rich prelate inserts in his will a clause to the effect that his nephew should inherit his property only in the event of his dying a natural death; otherwise, it should be devoted to religious purposes.—Duke Cesarini never paid any body, until preparations were made for putting up to auction the pledge which he had given.—One of the Orsini threatened to throw an importunate creditor out of the window; the creditor begged that he might be allowed first to confess himself; Orsino answered that nobody who was not confessed ought to come into his presence (“che bisognava venirci confessato”).—A conjuror arrived in Rome in a carriage drawn by two dogs; people asserted that they were two devils who bore him wherever he pleased; the courier from Milan maintained that he had left him in Milan, and found him in Rome; the supposed wizard was taken and executed.

Had these things been recorded by a man of a higher intellect, they would have been invaluable, and would have brought before us times and manners, without the necessity of such toilsome study as that of the diary last mentioned.

We will now pass on to the writings which immediately relate to Innocent X.

*Remarks upon Gualdi, Vita di Donna Olimpia Maidalchina, 1666.*

When we hear that Gregorio Leti, with whom we are pretty well acquainted, was the author of this work, it becomes scarcely necessary to discuss its credibility; there is the strongest presumption against it.

However, as a French translation appeared in 1770, and a German one in 1783, and the German author Schröckh considered the main narrative at any rate authentic, from the fact of its never having been contradicted, it will not be amiss to say something of it here; especially as the author boldly maintains that he will relate nothing which he had not himself seen, or of which he had not the most accurate information.

At the very commencement he adorns his work with the following tale: he says that the Maidalchini family, which he imagines to be of Roman extraction, had once undertaken a pilgrimage to Loreto; at Borgheto they were joined by the young Pamfili, who fell in love with Donna Olimpia, the daughter of the house, and married her on their return; but Olimpia was very soon on more intimate terms with his brother, the future pope, who was then a young abbate, than she was with her husband. Upon this connection the influence was founded, which donna Olimpia exercised over Innocent X.

We may, however, assert with perfect confidence that there is not one syllable of truth in this statement.

The Maidalchina family was not Roman, but came from Acquapendente. Donna Olimpia was a widow on her marriage with Pamfili. Paolo Nini of Viterbo, the last of his race, was her first husband, and, as she was his heiress, a large inheritance was thus brought into the Pamfili family; upon which, and not upon this imaginary connection with the pope, the authority she exercised in the family was founded. When the marriage took place, Innocent X was very far from being a young abbate. It is said in an inscription which the head of the house has placed in the Villa Maidalchina at Viterbo, that he had ornamented that villa in 1625, before his sister married into the Pamfili family. "Marchio Andreas Maidalchinus ..... villam hanc ante nuptam sororem suam Olympiam cum Innocentii X germano fratre ..... extruxit ornavitque anno Domini MDCXXX." In Bussi's "Istoria di Viterbo," p. 332, the whole inscription is quoted. Probably the marriage took place about the year 1626, when Giambattista Pamfili, afterwards Innocent X, was already 54 years old, had ceased to be an abbate 20 years, and had become a prelate. At that very moment also he was employed in various nuntiatuæ: and if we can draw any conclusions from his expressions, Donna Olimpia's chief merit in his eyes seems to have been that she then, as at a later period, supplied him with means out of her own fortune, to support the splendor which was essential to his rise in his profession. The whole connection which subsisted between them developed itself agreeably to this commencement; as Donna Olimpia had assisted the prelate, and had some share in acquiring for him the papal dignity, she wanted to reap the benefits of it.

We can discover no trace of undue familiarity existing between the pope and his sister-in-law in this diario, which details the minutest actions of Donna Olimpia, and reveals all the secrets of the papal court.

This small work of Leti is in fact a novel, spun out of apocryphal tales and poetical chimaras.

*Relatione degli ambasciatori straordinarj a Roma al sommo pontefice Innocentio X Pietro Foscarini Kr, Zuanne Nani Kr Procr, Aluise Mocenigo I fu di q. Aluise, e Bertucci Valier Kr. 1645, 3 Ott.*

A complete change took place on the death of Urban. The French did not like Innocent X, who would willingly have supported the emperor, had he been able so to do; he was also a friend to the Venetians. It is possible that he wavered in his policy, from natural indecision of character. The delegates therefore found it doubly necessary not to quarrel with him from private considerations, and not to forfeit the good-will of the pope for the sake of a dissolute monk.

The early life of Innocent X is thus described.

“Nasce il presente sommo pontefice Innocentio X, chiamato prima Gio. Batt. card<sup>le</sup> Pamfilio, della famiglia de' Pamfilj originata già in Ugubbio città dello stato d' Urbino. Questa venne habitare in Roma sotto il pontificato d' Innocentio VIII, si apparenò con le prime case della città, visse sempre in molta riputatione et honorevolezza. La madre di S. B:<sup>re</sup> fu della famiglia de' marchesi dal Buffolo, nobile e principale, della quale ne fa il papa hoggiò molto conto, ritrovandosene più d' uno al suo servitio in palazzo. Fu la S<sup>a</sup> Sua allevata dal card<sup>le</sup> Gerolamo Pamfilio, suo zio paterno, che visse in gran concetto e fu vicino ad esser papa e che fu fatto card<sup>le</sup> da Clemente VIII, mentre si trovava auditor decano della rota chiaro per la virtù et innocenza de' suoi costumi. Si trova la S<sup>ta</sup> Sua in età di 72 anni, di statura più che ordinaria, ben proportionata, maestosa nella persona, piena di grande mansuetudine e benignità: onde sempre che esce dalle sue stanze per occasione di conceistorj, capelle o altre occasioni, da prontamente e volentieri audienza a tutti di ogni conditione, benchè poveri e miserabili che se gli fanno innanzi, riceve i lor memoriali, e con molta pazienza e carità procura di sollevare ognuno, consolar tutti con grande acclamation dei sudditi e con gran differenza dal pontificato antecedente. Fu il papa prima avvocato conceistoriale, poi auditor di rota eletto da Clemente VIII. Fu da Gregorio XV, mandato noncio a Napoli e da Urbano VIII, impiegato nelle legationi di Franza e Spagna del card<sup>le</sup> Barberino con titolo di datario, fu dallo stesso Urbano eletto patriarca d' Antiochia, mandato noncio in Spagna, e poi promosso al cardinalato li 9 Novembre 1627. Come cardinale è stato in concetto di natura severa, inclinato al vigòre, puntuale nelle cose ecclesiastiche. E' stato sempre adoperato in tutte le congregazioni principali, e si può dire che ha esercitate tutte le cariche più principali di Roma con universale sodisfattione, havendo nell' animo suo fatta sempre particular sede la modestia, la pazienza, l' integrità, la virtù, la mira di non disgustare alcuno, accarezzando tutti e condonando le ingiurie. Gode una buona salute, ha complessione assai robusta, va sobrio nel cibo, fa volentieri exercitio, assiste alle capelle et altre funzioni con gran maestà, e fa tutte le cose ecclesiastiche con pompa, decoro, particular godimento suo e puntualità. Va pesato assai in tutti li negotij gravi, vuol tempo ad esaminarli e risolverli. E' stato solito nella sua passata fortuna andar tardi e tardi levarsi dal letto, osserva il medesimo stile nel pontificato, onde rare volte è retirato avanti la mezza notte nè levato la mattina avanti qualche hora del giorno. Ha nei tempi andati fatta molta stima dei principi: ha desiderate le loro giuste sodisfattioni: si dichiara preservare ne' stessi concetti, non voler esser parziale d' alcuna delle due corone, ma padre universale amorevole di tutti: si risente non incontrar bene nè con l' una nè con l' altra di esse al presente, e se n' è esalata con grande con grande confidenza più d' una volta con noi; crede però che ognuno si dolga per avvantaggiare i proprj interessi, non perchè ambedue non conoscano la necessità della sua indipendenza, e come che sia amica della pace naturalmente e la obblighi a questa il posto di pontefice in cui si trova costituito. Va nutrendosi con simili concetti ricevendo a grande alimento suo la confidenza con la Serenissima Republica, come questa con l' autorità, consigli et amor suo possa esserle del maggior presidio: anzi soggetto di grand' eminenza e della maggior confidenza nostra ha confidato ad alcuno di noi, forse d' ordine della S<sup>a</sup> Sua, la intenzione ch' ella havrebbe di stringersi con l' E. E. V. V. con

particolare alleanza, quando credesse incontrare la pubblica disposizione: sopra di che con termini generali ufficiosi fu risposto, nessun nodo poter maggiormente legare i principi che la sincerità e corrispondenza de' cuori e la uniformità de' fini et interessi."

## 126.

*Relatione dell' ambasciatore Veneto Aluise Contarini fatta al senato dopo il ritorno della sua ambasceria appresso Innocentio X. 1648. (22 leaves.)*

The reign of this pontiff too by no means turned out so advantageous to his subjects as was expected. Aluise Contarini, the son of Niccolò—the former Aluise was a son of Tommaso—added some far less favorable passages to the first and more honorable report.

In his youth Innocent had preferred knightly exercises and the pleasures of love ("passatempo amorevoli") to study: during his nuntiatura in France he had gained but little respect, and acquired the nickname of "Monsignor It-can't-be" (Monsignor Non-si-puol), on account of his perpetual refusals: in Spain, on the contrary, he was considered a wise man, from his paucity of words.

If we ask, What made him pope? Answer, three things:—that he talked little, dissembled a good deal, and did nothing. "Da corteggiani fu detto che tre cose l'avevano fatto papa, il parlar poco, simulare assai e non far niente."

"Si fa conoscere hora poco inclinato alle gratie, delicato e vetriolo, (?) ... riputato da tutti d'ingegno tardo nell'apprendere e poco capace di gran machine, ma ostinato nell'apprensioni:... procura di non farsi conoscere parziale di alcuna corona:..." He was a friend to quiet and justice, was not bloodthirsty, and was a good economist.

The intimate society of the pope was made up of the following persons: donna Olimpia, who was dear to him because she brought a large portion into the family, and assisted him with it;—"donna d'ingegno e spirito virile, solo si fa conoscere donna per la superbia e l'avaritia: Pancirolo,—"di tratti manierosi, d'ingegno vivace, cortese di viso e di parole;" Capponi—"a bocca ridente ricuopre la sua malitiosa industria;" Spada,—"si pavoneggia delli suoi stimabili talenti." It is evident that the author of this report does not express himself in very respectful terms. The want of a nephew was doubly felt, owing to the character of the pope.

Some hints are given of the pope's mode of government. "Tra li corteggiani si suol dire che chi tratta col papa d'alcuno affare, nelle prime audienze lo reputa quasi perfettionato, nella seconda conosce esser totalmente da farsi, e nella terza si scuopre con stupore sconcluso. ... Crede disprezzabile quel principe che non conserva appresso di se un buon numero di contanti da valersene in un'urgente bisogno. Per non spendere si contenta di soffrire dell'avversa fortuna ogni più opprobrioso strapazzo.... Trovandosi l'annata di Roma spogliata di quelli asseguamenti de' quali si valse in altri tempi, come proprii per essere stati dissipati nella guerra Barberina, Sua S<sup>ta</sup> conoscendo l'annata presente penuriosa di grano ha più volte asseguato di esser pronto di sovvenirla di grossa somma di cotanti; ma ripugnando la sua natura allo sborso; ha cercato aggiustarlo in altra forma, sebene non a sufficienza.... Tutte le comunità si trovano talmente esauste e ruinate per cagione della guerra Barberina che gl'è impossibile giammai risorgere e rihaversi.... Particolare entrata del papa di 800 m. scudi consistente negli emolumenti delle compoende della dataria e nelle vacabilità degli officii di quella e della cancelleria, come ancora di una sorte di monti vacabili dell'auditor e tesoriere di camera, chiericati di essa, et altri simili officii, di tutta questa somma, che entra nella borsa secreta e non nella pubblica, ne è assoluto patrone S. S<sup>ta</sup>; protendone disporre al suo arbitrio e donarla a chi più li piace senza temere che siano rielieste dal successore." His buildings on the capitol, St. Peter's and the Lateran: "... in cui rinnovandosi con nuovo modello le tre navate della chiesa, rimane nel suo essere l'adornamento di quel vago e ben inteso



soffitto.”—in the Piazza Navona: “con il gettato di alcune case per la parte di S. Giacomo de’ Spagnuoli restando in quadro la piazza.”

We perceive that, notwithstanding the bad impression which the court produced upon Contarini, he was on the whole impartial and instructive.

## 127.

*Memoriale presentato alla S<sup>ta</sup> di N. S<sup>re</sup> papa Innocenzo X dai deputati della città di Fermo per il tumulto ivi seguito alli 6 di Luglio 1648.*

In Majolino Bissaccioni’s “*Historia delle guerre civili di questi ultimi tempi, Ven. 1664.*” we find, as has been already remarked, in the midst of the most important events, classed with the histories of Charles I and Cromwell, and the revolutions in Portugal and Catalonia, a “*Historia della guerra civile di Fermo,*” that is, the history of a riot, in which the papal governor, Visconti, was killed. We have here the memorial with which two delegates, Lorenzo Nobile and Lucio Guerrieri, appeared before the pope, to entreat his pardon for this offence.

According to their representation, which is far more authentic and descriptive than that of Bissaccioni, and gives us a glimpse of the interior of the cities of that period, the harvest had failed, and bread was unusually dear; notwithstanding which, the governor wanted to export corn from the province of Fermo.—He was not to be deterred by any warning. With his carbine at his side and his pistols on the table, he declared that he would rather die as became a governor and a soldier, than give way. He dissolved the consiglio, to which delegates from the neighboring castles had come, and called together his troops. But these his troops “came from the fields they had reaped, and from the barns in which they had thrashed;” they knew the scarcity which threatened the country, and instead of opposing the excited populace, took their part. The governor found himself obliged to give way, in spite of his bravadoes, and to allow the corn to remain within the territory of Fermo.

But quiet was scarcely restored in the city, when some Corsican militia, who had been called out by the governor, appeared at the gates; the inhabitants would not believe but that Visconti wished to carry his measures into execution with their assistance. A riot ensued: the mob cried, “We are betrayed;” “To arms!” the bells were rung, the palace was stormed, and the governor killed.

The delegates assured the pope of their fidelity, and lamented the event which had occurred—at which the nobles were peculiarly distressed (“di vedere, senza potervi rimediare, da persone del popolo ucciso il prelato di V<sup>ra</sup> S<sup>ta</sup> datogli per suo governo.”)

## 128.

*Relatione della corte di Roma del cav<sup>re</sup> Giustiniani data in senato l’anno 1652.—*  
(*Copy in the Magliabechiana at Florence, 24, 65.*)

Under Innocent too, admiration and expectation soon gave place, first to doubt and discontent, and then to complaint and execration.

Zuan Zustinian (for this is the Venetian way of writing and speaking the name) came, after many other embassies, from Vienna to Rome, and resided there from 1648 to 1651. His despatches are filled with the events of those years, and his report refers to them.

The description he gives of the court is not very encouraging.

What good qualities the pope possessed, he says, profited the city of Rome, or at the utmost, the territories of the church; his evil qualities were injurious to all Christendom. Even in the States of the Church, however, the remission of the severest punishments for money, was a great evil. “Mi si afferma per massima indubitata che in sette anni di pontificato habbia estratto dalle composizioni di persone processate come ree il valore di 1200 m. scudi, che s’ accosta a due milioni di ducati.” The influence exercised by donna Olympia Moidachina is represented here as a sort of public calamity. “Donna di gran spirito,

prepotente per solo titolo di esatta economia. Se vacavano officj nella corte, niente si deliberava senza il beneplacito di lei: se vi erano beneficj da distribuire, i ministri della dataria tenevano ordine di trattenere ogni spedizione sinche datagli notizia della qualità delle vacanze scegliesse a sua disposizione ciò che più tenesse di gusto: se vi erano chiese episcopali da provvedere, ad essa ricorrevano i pretendenti: e quello che rendeva nausea a tutti gli uomini onorati, era il vedere che erano preferiti quelli che più allargavano la mano a donativi."

Thus he proceeds; but I am not quite certain that the report is genuine. It does not exist in the Venetian archives: in the Magliabechiana at Florence, there are two copies, which however do not agree on all points.—I have kept to the most moderato of the two.

Luckily it was not necessary to resort to this report, as the diary and notices given by Pallavicini, in his life of Alexander VII, afforded me far better information.

## 129.

*Relatione dell' ambasceria straordinaria fatta in Roma alla S<sup>ta</sup> di N. S<sup>re</sup> Alessandro VII degli Ecc<sup>mi</sup> SS<sup>ri</sup> Pesaro, Contarini, Valiero e Sagredo per rendere a nome della Ser<sup>ma</sup> Republica di Venetia la solita obediienza al sommo pontefice l' anno 1656.*

The same Pesaro, during whose mission the quarrel between Urban VIII and the republic of Venice occurred, and who afterwards was considered as a decided enemy of the clergy, was placed at the head of the delegates sent to wish that pope joy of his accession, and was charged by them to draw up their report; whether it be that his opinions were from the first, as he asserts, very moderate, or that the years which had elapsed since that time had wrought a change in him, his report is certainly very judicious, unprejudiced, and instructive.

He had before expressed himself dissatisfied with the government of Innocent X, but not in such strong terms of reprobation as others. "Oltre la cupidità insaziabile ch' è regnata in quella casa, vi si è aggiunto che essendo mancato di ministri valevoli al sostentamento di così gran principato, non havendo luogo nell' animo suspicose di quel pontefice la fede di chi si sia, ogni cosa per lo più si regolava secondo gli appetiti immoderati di una donna, che ha aperto largo campo alle penne satiriche di fare comparire i disordini di quel governo maggiori ancora di quel che in fatti si fossero."

However little this may sound like a eulogy, yet, as we have just said, when compared with the violent declamations of others, it seems a mild judgment.

But the new pope, Alexander VII, forms the most prominent subject of his report.

Pesaro states this fact, of which the rest of the world were convinced; that the opinion entertained of the virtues of Fabio Chigi, and the fame of his nuntiatura, had been the cause of his advancement—although, in reality, the Medici saw unwillingly the rise of one of their own subjects. "Più santa elettione non si poteva aspettare da un senato di soggetti che per quanto havessero distratta la volontà da mondani interessi, non potevano di meno di non lasciarsi in fine guidare da quel spirito santo che essi presumono assistere ad un' attione di tanta rilevanza."

He sketches his rise, and the general character of his early proceedings: "he appeared to know little of financial, but much more of ecclesiastical affairs, and was not very tenacious of his own opinions:" he also describes his courtiers and dependents, but upon them it is not necessary to dwell, since affairs very soon took a different turn from what had been expected.

"Troppo per tempo parmi," says Pesaro, "che il mondo canonizzi questi sentimenti del papa, e che per farne più accertato giudizio faccia di mestiere osservarsi quanto con il tratto del tempo si sia per mostrarsi costante nel resistere alle mantellate dell' affetto." Even at that time, so many representations were

made to the pope from all quarters, that it seemed as if his firmness must needs be shaken.

This mission, however, was not only one of congratulation; its far more important object was to petition the Roman court for assistance in the war of Candia.

The delegates relate what exertions were made by Venice to withstand the enemy, and more particularly to defray the immediate expenses of the war; loans at a heavy rate of interest, payable for life or for ever; sales of allodial or feudal property; extension of the dignities of the state, which, until then, had been restricted to a narrow circle; nay, even the admission of a larger number into the body of the Venetian nobility—a distinction the more prized, the less common it was. Now, however, their resources were completely exhausted; there was nothing to be hoped from the other potentates of Christendom, who were engaged in hostilities with each other; their only refuge was, therefore, the Roman see.

The pope listened to them with considerable demonstrations of interest, and replied by a brilliant eulogium on the republic, which opposed the fury of the barbarians, not only with steel, but with gold; but as to the main object of their mission, he declared he was without the means of assisting them. The papal treasury was so exhausted, that he was even at a loss how to provide Rome with bread.

The delegates did not give up their point, but represented to the pope that the urgency of the danger would justify him in seizing upon the old treasure laid up by Sixtus V: “*prima che l’urgenza degli accidenti che possono sopravvenire, maggiormente stringa e per sostentamento della religione e per sicurezza del proprio dominio ecclesiastico;*” a great impression was made upon the pope by the representation, that the audacity of the enemy would be increased, when he saw that even a new pope refused the succor of which Venice stood so much in need. Alexander saw that something must be done; he proposed a confiscation of church property.

It is most remarkable that the Roman court should have been the first to propose measures of this character. Innocent X had already suggested to the Venetians the abolition of two orders, that of the Canonici di S. Spirito, and of the Cruciferi: he had a plan of founding secular canonicates with their funds. But the Venetians feared that the court of Rome would assume to itself the nomination to them, and besides they regarded these institutions as affording a provision for their poor nobili. This proposition Alexander now repeated.

“*Il papa postosi in atto di volerci rappresentare cosa di nostro sollievo, prese a dire che, da qualche tempo in qua essendosi dalla sede apostolica fatto riflesso non meno all’abondanza che alla superfluità degli istituti religiosi, haveva trovato che alcuni di essi degenerando dalla primiera intenzione de’ loro fondatori erano trascorsi in una total rilassazione di costumi; che compliva non meno al servizio della chiesa che de medesimi secolari il pigliare quegli espedienti che sogliono usare gli accorti agricoltori quando vedono in modo lussuriar la vite che la copia de rampolli serve più tosto ad isterilirla che a renderla più fruttifera: che a ciò s’era dato in qualche parte principio con la soppressione di alcune religioni, ma che ciò non bastava, conoscendosi in tutto necessario restringer questo gran numero a quei solamente che ritengono o che meglio possono ridursi a ritenere la prima forma della loro istituzione; che per farsi strada a ciò s’era soppresso un numero grande di conventini piccioli ove con minor riguardo si rallentava il freno alla ritiratezza regolare, e chi si persisteva nel primo pensiero di procedere alla finale abolitione d’alcuni altri ordini che con il loro licentioso modo di vivere riempivano il mondo anzi di scandoli e di mormorations che di buon esempio e di edificazione, ma che si camminava lentamente, perche in negotio di tal rilevanza s’haverebbe voluto incontrare anche nella sodisfattione de principi, i quali, non ben esaminati i veri motivi che inducevano la sede apostolica in questa risolutione, havevano dato segno di qualche repugnanza all’esecutione de brevi ponteficii: ma che sperandosi ad ogni modo che in fine avesse*

ogn' uno a dar mano al proseguimento di così ben ponderata risoluzione, li metteva intanto in considerazione alla Serenissima Republica che abbandonando il dominio Veneto di questa qualità di religioni, s' apriva un modo facile che venisse dato luogo alla retta intentione di chi ha la suprema direzione degli affari ecclesiastici et insieme a poter somministrare un considerabile ajuto in soccorso della presente guerra contro gl' infideli: che nessuno meglio di noi poteva sapere a che estremità di dissolutezza e di scandoli siano giunti li canonici di San Spirito di Venezia, essendosi la Serenissima Republica veduta in necessità di metter freno alle scorretioni di quel convento, che non contento d' haver postergata ogni osservanza regolare abusava anco sì sconciamente delle ricchezze che haverebbono potuto servire a comodi alimenti di un numero quintuplicatamente maggiore di religiosi, che sempre grossamente si trovava indebitato: che il simile si poteva dire de' Cruciferi, ne' quali appena si discerneva vestigio di vita claustrale: che per tanto anteponeva che procedendosi alla soppressione di queste due religioni, s' haverebbe potuto andar pensando al modo di passare alla vendita de' beni da esse possessi, et il ritratto si convertisse in sostentamento di questa guerra, giacche era diretta contro il nemico fierissimo del nome Cristiano.

This time it appeared to the delegates that such a project was not to be rejected. They calculated what a large capital would accrue from these sales, compared with the small interest, which moreover would soon fall in; and the advantageous effect which the secularisation of such a large property would have on the condition of the country. Their views of a measure which was then unprecedented, and which afterwards became universal, are worthy of observation.

“In realtà fatti anche congrui assegnamenti a' frati esclusi per il loro vivere, che non ascenderanno mai fra l' una e l' altra religione 10 m. ducati all' anno, se de' loro beni ascendenti alla summa di 26 m. ducati se ne ritrarranno 600 mila nella vendita, come verisilmente si può credere, non sentirà il publico maggiore interesse di due per cento vitalitii e qualche cosa meno: et ogni altro motivo altre volte portato in dissuasione di negotio simile va per bene, supposti gli alimenti che annualmente si presteranno a superstiti: e così smembrandosi dall' ordine ecclesiastico questa grossa somma di portione di fondi collocati ne' migliori siti di questo dominio, vengono li laici a rimettere in possesso, senza far torto alla pietà quella anime grandi che ebbero cuore di spropriare le descendenze loro di così opulenti patrimoni, per fondare e stabilire in questo stato la religione; che se hora veder potessero quanto ella sia ben radicata; altra interpretatione non darebbono a' loro sentimenti se non che se gli fo grato di esser fondatori di tanti monasteri per ricovero di persone sacre, niente meno goderebbono che l' istesse ricchezze, giacche sovrabondano, si convertissero in propulsare l' impietà minacciante la distruzione di quella pietà che con le proprie sostanze cercarono di promuovere.”

After the affairs of Venice, which indeed were then of the highest importance, the general affairs of Europe are discussed.

The undertakings of Charles X Gustavus created the greatest sensation in Rome, and money was collected for the support of king Casimir.

But a far more distressing thing to the court of Rome was, that the French not only appeared disinclined to conclude a peace with Spain, but that Mazarin even allied himself with England—a cardinal with protestants—the Most Christian monarchy with an usurper who had ejected the lawful prince;—and that this was done without any necessity, without even the motive of imminent danger.

But, for these troubles, the pope would have turned his whole attention to the restoration of catholicism in Germany, where he personally enjoyed so much popularity. The conversion of the queen of Sweden excited all his hopes.

The ambassadors saw the splendid preparations made for the reception of this queen. They cannot quite approve the wandering life she led, (“fuori forse della convenienza dell' età e dello stato virginale,” as they modestly express it,) but they do full justice to the vigor and boldness of her resolution.

“Ècco in compendio ciò che ci è parso di poter riferire,” says Pesaro at this point.

To this conclusion he only adds the good advice, to maintain the best possible understanding with the pope.

The pope had spoken at length of the gratification it would afford him if the Jesuits were received again into Venice at his request. The ambassador is of opinion that this point should be conceded. “Parmi che sia gionto il tempo di decidere se s’abbia a dar luogo a questo regresso, o pure, per non haver di quando in quando ad urtare per questa causa in male sodisfattione con i pontefici, s’abbia da imporvi perpetuo silentio..... A sodisfare intorno a ciò al desiderio del papa par che possa esser motivo il conoscersi che essendo questi huomini grandi istromenti a sostenere le ragioni della chiesa, i papi pro tempore rinnoveranno le medesime istanze, le quali rejtette daranno ne’ principj de pontificati materia a male sodisfattioni.”

## 130.

*Vita, attioni et operationi di Alessandro VII, opera del cl Pallavicini. 2 vols. fol. (Bibl. Cors.)*

In the Barberini library at Rome, a MS. was one day put into my hands, with the title “Alexandri VII de vita propria liber primus et tertius cum fragmentis libri secundi;” a volume containing about 300 pages, as full of corrections as it is possible for a manuscript to be, but by an unfortunate accident, in utter confusion. The binder had arranged the sheets, which were intended to be read separately, together in quinterns. It was almost impossible to decipher it.

It begins, “Res suo tempore gestas literis commendare, quamvis et nunc et olim usitatum, plerisque tamen eo nomine minus probatur quod arduum scriptori sit procul habere spem metum, amorem, odium animi, nubes quæ historiam, lucem veritatis, infusant.” Wherever I opened the book, I found interesting information, derived from authentic sources, concerning Alexander’s youth, the summons of his nephews to Rome, the arrival of Christina:—could it be possible that the pope, when occupied with the business of the highest spiritual power, should still find time to write his life, and to correct the style with so much care and industry?

It was soon clear, that in spite of the title, this could not be the case.

Amongst other things, the author states that he was enabled to write this work by his intimate acquaintance with the pope. “Fortunæ obsecundantis beneficium fuit ut cum hoc principe inferiores gradus obtinente singularis intercesserit mihi animorum consensio et mutua tum ore tum literis consiliorum communicatio.”

The question arose—who this intimate friend and indeed confidant of Alexander’s could have been.

Muratori relates, at the date 1656, that at the commencement of Alexander’s reign, when he raised such splendid hopes, the Jesuit Pallavicini had begun to write the life of that pope; but that after the arrival of the nephews and the changes that ensued, he had abandoned the undertaking. Pallavicini certainly was personally intimate with Alexander VII; at the beginning of his pontificate he saw him daily; it thus appeared possible that this fragment might be the work of Pallavicini.

After some fresh researches, the biography of Alexander VII, attributed to cardinal Pallavicini, was found in the same library; it was, it is true, written in Italian—but the affair was worth the trouble of collation.

On comparing them, it immediately appeared that the Latin and the Italian were the same. The first sentence began: “E’ opinione di molti che non si debba scrivere historie se non delle cose antiche, intorno alle quali la speranza e la paura, l’amore e l’odio verso le persone commemorate non habbian luogo nè possono infoscare la verità.” The other passage I quoted is in Italian: “Imperoche m’è toccato a sorte d’haber con questo principe nella sua minor fortuna

una singolare e corrispondenza d' affetto e confidenza di comunicazioni hor con la lingua hor con la penna per lo spatio già di 30 anni."

It goes on in the same manner. The Latin copy was manifestly a translation of the Italian, rather freely rendered, with a slight shade of difference in the tone of thought.

Unfortunately, however, the resemblance proved greater than I wished; for as the Latin copy was, as its title announced, a fragment, so also the Italian was in a most fragmentary condition. After some account of his early youth, the narrative went at once to the election of Alexander and the first actions of his pontificate.

An abortive search, however, only stimulates one's curiosity and eagerness: I made inquiries every where, and found another copy in the Albani library, likewise in a fragmentary state. I now thought I must rest satisfied with this, as in an anonymous life of Pallavicini I found mention only of the fragment of this history with which I was already acquainted. At last, however, in the Corsini library, I had the good fortune to meet with a more complete copy in two thick folio volumes—the very work whose title I have quoted above.

In this edition it bears the name of Pallavicini on its front. It is complete as far as the second chapter of the sixth book; and in this copy we may see of what immense importance the work is for the history of that time.

The first book contains the early history of Alexander VII, "Stirpe parentelle, natali, fanciullezza di Fabio Chigi:—studj, avvenimenti della pueritia:—studj filosofici e legali:—amicitie particolari:" all of which I found in the first Latin and Italian copies, but to which the Corsini edition alone adds, "azioni et esercitii pii:—vicelegatione di Ferrara sotto Sacchetti:—nuntiatura di Colonia."

In the second book, the government of Innocent X, and the part taken in it by Chigi, is related in fourteen chapters, up to the time of the conclave.

In the third book is the beginning of the pontificate. General account of the situation of Europe, of the States of the Church, and the first economical measures, (relating to the monti vacabili). Also the conversion of queen Christina of Sweden, which is described with great minuteness and satisfaction. My opinion is, that if, as Arckenholtz asserts in his "Mémoires de Christine," IV, 39, Pallavicini was believed to have written a "Historia di Christina regina di Suezia," this idea originated in a vague report of these fragments. Her conversion is accounted for as follows, in the Latin copy: "In libris Tullii de natura deorum animadvertens veram riligionem nonnisi unam, omnes falsas esse posse, super hac parte diu multumque cogitando laboravit. Sollicita quoque fuit dubitare de liberorum operum bonorum pravorumque discrimine, nisi quantum alia salubria mundo sunt, alia pernicioso, cujusmodi naturalia sunt, et de divinæ providentiæ cura vel incuria circa humanas actiones, deque voluntate divina num certum cultum et statutam fidem requirat. Nullus fuit nobilis autor qui ea de re scripsisset, quem illa non perlustraret; non vir apprime doctus harum rerum in borealibus plagis cum quo sermocinari non studeret. Et proclivis interdum fuit ad opinandum, satis esse suæ regionis palam colere religionem, cæterum vivere convenienter naturæ. Ad extremum in hanc venit sententiam, deum, hoc est optimum, tyranno quovis pejorum fore si conscientiæ morsibus acerbis sed falsis humanum genus universum cruciaret, si mortalibus ab eodem insita notione communi grata sibi esse eorum sacrificia eorumque votis annuere nihil ea cuncta curaret. ... .."

The author begins the fourth book, of which there is only a small portion in the Latin and the older editions, with the invitation of the nephews to Rome. "Raggioni che persuasero al papa di chiamare i nepoti. Discorsi di Roma." And so far was Pallavicini from abandoning his work at this period, that he enters minutely into the whole affair, and gives a detailed account of the feelings excited by it in Rome. He then relates the situation of queen Christina in Rome, and the support granted to her by the pope. "La reina, ch' era vissuta con quella prodigalità la quale impoverisce senza il piacere e l'honore di spendere e che si esercita non in dare ma in lasciarsi rubare, nel tempo della sua dimora

aveva impegnato tutte gioje con la speranza delle future rimesse, nè per ciò li restava un scudo onde provvedere al destinato viaggio. Però, sicome la necessità vince la vergogna, convenne che ella si facesse violenza in dimandare soccorso al pontefice, ma nelle maniere più lontane che seppe dal limosinare: e perchè la lettera non arrossisse, il pregò per mezzo di questa a fare che alcun mercante le prestasse danaro con promessa d'intera restituzione." The pope did not consider it would be much to his honor to stand surety for the whole amount of her debts, from which he could have derived no advantage. He preferred sending by a confidential messenger, probably Pallavicini himself, a present of a purse of 10,000 scudi, accompanied by some gold and silver medals struck on her entrance into Rome, "con escusarne la pochezza per l'angustia dell'erario." "La reina nel ringraziare pianse alle volte per quella mistura d'affetti che sorgono in questi casi." Pallavicini also gives a circumstantial account of the restoration of the Jesuits in Venice, which is written in the same spirit that he has shown in his History of the Council of Trent.

In the fifth book, follows the history of the year 1657; promotions to cardinalates; building in Santa Maria del Popolo and della Pace, and on the Piazza di S. Pietro; the adventures of queen Christina in France, and of Monaldeschi, whose fate is thus related. "Mentre la regina si tratteneva in Fontanabò, Ludovico, il fratello di lui, emulo nella gratia della padrona di Gian Rinaldo Monaldeschi principal gentil'huomo di questi paesi per notizie, come si disse, mandategli di Roma dal prenominato fratello, scoperse a lei alcuni trattati del Monaldeschi per cui le appariva poco fedele: onde ella dopo haverlo convinto e trattane dalla sua bocca la confessione gli diede un' hora solamente di spatio per provvedere alla coscienza con l'opera d'un sacerdote, e di poi, ciò che appena le sarebbe stato permesso in Stockholm quando vi dominava, il fè uccidere per mano dell' istesso suo emulo."

In the sixth book, the author returns to the internal affairs of Rome. He concludes with the arrangements for the prelatute, for which Alexander demanded a specific part of the revenues.

Even this copy of the biography of Alexander, which is the most complete, is far from containing the whole life of that pope.

## 131.

*Paolo Casati ad Alessandro VII sopra la regina di Suecia. (Bibl. Alb.)*

Malines and Casati were the two Jesuits sent to Stockholm by the general of the order, to convert the queen of Sweden.

Arckenholtz, tom. iv, app. n. 27, of his "Mémoires," gives a private document by Malines, on the subject of this mission.

Casati presented to Alexander VII a much more detailed and, so to speak, official account, dedicated "Alla Santità di N<sup>ro</sup> Signore Alessandro VII,"—dated "dal collegio Romano li 5 Dec. 1655,"—and subscribed, "Dalla S. V<sup>ra</sup> umilissimo servitore ed obedientissimo figlio in X<sup>to</sup> Paolo Casati della Compagnia di Gesù," which gives a far more complete and satisfactory account of all the circumstances.

"Per ubbidire," he begins, "ai cenni di V. S<sup>ta</sup>, che ha desiderato una breve memoria di quello è passato nella risoluzione presa dalla regina Christina di Suecia di rinunciare il regno per rendersi cattolica, sono necessitato farmi un passo a dietro per spiegarne l' occasione, conforme alle notizie havute dalla bocca della stessa regina, alla quale mi assicuro non sia per essere se non di gusto che la S<sup>ta</sup> Vostra sia del tutto sinceramente informata."

The first notices of the early part of his mission are not very interesting, as the author understands nothing of the affairs of Sweden: his work is only remarkable, where he treats of the interests of religion.

"Havendo acquistato tanto di cognitione, comincio far riflessione che molte delle cose della setta Luterana, in cui era stata allevata, non potevano sussistere, e cominciando ad esaminarle, più le teneva inconvenienti. Quindi comincio con

più diligenza a studiare nelle cose della religione e delle controversie, e trovando che quella in cui era nutrita non aveva apparenza di vera, si diede con straordinaria curiosità ad informarsi di tutte et a ponderare la difficoltà di ciascuna. Impiegò in questo lo spatio di cinque anni incirca con grande perturbatione interna d' animo, poiche non trovava dove fermarsi: e misurando ogni cosa con discorso meramente humano, parevale che molte cose potessero essere mere inventioni politiche per trattener la gente più semplice: e degl' argomenti che quelli d' una setta si servono contro d' un' altra, ella si serviva per ritorcerli contro quella stessa: così paragonava le cose di Mosè nel polo Ebreo a ciò che fece Maometto negli Arabi. Dal che nasceva che non trovava alcuna religione che vera le paresse. Et io l' ho molte volte udita che s' accusava d' essere stata troppo profana in volere investigare i più alti misterj della divinità: poiche non ha lasciato a dietro alcun mistero della nostra fede che non habbia voluto esaminare, mentre cercava di quietare l' anima sua con trovare finalmente una religione, essendo che ogni sorte di libro che trattasse di cosa appartenente a ciò, ella leggeva, le capitavano anche molte cose degli antichi e de' gentili e d' atei. E se bene ella non giunse mai a tal cecità che dubitasse dell' esistenza di dio e sua unità con farne concetto come di cosa maggiore di tutte le altre, pure si lasciò empire la mente di molte difficoltà, delle quali poi varie volte discorresimo. E finalmente non trovava altra conclusione se non che nell' esterno conveniva far ciò che fanno gl' altri, stimando tutte le cose indifferenti e non importar più seguir questa che quell' altra religione o setta, e bastar di non far cosa che fosse contro il dettame della ragione e di cui la persona potesse una volta arrossirsi d' haverla fatta. Con questo s' andò qualche tempo governando, e parevale d' haver trovato qualche riposo, massime che haveva scoperte altre persone (anche chiamate di lontano) da lei stimate per dotte e savie essere di poco differente parere, giacche erano fuori della vera religione catolica da loro riprovata sin dalla fanciullezza. Ma il signore Iddio, che voleva havere misericordia della regina nè lasciarla perire negl' errori dell' intelletto, giacche per l' altra parte haveva ottima volontà e desiderio di conoscere il vero, e nell' oprare talmente si lasciava guidare dal lume della retta ragione, che più volte m' ha assicurato di non haver mai fatto cosa che giudicasse non doversi fare nè di cui possa arrossirsene (che queste sono le sue formole di parlare), cominciò a farle apprendere che dove si tratta della salute eterna dell' anima, ogn' altro interesse deve cedere e che l' errore in cosa tanto importante è d' eterno pregiudizio: onde ripigliò di nuovo il pensiero che dovea esservi qualche religione, e posto che l' uomo doveva havere pure una religione, tra tutte quelle che si sapeva fossero nel mondo, niuna le sembrava più ragionevole della cattolica: perciò facendosi più attenta riflessione, trovò che li suoi dogmi e istituti non sono così sciocchi come li ministri Luterani (li chiamano pastori) voriano far credere."

As we cannot insert the whole work, we must content ourselves with the following circumstantial account of the first interview of the Jesuits with the queen.

"Partiti d' Hamburg doppo due giornate a Rendsburg ci accompagnammo col signor senatore Rosenhan, che ritornava in Suecia, e con lui andammo sino a Roschilt, dove sono sepolti li re di Danimarca, toltone S. Canuto, il cui capo è a Ringstede. Egli tiro dritto a Elsenor per passare lo stretto, e noi andammo a Coppenhagen. Questa cognitione fatta col sig<sup>r</sup> Rosenhan ci giovò poi in Stockholm per esser meno sospetti: e la regina un giorno dicendogli che non sapeva che concetto dovesse farsi di quei due Italiani, egli disse che non v' era di che temere, che erano buona gente, e si usò sempre gran cortesia. Hebbimo pure fortuna nel viaggio d' unirci per alcune giornate col generale Wachtmeister gran scudiere del regno, il quale parimenti ci fu di non poca utilità: perche essendo noi giunti in Stockholm alli 24 di Febbraro conforme lo stile antico, et havendo io il giorno seguente cercato di parlare a Gio. Holm, valletto di camera di Sua Maestà, per essere introdotto a presentare la lettera datami in Roma dal padre vicario generale, nè havendolo trovato, la sera detto generale fu occasione che Sua Maestà sapesse il mio arrivo. Mentre stava la regina cenando, due cavalieri si lamentavano che faceva freddo, e il generale Wachtmeister gli sgridò, dicendo



che non havevano tanta paura del freddo due Italiani venuti in sua compagnia. Udi la regina questa contesa, e interrogatoli di che contendessero, udito ch' ebbe essere venuti due Italiani, richiese s' erano musici: ma rispondendo il generale che erano due galant' huomini che andavano vedendo il paese, Sua M<sup>a</sup> disse che per ogni modo li voleva vedere. Noi subito fummo avvisati di tutto ciò ed esortati ad andare il giorno seguente alla corte: anzi dal sig<sup>r</sup> Zaccaria Grimani nobile Veneto vi fummo condotti la mattina seguente e introdotti a salutare il conte Magnus de la Gardie primo ministro di Sua M<sup>a</sup> per ottenere per mezzo suo l' honore di baciare la mano di Sua M<sup>a</sup>: egli con somma cortesia ci accolse e ci assicurò che Sua M<sup>a</sup> l' havria havuto molto a caro. Era l' hora del pranso, quando la regina uscì nel Vierkant, e noi fummo avvisati d' accostarci a Sua M<sup>a</sup>, e baciatale la mano fecimo un piccolo complimento in Italiano (che così ella haveva comandato, se bene ci aveva fatto avvisare ch' averia risposto in Francese, giacche noi l' intendevamo) proportionato all' apparenza del personaggio che rappresentavamo: et ella con grandissima benignità rispose. Subito s' inviò il maresciallo della corte e con lui tutti li cavalieri verso la sala dove stava preparata la tavola, ed io mi trovai immediatamente d' avanti alla regina. Ella, che la notte ripensando alli due Italiani e facendo riflessione che appunto era il fine di Febbraro, circa il qual tempo da Roma se l' era scritto che saressimo giunti, era venuta in sospetto che noi fossimo quelli che aspettava, quando fossimo poco lontani dalla porta e che già tutti erano quasi usciti dal Vierkant, mi disse sottovoce: " forse voi avete qualche lettera per me, ed io senza voltarmi che sì: soggiunse: ' non ne parlate con alcuno.' Mentre noi il dopo pranso stavamo sopra ciò che era seguito discorrendo, ecco sopraggiunge uno che in Francese ci fa varii complimenti, poi s' avvanza a dimandarci se haveriamo lettere per Sua M<sup>a</sup>. Io cominciai subito a dar risposte ambigue, che non havevamo negotii, che non havevamo lettere di raccomandatione, etc., sin a tanto che egli alla fine disse per ordine tutto quello che nel breve e fortuito colloquio m' haveva detto la regina. Allora m' accorsi che da lei sola poteva esser mandato: pure per maggior sicurezza lo richiesi del suo nome, ed udito che egli era Gio. Holm, gli consegnai la lettera. La mattina seguente, quasi due hore prima del tempo solito d' andar alla corte, ci avisò Gio. Holm che Sua M<sup>a</sup> voleva parlarci. Subito andammo: e appena erano entrati nel Vierkant, dove era solo l' ufficiale di guardia, quando uscì la regina, e mostrò di meravigliarsi, sì perche non fosse ivi ancora alcuno de' cavaglieri, sì perche noi fossimo stati i primi nell' andare: e dopo haverci interrogati d' alcune poche cose intorno al nostro viaggio, udendo l' ufficiale, gli dimandò se fosse comparso alcuno de' segretarii, e rispondendo quegli che no, comandolli andasse a chiamare uno di loro, e non tornò che dopo un' hora.— Partito che ei fu, cominciò Sua M<sup>a</sup> con cortesissime parole a ringraziarci della fatica presa da noi per sua cagione nel viaggio, ci assicurò che qualunque pericolo potesse occorrere d' esser scoperti, non temessimo, perche non haveria permesso havessimo male alcuno. C' incaricò il segreto nè ci fidassimo di persona, additandoci nominatamente alcuni de' quali dubitava potessimo avere confidenza in progresso di tempo: ci diede speranza che havendo ella sodisfazione il nostro viaggio non saria stato indarno: e' interrogò dell' arrivo del padre Macedo e come noi fossimo stati eletti per andare colà, ci raccontò come fosse succeduta la partenza del padre Macedo. . . . ."

Alexander VII had indeed given rise to brilliant hopes; from him the court and the state expected their restoration, and the church a renewal of her ancient discipline. Even among the protestants there were many well inclined to him. Extreme astonishment and indignation therefore arose when he began to govern exactly like his predecessors:—his former popularity changed to violent hatred.

The first ambassador sent by the Venetians to Rome after the congratulatory

embassy was Geronimo Giustiniano. His despatches are dated 1656. He died of the plague.

In his place was chosen Anzolo Corrarò, then podestà of Padua. He delayed so long that the Venetians were already choosing another in his stead, whereupon he immediately hastened to Rome, and resided there from 1657 till 1659.

The report which he presented on his return from the papal court was not very favorable. He loads the pope and his household with accusations.

It is not necessary to give any extracts from a report which produced so strong an impression, that it immediately made its way into public notice.

A French translation appeared at Leyden: "*Relation de la cour de Rome faite l' an 1661(0) au conseil de Pregadi par l' excell<sup>me</sup> Seigneur Angelo Corrarò:—chez Lorenz, 1663,*" which, wherever I have collated them, perfectly renders the original, and is by no means rare at the present day.

It was printed at the time when the disputes of the Chigi with Crèquy attracted universal attention towards Rome; it was published with the view of inflaming public hatred against the pope, and is dedicated to Beuningen, who had not yet said "*Sta sol.*"

## 133.

*Relatione di Roma dell' eccellent<sup>mo</sup> Sig<sup>r</sup> Niccolò Sagredo. 1661.*

A report of which I could find no authentic copy, and which likewise exists under the name of Anzolo Correrò. As there can however be no doubt that the former report is really by Correrò, whose active share in the war against the Barberini is expressly mentioned in it; and as in the one now before us the author wishes to be released after his wanderings of twenty-seven years' duration, and to devote himself at home to the education of his children—which could not apply to Correrò, whose last office was that of podestà at Padua—I do not hesitate to pronounce the name of Sagredo to be the true one. We know that Sagredo had been once sent to Rome and then to Vienna; and he now went a second time to Rome. He was indeed one of the most influential statesmen of Venice, and was at length elected doge.

This report is far from being as bitter as the last, but neither is it at all laudatory; it rather bears an appearance of dispassionate observation.

When speaking of the reception of the nephews, Sagredo remarks that pope Alexander continually inveighed against the wealth of the Borghesi, the Barberini and the Ludovisi, whilst he himself neglected no opportunity of enriching his own kinsmen.

Description of Alexander. "*Placido e soave: nei negotii nè facile nè molto disposto: per natura è dubbioso nelle risolutioni grandi, osia per timore che non rieschino, o perche mal volentieri s' affatichi nel procurarle, da ogni spina, benche lontana, parendogli sentirsi pungere.*"

In suppressing the two religious orders we have mentioned, he thought he had done enough to satisfy the Venetians, and the Candian war did not appear to threaten him even with remote danger. What more immediately affected him was, that Parma and Modena were supported by France in their demands on the States of the Church. The Portuguese affair too was not yet settled. "*Vedutosi quel regno in mancanza assoluta di vescovi e dilapidate le rendite di tutte le chiese, si sono sentiti molti clamori non solo, ma vivissime l' istanze del card<sup>i</sup> Orsino protettore, perche fossero provvedute: ma non si è lasciato condurre il papa mai a farlo.*"

We find the holy see already at variance with most of the catholic states. There was not one of them that had not utterly repudiated the jurisdictional and pecuniary claims of the curia.

Of all that occurred in Rome, the author chiefly extols the buildings of Alexander. We see that the public greatly preferred the Cattedra di S. Pietro in St. Peter's, to the Colonnades. In the city itself the embellishments were often carried into effect with much arbitrary violence. "*Molte strade della città con*

getti di case e di palazzi drizzati: lavatesi le colonne et impedimenti che stavano avanti le porte di particolari: allargatasi la piazza Colonna del collegio Romano ad istanza de' Gesuiti col abbattimento del nobilissimo palazze Salviati: ristrettisi tutti i tavolati delle botteghe: opere tutte che come riescono in fine di grand' ornamento della città, così il peso delle medesime su la borsa de' privati cadendo, non puonno che delle mormorazioni partorire; il vedersi gittar a terra il proprio nido, il contribuirsi summe rilevanti per l'aggiustamento di strade ch' ai medesimi particolari nulla profittano, sotto colore che le loro habitazioni habbiano a godere della vista più bella, non equivalendo all' aggravio che ne risentono et alla forza con cui sono a consentirvi costretti."

134.

*Relatione di Roma del Kr Pietro Basadona. 1663.*

This is written in the manner of Corrarò, but exaggerated. I will give a few passages.

First, concerning the quarrel with France;—undoubtedly, the most important event that occurred during this embassy. “Quanto alle brighe correnti, so di havere nelle mie successive lettere dispolpate le ossa di tal materia quanto conviene: però non devo tacere che se l'imprudente superbia fece cadere i Chigi nella fossa, l'ambitiosa mellonagine vi gli habbia miseramente involuppati. Costoro si persuadevano che Roma fosse il mondo: ma il re di Francia a spese loro gli ha dato a dividere che non havevano bene studiata la geografia. Varie ciarle hanno divulgate le passioni degli huomini circa l' insolenza d' imperiali e di Don Mario contra l'immunità dell' ambasciatore Francese. Io non dirò che fossero innocenti, ma effettivamente affermo che congiunta alla loro mala volontà qualche colpa del caso, che accresce o sminuisce non di rado le humane operationi, li costituisca per rei et obligati a rendere puntualmente soddisfatte le pretensioni che il re di Francia può legittimamente fondare sulle ingiurie pur troppo sostenute nella persona del suo ministro: e sicome io conobbi questa verità, così contribuì indefessa applicatione per intepidire le mosse di Crequi, e prima che le cose corressero a manifesta rovina, saldare la scissura col balsamo de' negotiati. Ma erano troppi umori nelle teste Chigiarde e troppa ostinatione per condescendere ad una convenevole humiliatione verso il re, di cui non si volevano temere le bravate, quasiche fatte in credenza e non durabili più di una effimera Francese. Insino mi hebbe a dire Sua B<sup>ce</sup> che i cuori Romani non havevano paura delle smargiassate de' giovinastrì Parigini. Al che risposi, compiere tal volta più pigliarsela con gli assennati vecchioni che con giovinastrì cervelletti, i quali sogliono per isfogare un favorito capriccio avventurarsi anche sull' orlo de' precipitii, e che il trescare con chi ha de' grilli in capo, esserciti a fianchi e milioni sotto i piedi, non era buon giuoco per li pontefici, che hanno solamente le due dita alzate. Rappresentai più volte, quando si vide che il re diceva da senno, essersi pur troppo ruinato il dominio ecclesiastico dai quattordici milioni che spese nella guerra Barberina, che i milioni di cui la camera è debitrice passano cinquanta, e che in somma Sua S<sup>ta</sup> senza rovinarsi non poteva armarsi, senza perdersi non poteva rovinarlo. Ma vane furono queste e cento altre più massiccie ragioni, havendo troppo amore per non allontanarsi i parenti e troppo umore per il puntiglio di Castro. Ed un giorno che lo trovai di vena, mi disse queste formali parole: ‘Tutti esclamano che si scameri Castro, e nessuno dice che si restituischi Avignone: tutti espongono che il re merita esser risarcito degli affronti presenti ricevuti, e nessuno parla che si rifacciano gli strapazzi degli ecclesiastici, se fosse vero, come si sa non essere, che imperiali e nostro fratello Mario habbiamo dati gli ordini a corsi contro l' ambasciatore e potrebbe il re pretendere soddisfazione contro questi due: ma come ci entra Castro? e poi se Mario è innocente, come si ha d' allontanare da noi?’”

It continues in the same tone of self-satisfied invective, profound contempt for the whole ecclesiastical body—in short, an entirely modern tone of feeling. The possibility that the French might make themselves masters of Rome, is already

contemplated. One almost feels inclined to doubt whether such things really could be uttered in the senate. The improbability does not however appear so great, when we consider the violent attacks made on all sides upon the see of Rome (at this time the wildest satires appeared, e. g. "Le putanisme de Rome," in which it is said in so many words, that the pope must be allowed to have a wife in order to avert worse evils, and that the papacy must be made hereditary), and that this was the period at which it began universally to fall into discredit. On the whole, the author was very well acquainted with the court and the country, and it will be worth our while to hear what he says about the States of the Church.

"Si palpa con mano, l' ecclesiastico dominio essere totalmente aggravato, sì che molti possessori non potendo estrarre da i loro terreni quanto basti a pagare le pubbliche imposizioni straordinariamente aggiunte, trovano di consiglio di necessità l' abbandonare i loro fondi e cercare da paese men rapace la fortuna di poter vivere. Taccio de' datii e gabelle sopra tutte le robe comestibili, niuna eccezzuata: perche le taglie, i donativi, i sussidii e le altre straordinarie angherie che studiosamente s' inventano, sono tali che eccitarebbono compassione e stupore se i terribili commissarii che spedisce Roma nelle città suddite con suprema autorità d' inquirere, vendere, asportare, condannare, non eccedessero ogni credenza, non essendo mai mese che non volino su le poste grifoni ed arpie col sopra mantello di commissarii o della fabbrica di S. Pietro o de' legati pii o de' spogli o degli archivii o di venticinque altri tribunali Romani: onde restano martirizzate le borse, benche esauste, de' sudditi impotenti ad ultima prova. E però, se si pongono da parte Ferrara e Bologna, con le quali si usa qualche riguardo e le quali sono favorite dalla natura ed arte di ottimi terreni e di mercatura industriosa, tutte le altre città della Romagna, della Marca, Umbria Patrimonio, Sebina e Territorio di Roma sono miserabili per ogni rispetto: nè trovasi (oh vergogna de' Romani comandanti) in alcuna città l' arte della lana o della seta, non che de' panni d' oro, se due o tre piccole bicocche di Fossombrone, Pergola, Matelica, Camerino e Norcia n' eccezzuano: e pure facilmente per l' abbondanza della lana e seta si potrebbe introdurre ogni vantaggievole mercatura. Ma essendo il dominio ecclesiastico un terreno che si ha ad affitto, coloro che lo noleggiavano, non pensano a bonificarlo, ma solamente a cavarne quella pinguedine che può spremersene maggiore che sia del povero campo: che smunto et arido a nuovi affittuali non avrà agio di porgere che sterilissimi suffragi. E pare arso l' erario pontificio da un abisso di voragine: si hebbe per bene armare per due volte, quasi che il primo errore, che costò due milioni, fosse stato imitabile per qualche civanzo alla difesa dello stato, quando alle prime rotture ogni prudenza insegnava a stringere l' accomodamento per (non) dare pretesto a Francia di chieder peggio. Un calcolo, che feci nella mozzatura di quattro e mezzo per cento che rendevano i luoghi di monti, come fanno di sette per cento nella nostra zecca, ridotti a quattro solamente, trovai che a un mezzo scudo per cento in cinquanta milioni effettivi di debito, la camera venne a guadagnare 250 m. scudi di entrata, che a quattro per cento formerebbe un capitale di sei milioni e mezzo."

## 135.

*Vita di Alessandro VII. Con la descrizione delle sue adherenze e governo. 1666.*

This is not a biography, and least of all such a one as Pallavicini wrote; but a general description of the actions of this pope according to the impression they produced in Rome, by a well-informed, and, on the whole, well-intentioned cotemporary.

"Egli è," he says of the pope, "veramente d' animo pio, religioso, divoto, e vorrebbe operare miracoli per conservazione del christianesimo:....ma è pigro, timido, irresoluto, e molte volte mal opera per non operare. He first abused nepotism, and afterwards carried it to the highest pitch. All financial matters were in the hands of his nephews; and they enriched themselves considerably;—the disputes with Créquy were completely to be laid to their charge;—the pope

kept the management of foreign affairs only in his own power; but he devoted too little attention to them. He received literary society at his house, which took up much of his time; in the evenings Rospigliosi passed an hour in conversation with him. In fact, matters went but indifferently. To all applications, the pope answered in general terms, and had no minister to whom he could refer any one.

The end is not very encouraging; for the author finishes in these words: "L'ambitione, l'avaritia et il lusso dominano il palazzo; e pure la pietà, la bontà et il zelo dominano Alessandro VII."

## 136.

*Relatione di Roma di Giacomo Quirini Kr 1667(8), 20 Febr.*

Giacomo Quirini was at the court of Alexander VII three years and a half; he was afterwards accredited for some time to that of Clement IX: his report embraces the whole of this period.

He first describes the last years of Alexander VII, not with the animosity of his predecessors, but his account is essentially the same.

"In 42 mesi che servii Alessandro VII, conobbi esservi il solo nome del pontefice, ma non l'uso del pontificato, datosi quel capo alla quiete dell'animo, al solo pensiero di vivere, e con severo divieto ripudiato il negotio, scemate tutte quelle virtù che da cardinale prestantemente teneva con vivacità di spirito, ingegno nel distinguere, prontezza nei partiti, disinvoltura nel risolvere e facilità supragrande dell'esprimersi." He represents the mal-practices of nepotism; he predicts evil consequences from the building of the Colonnades of St. Peter's, for which Cavaliere Bernini has been censured. "Renderà per sempre disabitata la città Leonina, spianate le case, moltiplicate l'acque delle fontane, scemati i fuochi: cagiona in conseguenza la mal'aria." He traces out the abuses of pensions and places, with special reference to Venice, from whence a sum of 100,000 ducats went annually to Rome. It is remarkable that Alexander VII on his side was extremely dissatisfied with the cardinals, and complained that they took part with the temporal princes in the matter of Castro, and that they were not even competent to give him good advice: "Si lagnava non esser dottrina e virtù soddisfacente in quei porporati, non arricordando mai ripieghi o partiti che prima lui non li sapesse." There was a universal degeneracy.

The conclave was overruled in consequence of Chigi's concessions to the "squadrone volante." It afterwards appeared that Chigi had acted wisely in that matter, for it was precisely owing to these concessions that Clement IX entrusted to him some share of the government.

Quirini describes Clement IX as weak in body, burdened with diseases, but firm and even obstinate in his opinions; he sometimes forbade his ministers to revert to a subject on which he had once made up his mind. A musician of Pistoja, of the name of Atto, well known at Venice, enjoyed the most familiar intercourse with him. Quirini calls his determination to remit a part of the taxes, "heroic." "Mostrò eroica pietà, levando due giulj di gabella di macinato dei rubiatelli, privandosi di 2 milioni di scudi."

He returns to the family of Clement IX, especially cardinal Rospigliosi, whom he describes in the following manner.

"Tuttoche il giorno innanzi della mia partenza seguisse la promotione, restando al cardinalato promosso l'abate Rospigliosi in età di 38 anni finiti, ciò non ostante, avendolo per due volte conosciuto in Spagna e trattatolo in Roma con negotii diversi come coppiere del cardinal Chigi, posso con distinta cognitione riferire all'E. E. V. V. che il papa parlando meco frequentemente nelle audienze e lasciandosi con giustizia rapire lo considerava per cauto ministro, e per consentimento comune gli attribuiva merito e lode: et in questo credo che moralmente non si possa ingannare, perche niun nipote di papa è comparso in teatro più informato di lui, mentre in corte cattolica fu sempre a parte della lunga nunciatura del zio. Nella secretaria di stato in Roma era l'uncio diret-

tore, formando lettere e risposte negli affari de' principi. Insorti poi li turbini per le pessime risoluzioni con l' ambasciatore Crechi fu prima espedito a S. Quirico e poi a Livorno. con intentione più tosto di portar le lusinghe di palazzo che di soddisfare l' ambasciator duca: et aggiustato in fine il negotio fu nella legatione di Chigi spedito in Francia a consultare le formalità del trattamento: e ritornato in Roma col titolo d' internuncio passò in Fiandra: et assunto al pontificato papa Clemente credè con la speranza e con l' opinione di poter conciliare le differenze conservando nello stesso tempo gli ornamenti della pace e rimuovere i pericoli della guerra, dove gli spedì la plenipotenza per aggiustare i dispartiti in Roma col titolo d' internuncio. Nelli di cui viaggi e impieghi siccome nei primi giorni profuse con grande generosità molt' oro: così, caduto mortalmente infermo in Susa, convenne con prodigalità dispensare infinito contante, a segno che 140 m. scudi ne risente d' aggravio la camera apostolica. Nel resto il naturale suo è melanconico: uomo di poche parole e ritirato in se stesso: et in tanti anni di conversazioni e d' anticamera si dimostro con tutti indifferente, non palesando sviscerata amicitia o confidenza con alcuno, essendo più tosto misurato che sostenuto nei discorsi: et hora a causa del patimento sofferto resta per qualche momento predominato da certa fissatione de' pensieri, e tende nel negotio, nelle visite e nell' agitation della corte s' applica e divertisca: con tutto cio dirige la secretaria di stato il card<sup>i</sup> Azzolini sottoscrivendo lo stesso card<sup>le</sup> gli ordini alle legationi non meno che alle nunciature de' principi. Sin qui resta poi dalla beneficenza del papa provveduto di 3 m. scudi di pensioni e badie che teneva il pontefice, di quattro mila scudi per la morte del card<sup>le</sup> Palotta, e di dodici m. scudi della legatione d'Avignone come cardinal padrone."

## 137.

*Relatione della corte di Roma al re christianissimo dal Sr di Charme. 1669.*

This report has been printed in French and Italian, but contains little important matter, which is perhaps the very reason why it was printed.

The disordered state of the apostolical exchequer is here set forth. The author remarks how little had been done to remedy the evil by the retrenchment effected by Clement IX in the expenditure of his nephews; no congregation could introduce any substantial reform, and a general bankruptcy seemed imminent.

The remarks of Grimani upon the dearth of able men, the good intentions, but want of energy, of the Rospigliosi, and the condition of the prelatures and of the country, are here confirmed.

There are copies of this report in which much is taken immediately from Grimani without alteration.

I doubt much whether this work proceeds from a French minister; if so, it must have been the duc de Chaulnes, whom we meet with as ambassador in Rome in the "Négotiations relatives à la succession d'Espagne," II, p. 579: at any rate it is written by a cotemporary who was well informed.

## 138.

*Relatione della corte di Roma del sig<sup>r</sup> Antonio Grimani ambasciatore della republica di Venetia in Roma durante il pontificato di Clemente IX. 1670.*

Quirini expresses himself somewhat doubtfully as to the virtues of Clement IX. He was perhaps rendered suspicious by the experience people had had of Alexander VII. Grimani, on the contrary, breaks forth in a strain of unmeasured praise, at least to his moral qualities; "Veramente la mansuetudine, la modestia, la piacevolezza, la moderatione, la clemenza, la candidezza dell' animo, la purità della coscienza sono doti sue particolari." He declares that he never knew a better man.

He first treats of the moderation which Clement showed in providing for his nephews. It appears however that much was said on the other side in Rome.

Grimani thought that the Pistoians would revenge themselves at some future period on the nephews, for the unexpected repulse which they had encountered.

Thus much is certain, that Clement made no serious attempts to reform the other abuses; men soon exclaimed that unless a new Sixtus V should arise, the pontificate was in danger of total downfall.

Grimani recounts the most prominent evils; the sale of offices, from whence originated the dearth of efficient public servants; the bad management of the revenue, and more especially he blames the neglect of the monks. Al presente i religiosi sono tenuti in un concetto sì vile che da per loro si allontanano di comparir nella corte per non ricevere affronti da' cortigiani più infimi. Le porpore e vescovadi si tengono vilipesi su le spalle de' religiosi, e nelle concorrenze un pretuccio ignorante e vitioso otterrà il premio sopra il religioso dotto e da bene. I nipoti non curano de' religiosi: perchè non possono da questi esser corteggiati come da' preti. Se si parla di aggravi, i monasterj sono i primi; se di riforma, non si parla di preti, ma di religiosi. In somma, si toglie affatto ad ogni uno la volontà di studiare e la cura di difender la chiesa dalle false opinioni che vanno suminando i nemici di Roma: de' quali moltiplicandosi giornalmente il numero, e deteriorandosi quello de' religiosi dotti et esemplari, potrebbe in breve soffrirne non poco detrimento la corte. Onde al mio credere farebbono bene i pontefici di procurar di rimettere i regolari nel pristino posto di stima, partecipandoli di quando in quando cariche e dignità, tanto più ch' essendo grade il numero possono scegliere i soggetti a loro piacere; e così nelle religioni vi entrarebbono huomini eminenti, dove che tengono a vile hoggidì di coprirsi le spalle d'un cappuccino i più falliti mercanti, nè si veggono entrar ne' monasterj che gente meccanica." Unfortunately, no remedy for this state of things was to be expected from Clement IX: he was by far too lukewarm and good-natured.

After this description of the pope, the minister proceeds to his nearest kindred; first to cardinal Rospigliosi, of whom it was hoped, "quod esset redempturus Israel." He then shows why this hope had been disappointed. "Tre cose per mio credere sono quelle che fanno camminar col piede di piombo il cardinal predetto, accusato di lentezza di genio e di mancanza d'applicazione. La prima è il gran desiderio di voler far bene ogni cosa e di dar gusto a tutto il mondo, cosa che difficilmente può riuscire ad un' huomo che non è assoluto padrone. La seconda è che la sua volontà viene imbrigliata e trattenuta dal papa, il quale, se bene ama e considera con amore straordinario questo nipote, gode però di fare il tutto a suo modo: onde dubioso il Rospigliosi d'incontrar nelle sue risoluzioni le negative del papa e dall' altra parte volendo soddisfare gl' interessati, fugge le occasioni di concludere cosa alcuna. E finalmente gli noce ancora la capacità del proprio intendimento, particolarmente in quelle cose che dipendono da lui: poiche abbondando, come si è detto, di ripieghi capaci da sostenere il posto di nipote, da sì gran copia nasce la gran penuria nelle risoluzioni, perdendo la maggior parte dell' hore più pretiose a meditare e crivellare le materie, et intanto che si medita e crivella il modo da eligere senza mancare la più adequate, il tempo vola e le occasioni fuggono." He must, however, at all events do him the justice to state, that he did not enrich himself: "havendo trascurato molte occasioni d'arricchirsi, e l'havrebbe possuto fare senza scrupolo e con buona coscienza." It was indeed thought that Rospigliosi favored Chigi, in hopes of being himself chosen pope by his assistance. The ambassador, however, confutes this opinion.

It is curious to observe the manner in which the character of the pope and the cardinal padrone were reflected in the subordinate members of the court. They were not without good intentions or capability, but from one cause or another they were unable to act efficiently. "Di due ministri si serve particolarmente il cardinale nelle cose che corrono alla giornata. L'uno è monsignore Agustini, huomo prudente e di vita esemplare, che può dirsi di lui come di Giobbe Vir simplex et timens deum, ma del resto lento, lungo e irresoluto e tanto inclinato a voler far bene che fa poco per lo dubbio di non far male: onde con questa natura ha saputo dare così bene nell' humore del padrone che lo decanta per un'

oracolo e lo stima il principal ministro della corte, benchè quelli che continuamente lo sentono nelle congregazioni, ne fanno altro concetto, e lo confessano bene per un soggetto mediocre, ma non più oltre, e della stessa opinione è ancora il papa. L'altro è mons' Fiani, a cui fu dato il carico di segretario della consulta, officio veramente che ricerca gran confidenza col card' padrone: onde con ragione Rospigliosi scelse questo huomo che conosce il dovere dell' amicitia e che in effetto non può desiderarsi maggior capacità nel governo, tuttavia inhabile quasi di esercitare il suo officio per esser podagroso e infermo, prolungando per questo ogni cosa con gran rammarico della corte, della quale vien poco accettato, tanto più che si è vociferato haver le mani inclinate a ricever presenti, ma per me credo che questa sia una vera malignità di dettarori."

It is unnecessary to repeat the further particulars concerning the pope's family, who never obtained any influence. Don Camillo Rospigliosi, the pope's brother, deserved, says our author, to be canonized during his lifetime, were it the custom to do so. He had five sons, of whom only two need be mentioned; the second, Don Tommaso, who had already conceived the project of improving the industrial condition of the States of the Church; and the youngest, Giambattista — "giovine di bellissimo aspetto e d' un cervello acuto e penetrante" — who married one of the Pallavicini of Genoa, and founded the Rospigliosi family. It is sufficient to give a general account of the new relations in which these kinsmen were placed. "Fra tutti li pontefici che sono stati nel Vaticano, non se ne è forse veduto mai alcuno più politico e più prudente nel mantenersi con i suoi parenti come fece Clemente IX, il quale godeva di esser con loro, ma non già di darsi in preda di loro; anzi quanto più li mostrava segni di affetto e di ottima volontà, tanto maggiormente li teneva indietro senza parteciparli in modo alcuno i segreti de' suoi pensieri. Alla buona intenzione del papa di torre via dalla chiesa lo scandolo introdotto da lungo tempo mediante la comunicazione di quasi tutta l' autorità del Vaticano che i pontefici hanno costumato di partecipare ai loro nipoti, è andata congiunta la bontà del nipotismo: perchè si può dire con buona ragione che mai in Roma si sono veduti parenti di papa più modesti, più humili, più caritativi e meno disinteressati de' Rospigliosi, e quel che più importa, tutti dotati d' una stessa bontà e modestia che però sarebbe stato un disumanarsi di lasciarli d' amare; anzi si può dire giustamente che il papa non li amò mai quanto sarebbe necessario al merito delle loro ottime qualità, havendoli tenuti più tosto come stranieri che come parenti per non comunicare con essi loro alcuna cosa di conseguenza: con che si rendeva infelice, mentre dall' una parte si privava volontariamente della sodisfazione necessaria a' principi di sfogarsi con i congiunti, e dall' altra si vedeva privo di potersi aprire con i domestici, che per lo più erano gente idiota e di spirito ben mediocre. Si crede che il papa non confida le cose più importanti della corte che colla persona del card' Chigi, il quale come astuto et accorto ha saputo benissimo guadagnarsi il suo affetto."

There follows a description of the cardinals, and the ambassadors residing at the court. But the individuals are too insignificant, and the incidents too slight and transitory, to claim our attention.

## 139.

*Relatione dello stato delle cose di Roma del mese di Sett. 1670. (Alt. 9 leaves.)*

In addition to the Venetian reports, and those professedly French, we find some Spanish; undoubtedly this report was drawn up for Spain. Another is mentioned in it as having been sent to the court of Spain, on which account the notices it contains were omitted in that now before us.

Clement IX: "la sua natura è placida: perchè non viene alcuno a suoi piedi al quale egli non desidera di fare qualche gratia. . . . Va ristrettissimo nelle spese e parchissimo nel dare a suoi." Cardinal Altieri: "opera tutto da se, e poca influenza riceve da altri. Sono secoli che non si è veduto un nepote di



pontefice nè di maggior autorità nè d' abilità ed integrità." We perceive that even under this government most of the officers had been left unchanged.

The most important subject treated by our author is the division in the court. Chigi, Barberini, and Rospigliosi were most intimately connected with the Altieri. The Spanish ambassador had mainly contributed to bring about this alliance. Opposed to these was the faction of the squadronisti, *i. e.* the cardinals of pope Innocent's party, who had exercised so much influence on the last elections to the papacy, and had placed their adherents in official situations during the last two pontificates. To this faction belonged Omodei, Ottobono, Imperiali, Borromeo and Azzolino. The queen of Sweden took a most active part in the conflicts of these two factions. We know how highly she regarded Azzolino. In this report she is called his faithful servant, and she is accused of a thousand intrigues for the advantage of the squadronisti.

## 140.

*Memorie per descrivere la vita di Clemente X Pontefice Massimo, raccolte da Carlo Cartari Orvietano, decano degli avvocati consistoriali e prefetto dell' archivio apostolico di castello S. Angelo di Roma. (Alt. 211 pages.)*

This was written immediately after the death of the pope, and was finished in October 1676: the author binding himself solemnly to avoid all flattery, and to relate the simple truth ("da questi fogli sarà l' adulatione, mia nemica irconciliabile, affatto sbandita, alla sola verità candida e pura attenndomi;") according to the purpose of the author this was only a collection for the use of future writers.

At the beginning it appears as if this declaration was merely an expression of the author's modesty.

The pope's father, old Lorenzo Altieri, is admirably described. Cartari had been well acquainted with him; he was a man of powerful mind and majestic deportment, but withal very modest, as his countenance testified. Although a mere collector of facts, our author cannot refrain from writing a concetto in the style of his time: "di altrettanto bella canitie nell' esterno ricoperto quanto di una candidezza di costumi, di una rara pietà a meraviglia dotato."

Emilio Altieri was born in 1590; in 1611 he took his doctor's degree; he was for some time in the studio of Pamfili, who was afterwards pope. In 1624 he accompanied Lancellotti, the bishop of Nola, whose Instruction is still extant, to Poland; at his return, he was chosen bishop of Camerino, in the room of his brother Giambattista, who entered the college of cardinals: it has been said, but Cartari does not mention it, that Emilio himself was at that time destined for the cardinalate, and that he would have been more gladly received into the college than his brother, but that he had so much generosity and self-command as to leave Rome at that moment, in order to make way for his elder brother.

Emilio was sent by Innocent X as nuncio to Naples, and is said to have contributed much towards quelling the disturbances excited by Masaniello. Alexander VII appointed him secretary to the congregation "de' vescovi e regolari;" a career which every one had found exceedingly tedious. He received no important promotion till he had reached his 79th year. On the 29th of November, 1669, Clement appointed him cardinal, but died before he could even give him the hat; Altieri went to the conclave without having received it; and on the 29th of April, 1670, he was himself elected pope. For a time he refused that dignity, saying others deserved it more than himself, and even named cardinal Brancacci, but at last he accepted the tiara.

The new pope was far advanced in years, and had not a single kinsman: he was therefore obliged to choose a nepos, to share the weight of affairs with him.

"Ritrovavasi S. Beatitudine nell' anno ottantesimo di sua età: onde per questa cagione e per imitare i suoi antecessori, quali ben conoscendo la pesante mole del pontificato stimarono necessario di deputare per proprio sollievo alcuno de' cardinali col titolo di soprintendente generale dello stato ecclesiastico, si com-

piacque a dichiarare l' istesso giorno a questa laboriosa carica il card<sup>l</sup> Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni suo attinente, permutandogli quel cognome coll' altro d' Altieri."

Let us now proceed to the events of the pontificate. The author begins with what occurred at Rome.

The arrival of the ambassadors of Ferrara and Bologna, to tender oaths of allegiance: the discovery of the monument of Constantine at the foot of the steps of St. Peter's; the decoration of the bridge of St. Angelo with ten angels of Carrara marble: the erection of the Altieri palace, on which was expended the sum of 300,000 scudi, which, however, could not be said to be wasted, as they benefitted the poor: the erection of a second fountain in the Piazza di San Pietro, which, however, the pope did not live to see completed. The above are the principal events mentioned by Cartari. Whilst on the subject of the palace, he also describes the library. "Vedesi in sito quasi il più alto elevato del medesimo palazzo un vaso per libreria, altrettanto capace quanto vago per la veduta della città e della campagna, in maestose scanzie riempite della generosità del card<sup>l</sup> Altieri di pretiosi libri d' ogni scienza, che giungono al numero di 12,000." I know it well, indeed. How often have I ascended the steps! Of the fountains, he says: "Trasportata la fontana di Paolo V con machine meravigliose, quasi direi tutte d' un pezzo, dal sito vecchio dove si ritrovava all' altro dove hoggidì si vede stabilita in corrispondenza degl' ingressi laterali del teatro, per accompagnamento della medesimi ordinò se ne fabricasse un' ultra affatto simile verso il giardino de Cesi, come fu eseguito." The most remarkable thing is what he relates of the mosaic attributed to Giotto, the Navicella di S. Pietro. After the destruction of the portico of the old Basilica, where it originally stood, Paul V placed it in the palace, whence Urban VIII removed it to the church; Innocent X brought it back to the palace, where Alexander VII again found it inconvenient, and, despairing of removing it as it was, he caused it to be taken to pieces, putting the stones which formed each figure into a separate bag. Under Clement X cardinal Barberini proposed that it should be restored after a copy taken under Urban VIII; it was accordingly done, and inserted in the lunette over the middle door of the hall. We may judge of the manner in which it was treated from these words of Cartari: "Perche il vano non era capace, fu detto che lasciandosi le figure nel proprio essere, potevano restringersi i spatii: come fu diligentemente eseguito." Thus we see that there is some truth in the opinion held by many that the new master was the real executor of the mosaic as it now stands.

At last the author proceeds to the affairs of the state; but on this subject he is very defective. He relates that Clement X, in spite of his financial necessities, never would consent to any fresh reductions of the monti, from consideration of the number of families, and still more of religious institutions, which would suffer from it: "ben considerando il danno che a tante famiglie ed in particolare a luoghi pii ne resultarebbe:" he chose rather to economise, and even the cardinal nephew offered to give up his pension as soprintendente dello stato. Clement nevertheless sent money to Poland, which was hard pressed by the Turks: at one time he sent 30,000, at another 16,000, and at another 70,000 scudi. A separate collection had been made among the cardinals.

This is the only mention I find of foreign affairs. The affairs of the ecclesiastical states are not, however, profoundly treated. "Si adoperò alla libra introduzione delle merci forestiere, e furono rivate tutte le esenzioni delle gabelle: si diedero ordini circa gli officii vacabili della dataria e frutti di essi:—si estinse la gabella del quatrino degli artisti: si dichiarò che alli Romani et altri nobili dello stato ecclesiastico sia lecito di esercitar commerci senza pregiudizj della nobiltà." This is indeed the only very important fact he relates. He hardly mentions the conduct of the papacy with regard to the interior of the catholic church.

## 141.

*Clementis Decimi Pontificis Maximi vita.* (Alt. 288 pages.)

Cartari was of opinion that many would be found to write the life of Clement X, and to such he dedicated his materials. An author was soon found to undertake it, but he was a Jesuit, and wrote at the command of his general, Oliva. Cardinal Pauluzzi Altieri furnished him with the materials.

Although this author does not mention Cartari, it is evident that he frequently consulted him; indeed, in many instances, he has merely translated and amplified him. He also inserts the flatteries which Cartari had purposely avoided. He relates that in the year of Clement's birth, there had been a terrible overflow of the Tiber: "quasi præsenteret imperantis urbis fluvius augendam ab exorto tum infante Romanam gloriam."

Sometimes, however, his additions are more interesting; it is he who communicates the characteristic trait of Clement's voluntarily giving place to his brother.

In the latter chapters he enters on the affairs of the church. "Innumeros in callem salutis reduces illo regnante vidit Hungaria, quam catholicam, ut Francisci card<sup>is</sup> Nerlii verbis utar, pene totam effecit:" this indeed is a strong hyperbole, for neither was catholicism at this time so widely spread in Hungary, nor did Clement greatly contribute to its diffusion: "ad veram religionem in Hibernia conservandam ac propagandam solertem industriam contulit: ..... plurimos in Vaticanum regressos Boemia et cætera Boemiæ regna atque inter hos magnos principes, plurimos Rhæti atque iis finitimæ valles, magnam illorum vim Hollandia, majorem vidit Gallia." This, however, is described in most general terms.

While he extols the justice, and the love of the pope towards his subjects, he extenuates his having raised money to assist the Poles in their resistance to the Turks, by taxes imposed on the clergy, and by raising new loans; he abolished several oppressive taxes, and, on the other hand, laid a duty on articles of luxury, such as foreign wines and tobacco; with regard to his kinsmen, also, he showed the greatest moderation. There was, it is true, the Altieri palace,—but then, how few estates they had got into their possession; "quam minimum in spatium contrahantur Alteriis principibus subjecta oppida et rura, cum latissime pateat aliorum ditio."

## 142.

*Nuovo governo di Roma sotto il pontificato di papa Clemente X.* (Barb. 17 leaves.)

This report gives a minute account of the family affairs of Pauluzzi, and of his singular elevation to the place of the pope's nepos.

The head of the Altieri family, brother to the pope, had left an only daughter, whose husband, if she married, was to take the name of Altieri. A nephew of cardinal Pauluzzi married this heiress, and thus united the houses of Pauluzzi and Altieri.

All the other kinsfolk, for instance the Gabrielli, who had formerly been the first, were now thrown into the back ground.

On the whole, this government was from the beginning less mild than the preceding, which indeed was caused by Clement IX having burthened even those branches of the revenue which had hitherto been reserved, with debts. Already the little army began to be disbanded. The author thinks that even the trifling diminution in the taxation effected by Clement IX would soon deprive the state of any armed force whatever.

He also complains of the mode of administration, and of that recklessness then so common in those at the head of the papal government. "Vedeudosi odiati et abborriti tanto più s' inferano, e tiratosi il cappello sugli occhi non

guardano in faccia a nessuno, e facendo d' ogni erba fascio non pensano che al proprio interesse senza minima apprensione del publico."

## 143.

*Relatione dello stato presente della corte di Roma, fatta all' ecc<sup>mo</sup> principe di Ligni governatore di Milano dall' Ill<sup>mo</sup> Sr Feder. Rozzoni inviato straordinario da S. E. alla corte oppresso Clemente X. (24 leaves.)*

This report was written somewhat later than the former.

The position of the different parties had already changed. Rospigliosi and Chigi were neglected by the ruling family, which sought to join the squadristi.

The connection between the pope and cardinal Altieri is described as follows:

"Il papa non ha applicatione alcuna, sì per la cadente sua età, come anche per esser suo connaturale attendere alla propria quiete e sottrarsi dalle cure gravi che potrebbero turbare la serenità dell' animo suo, solo inclinato a vivere tranquillamente. Egli perciò non puole sapere le amministrazioni della giustizia nè altri negotii politici della corte e dello stato ecclesiastico: onde il ricorre a lui non giova punto a quelli che da suoi ministri vengono oppressi: e per havere pretesto più colorito di non ingerirsi in simili affari, più volte si fa stimare ammalato, non tralasciando per questo le sue domestiche conversazioni, che dopo desinato giornalmente si prende con giuochi di carte e godimento di suoni e canti.

"Lascia il governo della chiesa totalmente al cardinale Altieri, et in esso non si ingerisce se non quanto è necessario per la sua approvazione in voce o scritto: nel resto ha rassegnato in tal maniera che più volte l' ha temuto e nascostamente ha fatto fare elemosine, regali e cose simili: ma la collatione de' beneficii, vescovati et elettione de' soggetti alla porpora resta al totale arbitrio di esso cardinale; il quale è uomo flemmatico, e difficilmente si sdegna esternamente, e quando ciò fa, cessa di vendicarsi. Ha molt' attitudine a sostenere la carica che tiene, et in fatti vuol sapere e indirizzare tutti gli affari grandi e piccoli non solo della corte ma ancora di tutto lo stato ecclesiastico, il che da alcuni si attribuisce a grande avidità di suoi interessi, nelli quali è vigilantissimo, non lasciando passare occasione alcuna di non approfittarli: ogni giorno in tal' hore determinate da audienza a tutti i ministri della corte et alli loro segretarij, et esso da le regole et istruzioni non solo generali ma anche particolari, di modo che li giudici et il medesimo governatore non hanno nelle loro cariche arbitrio alcuna.

"Il principale ministro del medesimo cardinale è stato et è l' abate Piccini, soggetto di deboli parti et inferiori natali, che prima della promotione di Clemente Decimo era suo cameriere: onde per introductione, anzi per l' arbitrio, conforme la comune stima, che haveva de' voleri di esso cardinale, ha congregato un' annua entrata di 12 m. scudi et un capitale di 200 m., havendo altrettanto empito il capo di fumo quanto la borsa d' oro. Però al presente è cessata tant' aura sua, vogliono alcuni per punti politici e non già perche si sia diminuita la sua gran fortuna dall' unione delli quattro regj ambasciatori: ancorche detto abate Piccini unitamente col commissario della camera chiamato mons' Zaccaria siano li più intimi del cardinale: quanto a ciò, spetta all' interesse, mostrandosi esso cardinale da questo alieno, volendo lasciar cadere sopra di questi due ministri o torciami l' opinione volgare di molto interessato."

## 144.

*Relatione della corte di Roma del N. II. Piero Mocenigo, che fu ambasciatore a papa Clemente X, fatta l' anno 1675. (44 leaves.)*

P. Mocenigo had formerly been in England; he now went to Rome, which presented so totally different an aspect, especially in a commercial point of view: he soon got into violent disputes with the Altieri family, and placed himself at

the head of the ambassadors, whom the court sought to deprive of some of their privileges. No wonder that, according to his account, he was not much edified by what he saw and heard.

His report is divided into three parts.

I. "La qualità di quella corte, sua autorità così spirituale come temporale, con aggiunta dell' erario e delle forze." "Tutto il riflesso," he begins, "dei pensieri de' regnanti è rivolto a non lasciare la propria casa esposta alle persecuzioni et al ludibrio della povertà. Di ciò deriva che la tramontana di quella corte è l' interesse privato, e colà non s' applica al publico bene che colla speciosità delle apparenze." The favor now shown to the great families is an entire obstacle to the prosperity of the middle classes and lower nobility; they have not money enough to maintain their position alone, and are too independent to descend to the servility of the indigent class.

"Flattery," says P. Mocenigo, "is indigenous here; but there are nevertheless many who comfort themselves under their disappointments by evil speaking and slander, and whose maxim it is, that one is never mistaken in believing the worst."

Important congregations; *i. e.* of the inquisition, church immunity, the council, the propaganda, of bishops and monastic orders, and of the index. If the court wishes to refuse anything, it refers it to them, and they go back to their canons and the usages of former centuries; thus the merest trifles are magnified into importance. If on the other hand the court is favorably inclined, it takes the matter into its own hands.

In secular affairs especially, the absolute power of the court shows itself.—The cardinals would never have approved the carrying on a war. (The case is indeed altered since then, we may add.)

The condition of the country became worse every day. The author was informed that during the last forty years the population had decreased one third; that where there stood formerly 100 hearths, there were now but 60; many houses were pulled down, although this was forbidden by the consulta. Less land was cultivated daily; the number of marriages was diminished; parents sought an asylum for their children in the convents.

He calculates the interest of the debts of the state, *i. e.* of the monti and officii vacabili, to amount to 2,400,000 scudi; the deficit to several hundred thousand.

II. "Il presente governo di Clemente X, sua casa, sacro collegio e corrispondenze con principi."

Clement X. He gave audience, it is true, to the datarius, the segretario de brevi, the secretary of state, and cardinal Altieri, at appointed hours; but he only went through the form of signing: everything disagreeable was concealed from him; this indeed was the principal business of cardinal Altieri. The ambassador maintains that the pope was totally ignorant of the general state of affairs, never having himself been nuncio. This we know to be false. "In Roma si dice che benedicere e santificare sia del pontefice, reggere e governare sia dell' Altieri."

Cardinal Altieri: "di complessione: . . . . la sua natura è ardente, impetuosa e di prima impressione . . . . Assuefatto alla cortesia Romanesca di non negare cosa alcuna, anzi di concorrere con parole officiose ad esaudire le istanze facilmente: poi quando ha ponderato il negotio, dà indietro, anco col negare l' impegno, e dà nelle scandescenze . . . . Da poca speranza vien sollevato, come per contrario da poco timore abbattuto." In this description we see the expression of personal dislike.

Other individuals are described in the same spirit. "Laura Altieri," he says, "from whom originated the good fortune of this family, was not happy in her home, on which account she was not allowed to appear before the pope:" this statement I do not quite believe.

The author's testimony is less suspicious, when he describes the union of the court with the squadronisti; we have already seen how that party extended itself.

Barberini, Rospigliosi and Chigi were as yet but little considered; the squadronisti insisted chiefly on the independence of the curia of foreign courts; they had completely won over the Altieri. The author maintains that the embarrassments in which the court was involved, were to be ascribed to that family.

He enters more minutely into these, but in a tone of great irritation.

"The emperor" he said, "was obliged to conciliate the court by occasional presents of a spiritual nature, Agnus Dei, &c. With France the court had so many disagreements, that it would be a source of rejoicing at Rome to see her engaged in a war. In such a state of things, how could the pope negotiate a peace? The Spaniards complained amongst other things that the banditti from Naples found an asylum in the States of the Church and sold their booty there." "Ma non segli danno orecchie: perche così comple alla quiete di quei confini, promessa e mantenuta dai medesimi banditi." The court of Rome neglected to urge on the Poles to a war with the Turks, merely to avoid having to give them assistance; it would not concede his title to the czar, and on that account neglected to form an alliance with him, which would have been so important in aiding them against their hereditary enemy. "Per timor d'ingombrarsi in obligatione di rimettere e contribuire soccorsi maggiori si sono lasciate cadere le proposizioni fatte da un' inviato Polacco, che l'armi del re sarebbero passate il Danubio, entrate nella Bulgaria, e promettevano di portar la guerra nelle viscere dell'imperio Ottomano." I only notice this, because it shows that even then these hopes were entertained. For it is not easy to see how the court of Rome could render any effectual assistance, especially if the treasury and the country were in the condition described above. They would not concede to the king of Portugal the patronage of his transmarine churches, nor to the duke of Savoy an indulgence for the filling of vacant sees in his own territories. Even in Tuscany and the smaller principalities, this claim to ecclesiastical independence was preferred.

The incarceration of Castro proved most injurious: the interest on the debts incurred was 90,000 scudi, while the farmer of the revenue paid only 60,000. The Romans answered, that "that was not the mode of reckoning for a prince."

III. "Corrispondenze colla republica:" very short, and principally relating to personal quarrels. "Impiego scabrosissimo." All written in the same spirit.

The Venetians were already prepared for a report of this character. Before P. Mocenigo's return they had received a "Lettera scritta a Venetia da soggetto ben informato sopra l'ambasceria" (a later hand adds, "infame") "del Sr Kav' Mocenigo;" which contains plenty of abuse of the "little man with the great wig, who was always talking of England." He was now closeted day and night with a writer, and engaged in blackening the court of Rome in his report; "un governo, migliore del quale per i principi secolari non è stato da S. Pietro in qua, piacevole, moderato, senza puntiglio."

Mocenigo has without doubt exaggerated; but we must not, on that account, reject as false everything he says.

After all, every one gives the coloring of his own ideas to the facts he relates, and the reader must learn to distinguish between object and subject.

## 145.

*Scrittura sopra il governo di Roma. (MS. Rom.)*

This is to be found amongst MSS. which relate to this years 1670-80, and may be referred to about the same period. It is just as desponding in its tone as the lamentations of Sacchetti. "I. Sopra il cattivo stato de' popoli. Come mai in ogni pontificato, s'ha da trovar modo di metter 100 et anco 150 m. scudi in una casa, e non è possibile di levarne 50 m. di peso agli aggravati popoli. .... Il peggio è non voler permettere i modi honesti di riempire le borse con procacciarsi per mezzo di lecite mercantie quei guadagni ch' altri con l'autorità indebitamente s'appropria. II. Sopra la gran povertà et li gran lusso." A rhetorical contrast. "III. Dell'annona e del vino." Chiefly concerning the abuses of the annona. "I ministri del principe vogliono far da mercanti.

Quindi tanti fallimenti di mercanti e di fornari, tanti sconcerti nelle case e negli luoghi pii, il cui loro maggior avere consiste in terreni, e tanti grani lasciati marcire ne' granari a chi non ha voluto soccombere all' estorsione di sì detestabil traffico. IV. Del ritardamento della giustizia e de' frutti de' luochi di monte." The depositarii de' monti are also accused of embezzlement and dishonesty. "V. Sopra l' irreverenza nelle chiese:" he says, "it was like the behavior in the theatre." "VI. Sopra il fasto de' banchetti palatini. VII. Sopra l' abuso del cerimoniale." The author disapproves of the frequent use of the title "Sanctissimus;" he is indignant at people daring to say of the procession of Corpus Christi, "Sanctissimus Sanctissima portat." "VII. Sopra l' immunità ecclesiastica:" he deplors the sanctuary afforded to malefactors in the churches. "IX. Sopra le lordure delle strade." The report is well meaning, and on the whole exact, but not very profound.

## 146.

*Vita del servo di dio papa Innocentio XI raccolta in tre libri. (MS. Rom.)*

A very beautiful copy on 144 leaves, probably delivered into the hands of some later pope.

The first book contains the early life of Innocent XI. The author had been at great pains to obtain authentic records of it. He denies that the pope had made a campaign in his youth; his holiness himself had been asked that question. On the other hand, he maintains that cardinal Cueva was the person who had directed the attention of the young man (who had been recommended to him by the governor of Milan) to the advantages to be derived from the career of the curia.

The second book contains the earlier measures of this pope's reign, such as his economy, abolition of useless offices, lowering the rate of interest of the monti (even for the corporate bodies), restraints imposed upon usury, which was chiefly carried on at the Ghetto, and the imposition of new taxes on the ecclesiastical fees. His maxim was: "essere egli non padrone, ma amministratore delle cose alla santa sede spettanti con l' obbligo rigoroso di distribuirle non secondo la gratia de' parenti ma conforme la legge della giustizia." "..... Egli medesimo disse che da cardinale haveva cominciato ad esser povero e da papa era divenuto mendico." Lastly, our author touches upon English affairs, and does not scruple to declare that King James wished to convert England to catholicism. "Volendo ricondurre al Romano cortile i suoi sudditi, cominciò a servirsi nel ministero di cattolici."

The subject of the third volume is the share taken by Innocent XI in the Turkish war: his personal qualities also are described. In this portrait he appears, as he was, energetic, regardless of consequences, and honorable. His manners and habits are represented with more penetration and truth than in the work of Bonamicus, quoted by Lebrét, which is in fact nothing more than a shallow panegyric.

The opposition excited by this pope's reforms appears here in a remarkable manner. What innumerable objections were raised against the draught of a bull for getting rid of nepotism! "Il volgo vedendo riformati molti ministri in palazzo et unite le loro cariche ad altri ministerj, che il papa non inclinava a spendere nè a beneficiare con gratie, senza pensare più oltre biasimava 'l genio di Innocenzo come incapace della conditione del principe." This discontent breaks out in various forms.

## 147.

*Memoriale del 1680 al papa Innocenzo XI concernente il governo e gli aggravj. (Bibl. Vallic.)*

Every body acknowledges—so we find it asserted in this MS.—the holy zeal of the pope. But unfortunately his measures produced general discontent.

Many families were ruined by a reduction of the monti; the cardinals were not listened to; no favor was shown to the temporal sovereigns; prelates were deprived of their hopes of preferment; the poor received no alms; all Rome presented a spectacle of misery.

Who could believe that no sooner had a pope yielded to the incessant complaints against nepotism, and abolished it, than the people were clamorous for its re-establishment? "Ond' è," says this memorial after adducing some reasons, "che sia una gran fortuna per un principe l'aver parenti buoni e capaci del governo: poiche avendo questi più potenti motivi dei ministri d'interessarsi nella riputazione e gloria di lui, possono anco con maggior sincerità e franchezza dire i loro pareri."

## 148.

*Ode satirica contra Innocenzo XI. (Library of Frankfort on the Maine, MS. Glauburg, no. 31.)*

The expression of discontent is moderated in writings like the preceding: but whether a real fault or a mere rumor furnished subject for censure, it found vent in the most violent language, as we see in the following specimen.

"Io non ritrovo ancor ne' vecchi annali  
bestia peggior, che sotto ipocrisia  
col sangue altrui tingesse e 'l becco e l' ali.  
Per altri era zelante, ma concesse  
al nepote però che il gran comprasse  
due scudi il rubbio e nove lo vendesse."

## 149.

*Discorso sopra la soppressione del collegio de' secretari apostolici fatta per la S<sup>ta</sup> di N. S<sup>re</sup> Innocenzo XI.*

Notwithstanding the most vehement opposition, Innocent proceeded in his reforms. This discorso shows how he set about them in several instances.

First, the origin of the segretarij, whom we find since the schism, and the abuses connected with their existence are described. These are attributed chiefly to their having no share in public business. "I possessori degli officii di fatto non hanno amministrazione o servizio alcuno nella spedizione dei nogozi: mentre così il segretario io di brevi come quello delle lettere o brevi a principi, come versati nel mestieri, si sogliono deputare ad arbitrio del papa fuori del collegio, nè l' officio porta seco la prelatura conferendosi a persone secolari per lo più inesperte et in età tenera, a guisa di quelli altri officii popolari i quali sono in commercio per il solo comodo et interesse borsale.

As the rates of interest were enormous, and the camera paid yearly 40,000 scudi interest on 200,000 scudi, which they had received, Innocent determined to abolish the collegium, and established a commission which was to inquire into the claims of the shareholders.

The pope would only repay to the parties the amount which the camera had actually received; the shareholders on the other hand, demanded at any rate to be paid according to the current price of the offices. The congregation could come to no decision.

The author is of opinion that the pope was only bound to the payment of the nominal price; this he says was the practice of the papal see.

There are also other writings which belong to this period, for example, "Stato della camera nel presente pontificato d' Innocenzo XI;" but they consist of figures, and afford no fit matter for extracts.



## 150.

*Scritture politiche, morali e satiriche sopra le massime, istituto e governo della compagnia di Gesù. (Bibl. Cors.)*

This is a collection of all sorts of writings bearing upon the monastic orders, of which some are satirical and pure invention—for instance a consulta of Acquaviva—while others are entirely in earnest and drawn from the best sources.

The most important is: "In nomine Jesu. Discorso sopra la religione de' padri Jesuiti e loro modo di governare;" which consists of 400 leaves, and is written about the time of general Noyelle, between the years 1681 and 1686: decidedly unfavorable to the order, nevertheless we may perceive from every word that the author was thoroughly well informed as to its condition since the middle of the century. The following is the arrangement of the work.

I. The author first arranges under certain heads the faults which he perceives. 1. "Di alcune loro massime:" for example the idea that their order is the most distinguished in the world, that all their prayers are granted, and all those who die members of the company are undoubtedly saved. 2. "Della loro avidità et interesse." There are many stories illustrative of the rapacity and sneaking arts with which they extracted presents from the people; of their carrying on trade, and many worse things. The trade is most insisted on. He takes however too confined a view, only embracing Rome and the States of the Church. 3. "Del loro governo." Of the abuse of the monarchical power. Of the deposition of Nickel: see p. 127. 4. "Qualità proprie del governo." e. g. "Flagello sordo," i. e. of those who were punished without being informed for what offence; they were denounced without previous notice or admonition: the Superior often entrusted the inspection to an inferior officer, which destroyed all order. 5. "Governo in ordine ai loro convittori e scolari." Dishonoring punishments. 6. "La moltitudine delle regole." The one often ran counter to another, and nobody knew them all.

II. After repeated discussion as to the cause and effect of these evils, the author endeavors to find some remedy for them. It is remarkable that he reckons among the most important of all, the establishment of the general vicariates, which had been so often demanded, and so constantly opposed by the order itself. He says, "Constituire un vicario generale per le provincie della Spagna, Germania, Francia et Indie, ... cacciar sangue ad un corpo troppo pingue, ... leggi certe a delitti certi."

III. He then returns to his old method, viz. placing the various defects and abuses of the institute under various heads. Numerous particulars are mentioned, which bear the stamp of more or less authenticity. Perhaps the most important is the last section, "Delle loro Indiche missioni," extracted from the manuscripts in the papal archives, with so much care, that the originals are separately given: here are enumerated the acts of disobedience against the pope of which the Jesuits had been guilty in India, even long before Père Norbert.

Altogether this document is decidedly unfavorable to the Jesuits, but at the same time exceedingly instructive: the vices of the institution are laid bare with an acuteness and penetration, which enable us to see much more clearly into the system than we otherwise could have done. It cannot exactly be said that it is written in a spirit of hostility, for the good as well as the evil is recognised. But it is easy to perceive the storms which were gathering in men's minds against the order.

## 151.

*Relatione di Roma di Gio. Lando Kr, inviato straordinario per la ser<sup>ma</sup> rep<sup>a</sup> di Venetia ad Innocentio XI et ambro straordinario ad Alessandro VIII in occasione della canonizzazione di S. Lorenzo Giustiniani. 1691. (17 leaves.)*

It is a great pity that we do not possess any report on the important reign of Innocent XI, which deserves that name, or which might impartially develop the

consequences attendant on the measures of that pope. A Venetian, the Cardinal Ottobono, afterwards Alexander VIII, administered the affairs of the republic during the first years of Innocent's reign, from 1678 to 1683, and as he did not return to his native country, he made no report; he was succeeded by Giovanni Lando, but without any special official character. Nevertheless, Lando has left us a final report, which was not drawn up till the conclave was sitting, after the death of Alexander VIII, and which unfortunately is not written in the spirit of the former Venetian reports.

He begins by enlarging on the divine origin of the papacy, and complains that its power was not universally acknowledged; in fact that the number of heretics exceeded that of catholics. Even the accursed quietists had begun their operations in Rome! The court of Rome would not believe that it was itself to blame—yet such was the case. A man who strove to advance the good of the church by profound learning or by setting an example of sanctity of life, was far less respected than the canonists, who wrote in support of the pope's dignity. These exaggerations had no other effect, than to provoke the temporal sovereigns to resist the court of Rome.

After having attempted to define the limits of the spiritual and temporal power, he gradually approached the latter subject. He gives a melancholy description of the condition of the territory of the Church: "desolato negli abitanti, spiantato nella coltura, ruinato coll' estorsioni, mancante d' industria." He reckons that the debt amounted to 42,000,000. Alexander VIII lowered the expenditure by about 200,000 sc. a year, and by that means equalized the income and expenditure. The dataria was like a mine of gold to the pope. Nevertheless this money could not be kept in Rome: it came in in detail, and went out by wholesale: Innocent XI had certainly contributed 2,000,000 scudi for the expenses of the Turkish war in Hungary; of the 42,000,000 debt, perhaps about 15,000,000 had been expended in the service of Christendom.

Still however, he says, Rome was a common country to all, and formed a neutral ground on which all nations met, but each came solely for its own interests. Germans and French were seldom seen, because they did not depend upon the Roman court for promotion, and Spaniards only of the lower classes; if every Italian prince were to take the appointment to ecclesiastical offices into his own hands, the court of Rome would soon go to ruin. Italy in return had a monopoly of the patronage of the papacy. "Tutta la corte, tutte le dignità, tutte le cariche, tutto lo stato ecclesiastico resta tra gli Italiani." And of how much importance was this relation between them! On account of the insecurity of succession in all the Italian families, the welfare of Italy depended completely on the union existing between Rome and Venice; he takes this occasion to insist on the necessity of a good understanding between those two powers. His opinion was, that much might be yielded to Venice. The protection which was given to troublesome friars, and certain claims made to jurisdiction, were taken very ill at Rome.

These are all, as we see, good and practical remarks, indicative of an honest character, but they do not satisfy those who seek for more positive information on subjects connected with the administration of the government. Lando, in other respects a strange writer, who loves no form of speech so much as the anakoluthon—says only what follows, concerning both the popes, at whose court he was employed: "Quando io rifletto a quello che ho sentito a risuonare senza ritegno contro Innocenzio XI, il quale veniva accusato di non dare audienza, d'asprezza, di crudeltà, d'inflessibile nemico di principi, di studioso di controversie, d' irrisoluto e tenace, di distruttore delle diocesi e beni ecclesiastici: perche stava molti anni senza provederli, perche aveva calati li monti senza sollevare lo stato coll' avanzo risultatone, per avere tenuta ferma l'estorsione che chiamano dell' annona, per essere stato indulgente a' quietisti, e tante altre cose con che non vi era persona che non esclamasse contro di lui: e pareva all' ora al volgo indiscreto che non fossero virtù d'alcuna importanza al pontificato, quale memorabilissimo d'una costante alienatione del suo sangue ed

un' illibata disinteressatezza per lasciare intatto tutto quello era della camera, fuorché impiegato nelle guerre contro gl'infedeli; e s'auguravano all' ora un pontefice che, se bene un poco indulgente alli suoi, lo fosse anco per gl' altri, e che fosse dotato di quelle virtù che all' ora si giudicavano più necessarie, perchè pareva mancassero. Ma vaduto poi che assonto Alessandro VIII, benché tutto umanità, facile all' audienze, dolce, compassionevole, pieghevole, rispettoso a principi, nemico d'impegni, sbrigativo, franco nei negotii ed in tutte le sorti di spedizioni, benefico allo stato sollevato di 200 mila scudi di gabella e dell' angaria dell' annona, che ha fulminato li quietisti, che ha finito quietamente il negotio molestissimo del quartiere, ha soccorso lui pure la guerra contro il Turco, ed ha fatto ancora altre attoni importanti nella gran brevità del suo pontificato ad ogni modo, perchè all' incontro ha mostrato affetto alli suoi nipoti, perchè ha voluto fidarsi di loro più che degl' altri nelle cariche, perchè ha voluto provederli con qualche larghezza ma di molto inferiore a quello hanno fatto tanti altri, e perchè in questa parte ha mostrato un poco d' umanità e la tolleranza del sangue, è stato anche egli bersaglio d'invettive maligne e continue fin alla morte, ma egualmente ingiuste dell' uno e dell' altro."

Finally, he refers to his official duties, and says that he had written in the course of them above seven hundred despatches.

These may possibly contain more facts. Part of them are to be seen at Venice, and part at Vienna.

## 152.

*Confessione di papa Alessandro VIII fatta al suo confessore il padre Giuseppe Gesuita negli ultimi estremi della sua vita. (MS. Rom. 21 leaves.)*

A writer of the Vatican archives, G. B. Perini, seriously affirms, that he found this document among other papers of the time of Alexander VIII. This he wrote on the 9th of April, 1736, when no one could have had any object in slandering a pope who had already had so many successors. This little work is, notwithstanding its ominous title, worth our attention. Let us see what the pope's confessions amount to.

He begins by stating that since 1669 he had never regularly confessed:—he would do so now, assured of absolution by voices from heaven. Upon this he confesses actions of the following description:—he had made use of the permission formerly granted to him by pope Clement to sign papers in his name, for making the most unwarrantable concessions; he had urged on Innocent XI, in his proceedings against France, and at the same time had secretly conspired with the French against the pope; when raised to the dignity of the papacy, he had willingly and knowingly promoted unworthy, indeed abandoned men; had only thought of enriching his dependents, and had connived at the sale of justice and mercy even in the palace; and many more things of the same kind.

It is obvious that this is no confession of a pope; that would have contained very different matter, and have disclosed far other particulars. I conceive this to be one of those libellous publications so frequent in those days, embodying some prevailing opinion as to Alexander, but by no means the truth. It probably got among the more authentic documents of that period, where it was found by some busy keeper of archives, and considered by him as genuine. Among the Venetian archives also I met with some papers which were obviously not authentic.

## 153.

*Relatione di Domenico Contarini K. Roma, 1696, 5 Luglio. (Arch. Ven. 18 leaves.)*

Contarini had already been employed at the French and imperial courts before he was sent to Rome. His mission was originally to Alexander VIII, whom,

however, he found so ill, that he could not be introduced to him. His report is therefore devoted to an account of Innocent XII.

Antonio Pignatelli, born in 1615, was descended from the Neapolitan family of Montelione, and entered the prelature early in life. He was made vice-legate of Urbino, inquisitor of Malta, and governor of Perugia, a career which was not to be despised, but which did not satisfy his ambition. At times Pignatelli was inclined to give up the ecclesiastical career. At length he succeeded in getting appointed to a nuntiatura, which appeared to open the best prospect of preferment. He administered the Florentine nuntiatura, that of Poland for eight years, and that of Germany, which usually led to the cardinalate; but whether it was, says Contarini, the influence of unlucky stars, or the dislike of the then government of Clement IX—instead of meeting with reward, he was recalled, and was sent to the extreme boundaries of Naples, as bishop of Lezze. Under these circumstances he had to exert the whole energy of his mind, and the most manly constancy; and, in fact, the moderation and resignation which he displayed, astonished the whole court. He thanked the pope with unnatural cheerfulness for that appointment, “because he should no longer have to bear the heavy burden of the nuntiatura.” Contarini concludes that Clement IX banished Pignatelli to Lezze, and Clement X recalled him to Rome, but Roman authors assert that both these events occurred under Clement X. However this might be—whether cardinal Altieri wished to atone for his own or another’s injustice—he appointed Pignatelli maestro di camera to his uncle, in which appointment Innocent XI found and confirmed him.

Now, however, his fortunes took a sudden turn. In the year 1681 he was made cardinal, immediately afterwards bishop of Faenza, legate of Bologna, and archbishop of Naples. Even on the death of Innocent XI, he was thought of in the conclave: after the death of Alexander VIII, even the French, contrary to the general expectation, voted for him, although he was a Neapolitan. The reason was, that they wanted a mild and peaceable man. Thus it happened that he was elected, although only after a tedious conclave, which lasted five months and tired out all the cardinals.

Innocent XII confirmed Panciatici and Albano in the offices of *secretario di brevi* and of *datario*, although they were creatures of his predecessor. The appointment of Spada as secretary of state met with general applause; this was made on the suggestion of Altieri. It was only the nephews of Alexander VIII who were not allowed to retain their offices; the new pope implicitly followed the example of Innocent XI. “*Andava procurando il papa d’imitare Innocentio XI, di cui è creatura et aveva preso il nome forzandosi servisse al modello del suo la forma di quel governo, levandoli però quella parte che nell’ austerità è rigidità non era stata laudata.*” As we perceive, he endeavored to surpass his model in clemency. He was easy of access, and the public audiences which he gave to the poor especially contributed to his popularity; although they did not, as the poor hoped, put a speedy termination to their differences, they restrained within bounds the arbitrary measures of the nobles. “*Tutti confessavano che questo pubblico ricorso portava un gran freno a tutti li ministri e giudici: mentre era troppo facile la strada di avvicinarsi all’ orecchie del principe e di scoprirli quello che in altri tempi era impedito o dalla autorità o dall’ astutia di chi s’ appressava al papa.*”

An unlucky accident for a time prevented the exercise of his activity, but he soon returned to business.

The affair with France was arranged; the most important reforms commenced. The bull concerning nepotism appeared, wherein it was decreed that the benefices and ecclesiastical revenues which might in future be bestowed on any pope’s nephew, should never exceed the sum of 12,000 scudi. Innocent XII abolished the sale of such important offices as those of *chierici di camera*, paying back the price given, 1,016,070 scudi; “by this means he reduced the power of money, and opened to virtue the possibility of rising to the highest offices.” Men already expected many other reforms. “The pope,” says Contarini, “has nothing

before his eyes but God, the poor, and the reform of abuses. He lives in the greatest retirement, devoting every hour, without regard to his health, to the duties of his office. His moral character is without stain; he is conscientious, does not favor his relations, is full of love for the poor, and is endowed with all those qualities which could be wished for in the head of the church. If he could always act for himself, he would be one of the greatest popes."

His conduct, however, did not please all parties. Contarini laments that Innocent had no nephews, who might interest themselves personally in the good reputation of their uncle—that too much power was thus left in the hands of his ministers ("vedendosi offuscate quelle grandi e risplendenti virtù dalla solertia de' ministri troppo pratici dell' arte della corte.") It is alleged against them, that in order to divert the zeal of Innocent XII from church reform, they turned his attention exclusively towards rendering assistance to the poor. This soon occupied all his thoughts. "Questo chiodo fermò l'ardente volontà del papa di riformare."

The author maintains that Innocent XII may have saved and laid by about two millions of scudi. He is thoroughly convinced of the purity of his intentions, and calls him a man of blameless and innocent life.

## 154.

*Relatione di Roma di Nicolò Erizzo Kr, 1702, 29 Ottobre. (40 leaves.)*

N. Erizzo had formerly accompanied P. Mocenigo in his mission under Clement X; now he was himself ambassador: he reached Rome during the pontificate of Innocent XII, and remained there the first years of that of Clement XI. His long acquaintance with Rome gives double value to his report.

He first treats of former popes, and after some general remarks comes to Innocent XI, "that holy man, who was certainly not very eminent for his scientific acquirements, but who possessed considerable knowledge of political economy, and not only equalized the revenue and the expenditure, but found means at the same time to give large assistance to the emperor and Poland in their contest with the Turks." Alexander VIII, at any rate, did not bestow upon his nephew the money belonging to the exchequer. On the other and, he lost enormously by the failure of the house of Nerli, and his death was ascribed by many people to this calamity. Innocent XII closed the abyss of nepotism: although he did so much for the poor, abolished the salt tax, executed buildings for the court and works in the sea-ports, he still left a considerable sum in the treasury. But he lived too long to please the college of cardinals, whom he, on his side, did not prize very highly. He appeared to them to sacrifice the interests of the holy see to his compliances with the wishes of the royal courts.

At length, on the 27th of September, 1700, he expired, and the cardinals eagerly rushed to the business of the conclave. Their object was to elect a pope who should indemnify them for the injury they thought they had sustained. They therefore selected cardinal Marescotti, a man "of stout heart, worthy to rule, resolute in purpose, and of an inflexible temper:" Erizzo calls him a great man. He had the support of the imperial and Spanish ambassadors. But the appearance of too great zeal in the election of a pope, is often dangerous, and in Marescotti's case it was fatal. The French, who feared his open enmity, succeeded in excluding him. A number of others were then proposed, but some objection was raised against every one of them; one was too vehement, another too quiet, and a third had too many nephews. The friends of the Jesuits opposed the election of cardinal Noris, because he had dealt unfairly with them in his history of Pelagianism. The most zealous, here for the first time designated as zelanti, would willingly have chosen Colloredo, but others thought him too austere. At length, on receipt of the news of the death of Charles II, "the cardinals," says Erizzo, evidently touched by the hand of God, in one moment relinquished all their passions, and all the hopes with which they had severally flattered themselves, and directed their attention to cardinal Albani with that intense conviction which is

the best proof of a divine impulse." Cardinal Albani refused the honor, and Erizzo is convinced that the opposition he made was true and sincere. When at length he gave way, it appeared to be rather from scruples, and in order to avoid being longer entreated, than from his own free will.

Erizzo proceeds to describe the family and personal character of the newly-elected pope.

The Albani originally came from Urbino. When the aged Francesco Maria of Urbino came to the determination to give up his dukedom to Urban VIII before his death, he sent one of the Albani, who had advised him to take that step, to acquaint the pope with his intention. He despatched him twice. The first time he repented, and recalled him. Erizzo maintains that he changed his mind a second time, and sent counter-orders, but that Albani did not return the second time, and delivered the act of abdication to Urban VIII without further delay. In reward for this act he was made senatore di Roma, and his son became maestro di camera to cardinal Barberini, and was father to Giovan-Francesco Albani, afterwards pope. Giovan-Francesco devoted himself to literature and the ecclesiastical profession: it was his good fortune to be thrown into personal communication with the popes at that period. Erizzo states that "under Innocent XI, he learned to deliberate more before he resolved, than his natural character inclined him to do, and to persevere in what he had once undertaken: under Alexander, he gave a freer and bolder form to the negotiations: he was esteemed at once prudent and determined, prompt and circumspect, and apparently well disposed to everybody. These arts he practised under Innocent XII; that suspicious old man could not endure either his datario or his secretary of state; Albani alone had free access to him, and found means to make himself necessary both to the pope and to his court.

The first step of Clement XI, after his election, was to point out to the foreign envoys many innovations which had crept in under his predecessors, and which he had determined to abolish: he summoned the governatore to the coronation—a ceremony which the governors of Rome were always desirous of avoiding, on account of the disputes for precedency: he abolished all places of asylum and refuge; but the foreign ambassadors saw that he did that only to make an impression on the court.

The appointments he made did not appear to Erizzo very judicious. Clement surrounded himself exclusively with weak men. "Felicitato il coraggio di questi suoi ordini dal successo e dal rispetto de' regj rappresentanti, non credette Sua S<sup>ta</sup> d'aver bisogno a pilazzo de' ministri di gran valore: onde chiamovvi per segretario di stato il cardinale Paulucci di corussima esperienza, ed elesse per datario il cardinale Sacripante, infaticabile e diligentissimo per quell' impiego, ma non insignito che della qualità di buon curiale. Indi diede a mons<sup>r</sup> Olivieri suo parente la segretaria de' brevi, che aveva digià egregiamente esercitata sotto di lui stesso: e pose nelle cariche che più lo avvicinavano, li antichi suoi amici e parenti, come mons<sup>r</sup> Paracciani gran legista, mons<sup>r</sup> Origo per segretario delle lettere latine e Maffei per coppiere confidente, tutta gente di pochissima estrazione, urbinati o delli vicini municipj, che non avendo veduto se non Roma hanno per conseguenza pochissima cognizione delli principi e molto meno poi degli affari del mondo. Non volle presso di se cardinali di grande testa nè ministri che da essi dipendessero, preferendo la sua quiete e la sua autorità a que' consigli, che non gli potevano venire dalle suddette persone domestiche non esercitate nelli maneggi e digià tra loro gelose e discordi. Meno volle Don Orazio suo fratello, padre di tre figlioli di grande aspettazione uomo d'una singolare modestia ed integrità, lasciatolo alle sue angustie per pompa dell' osservanza della bolla contro il nipotismo, che la S<sup>ta</sup> Sua giurò nel giorno della sua esaltazione con ospetto d'evitarne interamente lo scandolo, il quale però, per sentimento di molti, semper vetabitur et retinebitur semper."

Great difficulties soon arose; the war of the Spanish succession became exceedingly dangerous to the court of Rome. Clement acted at first with extreme weakness and vacillation. Erizzo thinks that his whole conduct was to be

traced to an excess of cunning; for instance, that his proposal of an Italian confederation to the Venetians was made chiefly with the view of sounding the intentions of Venice.

From these remarks of political and general interest, Erizzo proceeds to ecclesiastical matters, more especially those disputes which were incessantly arising between Venice and Rome. He remarks that Rome had a twofold character: the one sacred, in so far as the pope was the guardian of the sanctuary, and of the divine law, and this they were to revere; the other temporal, in so far as he sought to extend his power, which had nothing in common with the custom and habits of the early ages of the church: against this they ought to be on their guard. He cannot, however, suppress his vexation that the last government had passed over Venice at a promotion of cardinals;—he laments that the republic no longer possessed, as formerly, the right of bestowing the patronage of the bishoprics within its own territory;—how many poor nobles it would in that case be enabled to provide for!—now, the subjects of Venice endeavored to attain to high offices by indirect means—by the influence of foreign potentates:—cardinal Panciatichi had introduced the maxim into the dataria, that it was precisely those who were most independent of the temporal sovereigns in whose territories the diocese lay, who ought to be encouraged and promoted;—he thinks it an abuse that the popes' nephews should have such power over the ecclesiastical property of his native land, and is much offended at the readiness to invest them with the rank of a Venetian nobile:—a list of nuncios for selection was sent to other states, even to the grand duke of Tuscany, but the republic was not treated with that honor;—Rome even refused the title of “Carissimo” to the doge of Venice. We see that new causes of dispute were constantly arising, in addition to the older ones.

The Venetian envoy therefore recommends the republic to be more in earnest with Rome. Though a pope could not now do as much good as formerly, yet he could do much mischief, if he were young, bold and frugal.

## 155.

*Relatione del N. U. Gio Franc. Morosini Kr fu ambasciatore al sommo pontefice Clemente XI. 1707, 17 Dec. (36 leaves.)*

Morosini, the successor to Erizzo, was, from January 1702 to November 1706, at the court of Clement XI, whose government then first displayed its peculiar character.

Morosini describes at length the zealous manner in which the pope followed in the steps of his illustrious predecessors. Even the tears with which he refused the tiara were not without a precedent. He performed all those external acts which afford a good example. “Vita sobria e regolata: frequenti pubbliche devotioni alla scala santa, a visitie di chiese, al servitio negli hospitali: somma edificazione et accuratezza nei riti sacri e nelle più solenni ed humilli funzioni, ai quali vuol supplire anche con pregiudizio della salute. Al paragone pure dell' interesse comparisce egualmente incolpabile: prima consultore, poi esecutore delle bolla del nipotismo. Con ogni facilità dona at vescovi poveri le sue propine, e nutrisce del proprio molti operarj ed opere pie. Nella scelta de' vescovi, sopra tutto essenziale al servitio della chiesa, con la debita pesatezza procede, cercando l' informazioni dai fonti più sinceri, senza dar luogo che molto parcamente al favore. Ne esamina talvolta alcuno egli stesso ad usanza dei papi antichi. Dell' altre dignità parimenti é benefiej ecclesiastici va così misurato ed attento nella distribuzione che anche sopra gli stessi suoi congiunti vuol che si scorga giustificata la convenienza d' accomodarli dal requisito di studj e costumi commendabili.”

Clement treated the jurisdictional questions in the same spirit—that is, with all the zeal demanded by his office. In some cases he gained ground. The new king of Spain was induced to request permission of him to summon ecclesiastics before the civil tribunals, and to levy tithes. The king of Poland sent

some members of the higher clergy to be tried before the pope's tribunal. The viceroy of Naples, after long opposition, submitted to the pope at the critical moment when the Germans were advancing upon southern Italy ("un trionfo che sarà registrato nelli annali della chiesa; . . .") Lorraine and Savoy were therefore attacked with the greater vigor. The pope well knew how to avail himself of the most favorable moment ("studiosissimo d'ingrandire con i motivi di pietà la potenza.") According to Morosini, the whole court was imbued with a similar spirit. They would hear of no distinction between church and state: the church was all in all; every congregation was to be considered sacred, whatever were the subjects of its consultations: no distinction was made between shepherds of the church and prelates of the court, for the former were excused from the duties of their office, and were employed in public business. People used piety as a sort of current coin indispensable to advancement in life. Four of the congregations were held up as peculiarly worthy of note:—that of the inquisition, which deserved the greatest support, as it watched over the purity of doctrine, (only it was extraordinary that the very worst species of heresy—he means quietism—was to be met with in Rome itself;—) that of the propaganda, (but unfortunately few people could be found who would devote themselves with all their energy to the missions;—) that of the bishops and monastic clergy, which exercised a very necessary supervision, especially over the latter;—and that of the immunity, the members of which were placed as sentinels to guard the boundaries of the spiritual and temporal authorities: if matters had proceeded according to their will, the power of the temporal sovereigns would soon have been annihilated.

Morosini next directs his attention to the state. He repeats the complaint which had lately been so universal, of the decline of population and of agriculture; the pope would willingly have introduced useful reforms, for example, the cultivation of the Campagna; this however led to nothing but splendid projects. Morosini remarks, that the spiritual dignity increased the temporal authority.—The power of the senate he regards as a mockery of that august name. The barons were subjected to the same punishments as the common people, the pope held them under strict supervision, knowing full well their propensity to acts of violence. Lastly, he touches upon political affairs. I must quote literally the most important passages concerning the relation in which the pope stood towards France and the emperor, upon which everything in those times depended. "Se il papa abbia avuta mano o partecipazione nel testamento di Carlo II, io non ardirò d'asserirlo, nè è facile penetrare il vero con sicurezza. Bensì adurrò solo due fatti. L'uno che questo arcano, non si sa se con verità, fu esposto in un manifesto uscito alle stampe in Roma ne' primi mesi del mio ingresso all'ambasciata, all'ora che dall'uno e l'altro partito si trattava la guerra non meno con l'armi che con le carte. L'altro che il papa non s'astenne di far pubblici elogi al christianissimo d'essersi ritirato dal partaggio, ricevendo la monarchia intiera per il nipote. Fatto riflesso a tali premesse, non pare che rendano stupore le conseguenze vedtessi di direttione fluttuante e fra se stessa contraria, non potendo mai riuscir uniformi attioni nate da diversi principj: e tali erano l'obbligo da una parte d'ostentar indifferenza propria di padre comune, e l'occulto affetto et impegno preso dall'altra nel giudicare senza maggior pesatezza li vantaggi et il merito della causa. Considerò piamente la Sua il decoro e beneficio della religione nell'escludere gli eretici dall'usurpato. Concepi speranza, facilitata dal genio a Francesi, che o non vi sarebbe guerra o si farebbe inutilmente contro le forze di quell'invitta nazione: e dandosi a credere che la monarchia si manterrebbe unita, non stimò in un tal vaticinio meritare disprezzo, errando con la finezza Spagnola, la quale in tal caso ebbe ragioni di necessità più che di politica. L'esito instrui dell'altre ponderationi che dovevano avanzarsi. S'aminassò, scoppiò e tuttavia infuria fatale agl'inimici et agli amici quel fiero nembo che la gelosia, l'astio, l'interesse eccitarono nelle potenze collegate ad abbattere la macchina sospettata nella Francia di monarchia universale. . . . . Riusci ad ogni modo per molto tempo ai Francesi lo studio di



mantenersi nel credito d' invincibili appresso il papa, il quale pieno di confidenza seguendo tacitamente i loro consigli veniva dagl' incauti lodato d' una condotta che oscurasse quella d' ogni altro: perche dove la Ser<sup>ma</sup> Republica in particolare osservando una sincera neutralità pareva, patisce danni nelle sostanze de' sudditi, aggravj al decoro e lo sdegno d' ambi li partiti; egli all' incontro col professare neutralità e minacciare assieme di romperla immantinente contro quel partito che l' offendesse, ma intendendosela occultamente con Francesi, era da questi coltivato et occorrendo difeso senza dispendio, da Cesarei trattato con riguardo per non fornirlo di pretesti a deponer anche l' apparenza di neutrale: furon immuni per un pezzo li suoi stati: vide rispettate le censure in mezzo all' armi, e comparse flotte di eretici ne' suoi mari senza il minimo oltraggio. Ma il rovesciamento della fortuna Francese, particolarmente in Italia, ha fatto scorgere se meritasse allora encomii o la condotta o la sorte, e se le sane e sincere insinuazioni fatteli da V. V. E. E. replicar spesso col mezzo dei loro ministri di soda indifferenza come padre comune per rendersi arbitro e venerato a beneficio proprio e della cristianità e d' aumentare le sue truppe sotto buoni ufficiali per appoggiar meglio il rispetto contro l' altrui intemperanza, dovessero sbracciarsi come consigli infelici, anche nell' esperienza di chi li porgeva. Il frutto d' aver preferite arti più oblique e studj d' economia, la peggior consigliera della politica, fu di soffrir dopo e tutt' ora ciò ch' è noto, ma quel ch' è più, con apparenza di non soffrir senza colpa nel tribunale della fama, ch' è sovrano anche di principi. Spedì, come adduce in sua difesa, nunej straordinarj per la pace universale senza riguardo a spesa et all' ingiuria dell' esclusione incontrata a Vienna: propose leghe, accordi, armistitij per la quiete particolare di questa provincia, ma fuor di tempo e dopo che le dimostrazioni di partialità del principio e nel progresso notate introdussero il verme nei migliori semi: onde l' essersi reso una volta sospetto fu un spogliar il zelo di autorità e costituire per sempre impotente il principal instrumento della concordia. Difficile riuscirà in effetto alla S<sup>ta</sup> Sua il purgar questa imputatione, anzi quella d' aver contribuito a tirare nel suo senso tutti li principi d' Italia appresso quali voleva, notoria essendo la condotta non solo di quelli di Parma, suo feudatario, ma della casa di Fiorenze: onde la sola cautela costante della Ser<sup>ma</sup> Republica ha data soggetione al papa e documento agli altri, mercandone però immeritata odiosità appresso Francesi che sopra di lei fu da Sua B<sup>ne</sup> scaricata."

156.

*Lorenzo Tiepolo Kr Proc<sup>r</sup> Relatione di Roma, 1712. (40 leaves.)*

The collisions between the spiritual and temporal authorities, excited more attention every year. Lorenzo Tiepolo touches first on this subject.

He treats it with unusual earnestness. "The matter," he says, "was purposely embarrassed and confused; the grace of God was therefore doubly needed to enable them to discriminate between what was due to the secular potentates, without infringing upon the respect which was due to the papal see."

He first describes again the personal character of Clement XI, expressing his admiration of the learning, zeal, affability and moderation displayed by that pontiff: "but it might be," he says, "that all these qualities were not directed towards their only legitimate object, viz. virtue for her own sake, but to human considerations, and that therefore they would not be blessed by the Almighty; it might be that the zeal with which he devoted himself to the objects of government proceeded from too good an opinion of his own personal merits, and was less directed to public utility than to the attainment of the praise and glory which would attend his exertions;—praise could effect any thing with him; his physician, for example, made use of his known weakness to maintain his influence; it was flattery which incited him to maintain intact the honor of the holy see:—hence it happened that he paid so little regard to the rights and privileges of princes and states, and even allowed his courtiers to talk of them

in a contemptuous manner, consistent neither with the high station of the sovereign pontiff, nor with christian charity.

From the pope, he goes on to describe his ministers, whom he thinks as little remarkable as their predecessors, fit only to occupy subordinate offices, but not to hold the reins of government. 1. Cardinal Albani. The pope had waited till his mission to Germany was over, before he named him cardinal. The court was pleased at this, thinking then to find a channel of communication and an interest with the pope; Clement XI however allowed him to use little or no influence over him—"è certo che l' autorità del card<sup>le</sup> nipote non apparisce a quel segno che per l' ordinario s' haveva veduto in quella corte." 2. The secretary of state, cardinal Paulucci—a kind-hearted man, not very able at business, and depending with a sort of fear upon the pope. 3. Corradini, the auditors di papa: "dotto nel dritto, ma di non uguale esperienza negli interessi del principi: .....forte nell' impegno, ma pieghevole alla ragione;" the only one on whom implicit confidence could be placed: whoever had right clearly on his side did wisely to lay matters before him; less so, if the case was doubtful: he was not on good terms with the nephew; it was even believed that the nephew had promoted him to be cardinal with the view of removing him from the pope's presence. 4. Orighi, the secretario di consulta, the rival of Corradini, who on that account attached himself closely to the nephew; "pare che più con l' accortezza et adulatione che con la fermezza et ingenuità abbia avanzato la sua fortuna." 5. Cardinal Sagripante, the datario, who had become rich only by practising rigid economy; strict in the administration of his office, and taking no part in politics. The revenues of the dataria daily decreased; even in Spain people would no longer endure its dishonest rapacity: hence it came to pass, that those cardinals who had not learned to manage their property well, could no longer keep up their former pomp—"si può dire essere un vero distintivo dell' abbade de' cardinali il ritrovare le case in abbandono e le chiese diroccate." Should an election of a pope occur, the creatures of Clement XI would scarcely attach themselves to cardinal Albani, he possessed so little influence.

Tiepolo now proceeds to a description of the political relations of Rome. As we have observed, his views are politico-ecclesiastical; he investigates the disputes between the court of Rome and the temporal sovereigns;—it was said that the pope had an equal love for all, but it might have been said with greater truth, that his love was equally faint, and his respect equally slender for all.

"E' ben vero che se pochi pontefici si hanno preso a tal punto quest' assunto di far pompa di superiorità sopra i principi, è forza di dire che anche pochi pontefici hanno avuto la sfortuna uguale al presente di non poter uscire dagl' impegni volontariamente con gli stessi principi presi, se non con qualche diminutione del suo honore. Pure se ha qualche interna inclinazione, quest' è riposta verso la Francia, benchè quella corte replicatamente si dolga delle sue partialità verso la casa d' Austria, e in fatti in più incontri l' evento ha comprovato i suoi lamenti, ma perchè ha havuto tutta la parte il timore. In ciò la corte di Vienna, o sia a caso o per la cognitione, rilevata del vero temperamento del pontefice ha nel trattar seco fatta la profittevole scielta delle minacce e delle apprensioni."

He then continues these general remarks on the several states until he comes to Venice, and dwells at the greatest length upon the comparatively unimportant affairs of that republic.

157.

*Relatione di Andrea Corner Kr ritornato dall' ambria di Roma, 1724, 25 Luglio.*  
(42 leaves.)

In spite of the best intentions and the most blameless conduct, Clement XI had excited vehement antipathies. In this report, where he again appears on the scene, we perceive that, after his death at any rate, public opinion was

greatly altered. Then every one admired him, even those very people who had shortly before blamed him. It was found (what had never been believed) that if he had sometimes promised more than he could perform, he had done so from genuine good nature. It came to light that he had distributed from his own private purse munificent alms, amounting in the twenty years of his reign to one million scudi, which sum he might have conscientiously applied to the expenses of his house. Corner relates that Clement, shortly before his death, had begged pardon of his nephew cardinal Annibale, for not leaving his family better provided for. ("Parerà che il pontificato di Clemente sia stato effimero, quando fu de' più lunghi.")

The change which was expected took place in the conclave; the members of the whole sacred college, with but few exceptions, had been renewed during the reign of Clement XI; but as cardinal Albani had taken as little part in these nominations as in the government generally, the cardinals separated according to their several nations. At first Paulucci, the secretary of state of Clement, was proposed as his successor; but the imperial ambassador, count Althan, declared that his master would never recognise Paulucci's election; he threw this out for their eminences' consideration. Some friends of the Albani family had already directed their choice towards Michael Angelo Conti; one of them, monsignor Riviera, was secretary of the conclave. He first consulted cardinal Spinola, who placed himself willingly at the head of the party, and proposed him, after having tried the ground and found that Conti was not disagreeable to any one. Count Althan without delay laid the matter before the court of Vienna. The fact that Conti had been nuncio in Portugal, and had made himself agreeable to queen Anne of Austria, the sister of Charles VI, was of considerable service to him. The Austrian court declared itself favorable to Conti, who could thus reckon on the support of the whole Austrian connection, more particularly Portugal and Poland. The Spanish ambassador referred the matter to his court, which sent back an unfavorable answer; this however came too late, for Innocent XIII had been already elected (8th of May, 1721.)

Innocent was endowed with admirable qualities both for spiritual and temporal government. The drawback was, that he was of a sickly constitution, which occasioned him to be sparing in giving audiences. Hence it followed, that an audience gave a man importance, and one answered the purpose of many. His understanding was acute and good, and his answers decisive. "The Maltese envoy," says Corner, "will not forget how, after a somewhat vehement importunity for assistance on his part, the pope instantly gave him his blessing, and rang the bell, as a signal for his departure." When the Portuguese ambassador demanded the promotion of Biechi to the dignity of cardinal, Innocent at last refused to listen to him any more ("non ritrovando merito nel prelado e pessando sopra tutti li riguardi che potea avere per una corona di cui era stato protettore").

The Roman families connected with Innocent XIII, who had expected promotion at his hands, were entirely disappointed; even his nephews could with difficulty obtain the allowance of 12,000 ducats, which had become the usual income of a nepos.

The chief object of the pope's exertions was the adjustment of the disputes concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in which however his success was very imperfect. A better understanding was established with the imperial court, as might naturally be expected from the circumstances of Innocent's election.

## 158.

*Relatione del N. H. Pietro Capello Kr ritornato d' ambasciator di Roma, 1728, 6 Marzo. (14 leaves.)*

Innocent XIII died on the 7th of March, 1724, after a reign of little more than thirty-four months.

Capello, who had been sent to the court of Innocent, agrees with his predecessors in the account he gives of him. He finds him inclined to peace, of sound

judgment, great prudence and firmness. He confirms the report that this pope was agitated by distressing scruples in his last moments, on account of the promotion of Cardinal Dubois, whom he had raised to the cardinalate out of regard to his power and influence. "La di lui morte fu ben un' argomento delle più morali riflessioni: mentre attaccato da scrupoli di coscienza, tarlo che non lascia di rodere anco la mente dei papi, non potè mai lasciarsi persuadere a compire la nomina di quattio cardinali nella vacanza d' altrettanti cappelli: e per quello si è potuto iscoprire fu giudicato che non sentisse di consumare una tale elettione forse per pentimento d' averne eseguita alcun' altra con maniere atte a turbare la di lui delicata coscienza. Tale non ordinario accidente partori funeste conseguenze alla di lui casa, a favor della quale non restò alcun partito da disporre dopo la di lui morte: ma con tutto ciò vi fu universale argomento per giudicar molto bene di sua persona, che dimostrò per tali suoi ottimi sentimenti un spirito egualmente nobile che rassegnato."

Benedict XIII was elected on the 29th of May, 1724. Capello thinks him very different from his predecessor, being remarkably resolute, ardent and vehement in all ecclesiastical affairs. He remarks that there were few men of talent in the sacred college; no strong factions, nor any appearance of the formation of one, during the pontificate of Benedict, since the jealousy between Coscia and Fini would suffice to prevent it. There existed a faction attached to the temporal powers, but it had but little stability. The success of the duke of Savoy, who had at length attained his object, had produced the greatest impression on the court. Hence Capello infers that with time, every thing might be accomplished at the papal court; the only requisite was quiet; a man's zeal in his own cause must never break out into open complaints.

Capello next enters more at large upon the interests peculiarly Venetian. In the first place he represents afresh, that Venice must secure a position of greater importance and consideration at Rome. He again explains what conduct should be held towards the pope, who must be gained over by spiritual concessions, and his goodwill gradually and imperceptibly conciliated. He then discusses temporal affairs, and particularly those of trade. It is evident that the Roman government in the beginning of the 18th century paid very serious attention to commercial and manufacturing improvements.

The inhabitants of Dulcignote and Ragusa carried on a trade with Ancona by no means agreeable to the Venetians. They imported wax in particular in large quantities, which was formerly brought from Venice, but now began to be prepared in the States of the Church.

Innocent XII had begun to build St. Michael e a Ripa; Clement XI had enlarged it, and at the period in which Capello wrote it had attained to importance through its woollen and silk manufactures: "dalla figura d' un' ospedale, dove per carità alimentavano molti giovani, fu convertita con amplificazione di sito e con grandissima giunta di fabbriche in una casa di commercio, nella quale a presente si travagliano le manifatture di lana e di seta." The cloth of St. Michael e already rivalled that of France, and was exported through Ancona to Turkey and Spain. I will extract the whole passage. "In questo sontuoso edificio vi si è introdotto la fabrica degl' arazzi con egual perfezione di quelli che si travagliano in Fiandra et in Francia: e vi è fondato un lanificio, nel quale vi entra la lana et escono i panni perfetionati di tutto punto. La fabrica di seta dipendente da questo luogo s' esercita in più contrade di Roma, e quelle della lana sono in tanti generi divise, con idea d' addattarle all' uso del paese per haverne con un spaccio facile il pronto ritratto. Si fabricano in S. Michele tutti li panni per le militie, li scoti per servitio de' monasterj, le tele di tutti i generi per il vestiario delle ciurme, e li panni sono divisi in varii generi che restano distribuiti per una data quantità, con obligo alli mercanti di farne l' esito. Di recente si è dato anco mano alla fabrica di panni colorati ad uso di Francia, che passano in Ancona e Sinigaglia per concambio alle mercantie che vengono di Turchia. In somma, la casa di S. Michele è una delle più vaste idee che possa esser compita da un principe grande, e sarebbe sicuramente l' emporio di tutta l' Italia, se

non fosse costituita in una città dove ad ogn' altra cosa si pensa che al commercio et alla mercatura, essendo diretti questi gran capitali da una congregazione di tre cardinali, tra quali vi è il segretario di stato, sempre occupato e divertito ne' più gravi affari del governo. Con tutto ciò questa casa di commercio sussiste con floridezza, e colli suoi travagli s' alimentano migliaia di persone ricavandosi dalle sue manifatture pronto il ritratto. La fabrica degl' arazzi si mantiene da se stessa, perchè si lavoro ad uso de' particolari, et il maggior effetto di questi lavori si è quello desiderabile a tutti li stati, che il danaro non esca ad impinguare l' estere nationi."

How curious it is to find a Venetian recommending his countrymen to take as a model, a manufacturing institution of the popes! They had also founded establishments for intellectual culture, which he recommends to imitation. "Oltre le arti mecaniche vi sono pure le arti liberali, che servono ad ornamento ed utilità dello stato. Il solo nome di Roma ed il credito degli antichi suoi monumenti attrae a se stessa molte estere nationi et in particolare gl' ultramontani. Sono in quella città instituite molte accademie, dove oltre lo studio delle belle lettere non meno fiorisce quello della pittura e scoltura: oltre quella di Campidoglio, che sussiste sotto la protezione di quel rettaglio d' autorità esercitata con tanto credito ne' secoli passati da quella insigne republica. Ve ne sono pure anco dell' altre instituite e governate dall' estere nationi, tra le quali si distingue quella che sussiste col nome della corona di Francia."

Pietro Capello is of opinion that a similar academy should be founded in Venice, which also possessed the most beautiful monuments of antiquity. Even Bologna had attempted such an institution with great success.

There were other tendencies of a similar nature, connected with those mentioned by Correr, on which other documents throw some light.

## 159.

*Osservazioni della presente situazione dello stato ecclesiastico con alcuni progetti utili al governo civile ed economico per ristabilire l' erario della rev<sup>da</sup> camera apostolica dalli passati e correnti suo discapiti. (MS. Rom.)*

At the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a conviction prevalent all over the south of Europe, that the condition of mankind was deplorably bad, and that they had unwarrantably neglected their own best interests: a necessity and a desire to bring about a better state of things was strongly felt. How much was written, and what efforts were made in Spain to restore the finances and trade to prosperity! The "Testamento politico d' un accademico Fiorentino, Colonio, 1734," which proposes means of bettering the condition of trade, agriculture and the public revenue, is still well thought of in the papal territories. It is in reality a well-intentioned, able and striking production, full of sound remarks. This desire for general improvement was not confined to private individuals; for numerous projects, calculations and plans directed to the same purpose, and more or less of an official character, are to be found in the collections of that period. The observations now under review, which were written about the time of the Testamento politico, must be classed under this head. They were intended for Clement XII. The author of them endeavors to point out those disorders and abuses which more especially required reform.

After dwelling some time on the frightful number of murders which occurred in the papal territory, (in Rome and the four legations they amounted to at least a thousand yearly,) and suggesting that steps should be taken to ascertain what were the means of prevention used by other rulers, the author proceeds to the finances. He states the deficit at 120,000 scudi a year. He suggests the following remedies: 1. A reduction of officers receiving high pay without even living in garrison. 2. Retrenchment of the expenditure in the palaces. 3. Direct administration of the customs, instead of farming them out—a system which he condemns, because the farmer was hostile to the prohibition of foreign manufactures. 4. Diminution of the influence of the subaltern officers, who

found their advantage in the increase of taxes. He remarks that the annona could not maintain itself, because the imports were so great both from Turkey and the north; the corn-dealer could not bear up against the competition. His indignation is the greatest at the sums of money going out of the country for cattle, oil and wine, all of which were produced in superabundance at home. What would it signify, if those articles bore a somewhat higher price, if money, "the blood of the state," circulated where it ought? At any rate the holders of the monti, who received their interest, but did not reside in the country, ought to be taxed, as was the case with the absentee feudal land-holders in the neighboring kingdom of Naples.

The state of the marsh of Ancona, in particular, he regards as most pitiable. The number of inhabitants was yearly diminishing. In his opinion, the cause was to be sought in the checks placed on the exportation of corn, which was absolutely prohibited between June and October, and only permitted during the rest of the year on payment of certain duties, which yielded but a small profit to the papal treasury, and had the effect of sending the foreigner to some cheaper market. The fair of Sinigaglia proved mischievous, by rendering the neighboring district dependent on foreign parts: in order to be convinced of this, it was only necessary to visit Urbino, the marsh of Ancona and Umbria, where neither arts nor opulence were any longer to be found, but a general decay was visible.

The author conjures the pope to appoint a congregation consisting of a few and select members, to devise remedies for these evils; above all, to choose able and honest officers only, and to chastise such as bore a different character. "Such," he concludes, "are the hopes entertained by the subjects of your holiness."

## 160.

*Provedimento per lo stato ecclesiastico. (MS. Rom. Autograph instructions to public officers.)*

Here is another proof of the existence of projects for the introduction of the mercantile system which then met with such great approbation in Europe. Had they been carried out with spirit, perhaps a fresh impulse would have been given to commercial industry. But the misfortune of the papacy was, that each succeeding pope was eager to follow a line of policy directly opposed to that of his predecessor. Of this, the present document affords a proof.

In the year 1719, the importation of foreign cloth from Venice and Naples, and especially also from Germany, increased to such a degree, that Clement IX was induced to prohibit it entirely. In Vergani also ("della importanza del nuovo sistema di finanza") mention is made of the two decrees to that effect, published on the 7th of August 1719, and the 1st of August 1720. Vergani, however, is without doubt mistaken in denying that they were of any service. Pietro Capello, as early as the year 1728, remarked upon the impulse given to Roman industry. It is expressly asserted in this "Provedimento," composed under Clement XII, that the number of manufactures had greatly increased in consequence of this very prohibition. Innocent XIII and Benedict XIII both confirmed it. "In pochi anni si eressero a proprie spese de' particolari in molte città e terre dello stato fabbriche nuove di lanificii, di valche, di spurghi, di tintorie et altre, in specie a Roma, Narni, Perugia, Rieti, Tivoli, Alatri, Veroli, Segni, Subiaco, S. Severino, Giulianello."

A congregation, however, assembled in the year 1735 by Clement XII, was induced to remove the prohibition, and to allow the importation of cloth again into Rome, at a duty of 20 per cent., and into the provinces, of 12 per cent. The effect, according at least to the MS. before us, was, that the recently established manufactories were ruined. The writer calculates that a sum of 100,000 scudi went out of the country for cloth. He expresses a desire that the prohi-

bition should be renewed and extended to silken goods; I do not find, however, that his wishes were fulfilled.

## 161.

*Altri provvedimenti di commercio. (MS. Rom.)*

Confirmation of the fact of the momentary impulse given to manufactures by the prohibition of importation. The old complaints of the prohibition of exportation. A variety of articles came from Tuscany, but were any one to export thither but a measure of corn, he would incur the penalty of confiscation of his property, excommunication, and even forfeiture of life. Moreover, a thorough confusion of the currency had gained ground in Rome, as well as in Germany. The papal coin was too heavy, although Innocent XI and Clement XI had already issued lighter than that in circulation before their reign. A quantity of foreign money, on which there was a great loss, became current. The pope was importuned, in his turn, to issue a lighter coinage of different kinds, which he began to do with regard to the zecchini.

Several other documents of a similar nature lie before us; to make extracts from them all would lead us too much into detail. It is sufficient to remark, that the States of the Church shared the commercial and economical spirit which pervaded the rest of Europe, although peculiar circumstances, political constitution, and irremediable abuses, prevented its producing any considerable results. It was, moreover, at variance with the quiet of the aristocracy, and with the prevailing taste for the pleasures of a life of mere enjoyment without ulterior objects, and for the delights of indolence:—the “*dolce far niente.*” Winckelmann, a German, was in raptures during his visit to Italy, which took place shortly after this period. The mode of life seemed to him a deliverance from the restless activity and strict regularity which characterise the north. The scholar's views were right, with reference to his own pursuits; he required leisure, attention to his favorite subjects, and complete freedom; and these ends might be attained for the moment, and for the individual. An entire nation, however, can only arrive at prosperity and power by the exertion of all its strength.

## 162.

*Relazione 28 9bre 1737 del N. V. Aluise Mocenigo IV Kr e Procr ritornato di Roma. (Arch. Ven.)*

We here discover what obstacles were placed by the government in the way of the commercial prosperity of its subjects. Mocenigo is by no means a fault-finder: he acknowledges the increase in the trade of Ancona, which seems to cause him some solicitude; he thinks the administration of justice in a good state, particularly in the rota, but that of the government he declares to be thoroughly corrupt; falsification of accounts was of daily occurrence: the expenditure was greater than the revenue, and of any remedy there seemed no prospect. Pope Clement had resorted to the lotto, a measure which the ambassador designates as highly injurious, (“*l' evidente estermínio e ruina de' popoli.*”)

His opinion of pope Clement is, that he was more distinguished by the accomplishments of a gentleman and a magnificent prelate, than by the talents or energies requisite for wielding the heavy burthen of the papacy. He describes him and his rule only in the following outlines.

“*Il pontificato presente influisce piuttosto le nobili intraprese e la magnificenza, tale essendo stata sempre l' inclinazione del papa sino della sua gioventù, e tuttavia nell' età sua cadente e rovinosa sostenuta dal genio e dagli esempj del card<sup>le</sup> Corsini nipote, che più ancora si distingue nell' inclinazione per le belle arti e per il modo affabile di trattare che per un fondo di vera sufficienza negli affari del governo. La serie dei successi nel cadente pontificato, in cui per lo più ha governato l' Eminenza Sua, rende chiara testimonianza a questa verità, e si può*

dire che i dissapori violenti occorsi quasi con tutte le corti avrebbero dovuto opprimere il card' nipote, se egli non fosse stato sostenuto da un credito fondato in un cuore disinteressato e mancante piuttosto per difetto di talento che di cattiva volontà. Vero è che Roma non scusa in lui la premura con cui vuole in ogni caso disporre di tutti gli affari politici, geloso sino all' eccesso della sua autorità, e quindi aver egli allontanato dal ministero il card<sup>le</sup> Riviera, il più capace di tutti per gli affari di stato, ed aver ivi sostituito il card' Firau per disporne a piacere e senza contrasto. Per altro, sia inclinazione, sia virtù, certa cosa è che durante tutto il pontificato di Clemente XII nel corso di sette anni con la disposizione assoluta delli tesori pontificj la casa Corsini non ha aumentate le rendite sue patrimoniali di 8 m. scudi annui, esempio ben raro."

The pope's nephew was again possessed of considerable power, although not of wealth. The secretary of state depended completely upon him, and no confidence was to be placed on the word of the secretary, if the nephew's favor had not been previously secured.

Mocenigo proceeds from the home affairs to the connections with foreign courts, which became daily, as we have already said, more and more intricate. I will extract the whole of this passage, so important to the history of the disputes then existing in the church.

"La corte di Napoli anela continuamente all' abolimento della solita investitura con argomenti legali, istorici e naturali: nè sarebbe difficile che vi riuscisse, quando il re Don Carlo acconsentisse ad una solenne rinunzia di ogni sua pretesa sopra Castro e Ronciglione. Ma questo non è il tutto; mentre i Napolitani condotti dalle scuole dei loro giuriconsulti sono talmente avversi alla corte di Roma che ogni cosa studiano per sottrarsi dalla dipendenza del papa nel temporale: e quindi ogni giorno escono nuovi regolamenti e nuove pretese così ben sostenute dai scrittori loro valenti che la corte Romana n' è più che mai imbarazzata e già si vede nella necessità di rilasciarne una gran parte per mettere in salvo il resto. Il punto si è che queste riforme tendono principalmente ad impinguare l' erario regio e quindi a scemare le rendite e l' autorità pontificia in quegli stati. Il padre Galliani, uomo di profonda dottrina ed erudizione, è in Roma il grande propugnatore per la corte di Napoli, tanto più efficace quanto nelle sue lunghe consuetudini in quella metropoli ha penetrato nel più fondo dei misteri del papato, e provveduto d' una memoria felicissima tutto ha presente per prevalersene nell' opportunità."

"Il grande appoggio della corte di Napoli è quella di Spagna, dove l' irrimediabile parve tempo fa giunto all' eccesso e dette occasioni a quelle strepitose proposizioni di riforma della dataria e ristabilimento del juspatronato regio, delle quali ebbi più volte l' onore di trattenerne V<sup>ma</sup> Serenità nei riverenti miei dispacci, e che ora si vedono già concluse con aggiustamento più utile per la corte di Spagna che per quella di Roma.

"La corte di Torino con costante direzione nel maneggio degli affari politici, protetta dalle bolle e concessioni di Benedetto XIII, non si è mai lasciata rilasciare un momento da quei fondamenti che per essa sono inconcussi e troppo facilmente attaccati del presente pontificato. Il card<sup>le</sup> Albani, uomo per sagacità e risoluzione senza pari, ha sin ora sostenuto con tutta l' efficacia le ragioni di quella corte, a segno che non lasciò mai giungere ad effettuazione le minacce fatte dal pontefice presente, e secondo tutte le apparenze ne deve sortire fastoso col successore.

"Anco la corte di Francia patì alcuni motivi di querela per le vicende della Polonia: ma furono cose di sì poco momento che può ella sola contarsi affezionata e stabile al presente pontificato, e ciò perchè negli affari ecclesiastici poco o nulla più resta da discutere con Roma, osservandosi puntualmente dall' una e dall' altra parte i concordati e la prammatica, ma principalmente perchè la corte di Roma va con essa più cauta che con qualsivoglia altro nell' introdurre, sostenere e resistere alle novità che intervenir potessero. Il sempre mai lodevole card<sup>le</sup> Fleuri, grand' esemplare nel ministero politico, ha saputo tener sempre soggetta la politica alla religione senza mai confondere l' autorità spirituale con



la temporale: e questo fa che durante il suo ministero la corte di Roma sia si trattenuta nei limiti dovuti e quasi con una perpetua condescenza, a segno che l' avrebbe costituito l' arbitro di tutte le sua differenze, se gli altri potentati non avessero tenuta la grande equità e l' imparzialità di quell' eroe nel ministero politico.

“ Gravissimi furono i sconcerti, tuttavia non appianati ancora, con la corte di Portogallo, dove il carattere di quel re fa che acquistano giornalmente vigore ed insistenza le sue pretese quanto più si contrastano: e per dirla con chiarezza, le differenze insorte col Portogallo e con la Spagna avendo da qualche tempo sospese le rendite opulentissime di que' vasti regni, ha quasi scompagnata la corte e la città di Roma, dove migliaia di famiglie da qualche anno in quà sono ridotte dall' opulenza alla povertà e tante altre dalla sufficienza alla miseria. Questo fa che la disposizione d' infiniti benefiej in Spagna, in Portogallo e nel regno di Napoli rimanendo sospesa, anzi correndo apparenza che rimaner possa all' autorità temperale di que' regnanti, gran numero dei loro sudditi secolari e regolari altre volte consacrati a sostenere la corte di Roma presentemente l' abbandonano, e gran numero ancora dei Romani stessi vendono condotti a coltivar le potenze straniere dall' avidità e necessità loro. Particolare e curiosa è stata la condotta della corte di Roma verso le pretese di questo principe di aver il cardinale nato il patriarca di Lisbona. Fu considerato da quel re come condizione indispensabile dell' accomodamento delle vertenze che corrono tra le due corti, di godere una tal distinzione, ed il papa, usando in ciò dell' anteo costume Romano, si è dimostrato alcune volte del tutto alieno, altre quasi propenso di soddisfare le premure del re. La cosa non è ancora decisa, ed in ogni maniera che venga consumata fornirà argomenti non indifferenti di discorsi e forse di querele tra gli altri principi.

“ Altre volte il pretendente faceva un' oggetto massimo della corte di Roma, la quale si lusingava molto sopra l' appoggio delle corti di Francia e Spagna, dacehe si riunirono ambedue nella casa di Borbon: ma in oggi scopertasi la gelosia tra linea primogenita e la cadetta e conosciutosi che la regina di Spagna non ha veramente altre mire che l' ingrandimento dei proprj figli, l' esule pretendente e la degna sua famiglia divengono presto a molti oggetto più grave ancora che di conforto.

“ L' imperatore ha fatto e fa tuttavia tremare il presente ministero di Roma, vedendosi egli stesso dar mano ad introdurre nei suoi stati d' Italia quelle riforme d'abusi che devono col tempo servire di esempio sommamente pregiudiziale ai Romani: e ciò eh' è peggio per loro, appena ha introdotto le sue truppe nella Toccana, che ivi pure si veggono incamminate le medesimo direzioni, a segno che di tutti gli stati esteri al dominio Romano non se ne vede per uno continuar ciecamente sul piede dei secoli passati. La corte di Vienna professando tempo fa acri motivi di querele per le distinzioni usate a Spagnoli, poco amati dal popoli Romano, si è totalmente attratto il favor d' esso popolo in Roma e nello stato sotto il pontificato presente col maneggio accortissimo de suoi ministri ed emissarij, eh' è cosa maravigliosa l' udire in universale il popolo Romano dichiarato in favore dell' imperatore. Tuttavia in oggi tanta è la forza dell' interesse della famiglia Corsini che non vi è sacrificio che non si faccia affine di guadagnarsi l' amicizia di Cesare: di che l' Ecc<sup>mo</sup> Senato ne ha abbondanti prove nelle direzioni de' negozj vertenti.”

163.

*Relazione del N. II. Franc. Venier K<sup>r</sup> ritornato ambasciat. da Roma, 1744, 21 Apr.*

Unfortunately only two loose leaves, devoted to a description of Benedict XIV. Venier asserts that the cardinals had never wished to have this pope: “inalzata anzi dalle sue rare virtù, dalle vicende di quel conclave, dalle sue note lunghezze, che da un' efficace favore de' Cardinali che lo esaltarono. Fu opera sola del divino spirito.”

“ Il papa,” he continues, “dotato di cuore aperto e sincero trascurò sempre

ogn' una di quelle arti che si chiamano romanesche e lo stesso carattere che fece conoscere senza riserva allora che era prelato, fu quello del card<sup>l</sup> Lambertini e si può dire quellodel papa.”

164.

*Relazione di Aluise Mocenigo IV Kav<sup>r</sup> ritornato ambasciat. di Roma, 1750, 14 Apr.*

This is not the same person as the envoy of the year 1737. The first was the son of Aluise Mocenigo the third: this is a son of Aluise Mocenigo the first.

It is unfortunate that he too has contented himself with three leaves: I shall extract entire the most important passages, in the dearth of authentic information concerning the Roman court at this period.

“ Il regnante Benedetto XIV non solo non è mai stato nell' impiego di nunziature presso alcuna corte, ma nè pur ha sostenuto alcuna legazione: egli essendo vescovo d' Ancona è stato fatto cardinale, et essendo arcivescovo di Bologna fu assunto al supremo grado in cui regnà. Possede per pratica fatta sin dagli anni suoi più freschi l' ordine della curia, e non se ne scorda certamente, oltre di che si picca d' esser perfetto canonista et ottimo legale, non ammettendo egli in ciò differenza dall' esser suo di decretalista, studio che non lascia al dì d' oggi ancora. Perciò egli è parzialissimo del suo uditor mons<sup>re</sup> Argvilliers, perchè si dirige colle stesse dottrine. Conformandosi dunque le massime del papa con quelle del suo uditor, si rende questi nel pontificato present uomo d' importanza; quando particolarmente per l' esercizio suo, ch' è ristretto alle sole civili ispezioni, non avrebbe altro che il vantaggio di vedere in ogni giorno il monarca ed ora entra a dir parere negli affari di stato. Per dir vero, egli è uomo di proibità, ma di nessuna esperienza negl' interessi dei principi, austero ed inaccessibile, scarso di corrispondenza forastiere non solo ma ancora tra li stessi palatini. Per l' aura di favore ch' ei gode sembra che contrasti al card<sup>l</sup> Valenti segretario di stato l' accesso vantaggioso presso del papa, che la gran mente di quel porporato, quando voglia gli prena et a lui convenga, in mezzo alle più difficili determinazioni e massime sempre possiede ed ottiene. Ed eccomi al caso di superfluità e ripetizione. Di questo soggetto, perspicace nella coltura degli affari politici e di stato, ministro d' esperienza accorto e manierofo, avran detto quello conviene li miei ecc<sup>mi</sup> predecessori, e circa questo non altro posso aggiungere se non ch' egli col nuovo posto di camerlengo di S. Chiesa, conferitogli da S. S<sup>a</sup> in tempo della mia ambasciata, ha fermato anche dopo la vita del pontefice quel ben onorifico e lucroso posto, che lo renderà ancora necessario e ricercator quando forse dopo di aver dimessa la secretaria di stato l' emulazione, invidia e li mal contenti avrebbero potuto spiegar la loro forza ed il loro sdegno. Va ora esente da questi sfoghi, non perchè sia da ogni parte circondato: ma sa egli far fronte e scansar ogni assalto: se a lui giova, cimenta; in caso diverso non cura. Oltre al nominato uditor del papa, poco o niente amico suo vi è ancora mons<sup>r</sup> Millo datario, con il quale benchè a mio tempo apparissero riconciliati in amicizia, in sostanza non lo erano, ed il detto datario è piuttosto del partito dell' uditor. Questi tre soggetti si possono dir quelli che nel presente pontificato abbino ingerenza ed intelligenza negli affari dello stato. Ma se li due prelati sono accetti per l' esposto di sopra ed il card<sup>l</sup> sa rendersi necessario per le tante ragioni ben note, però arrivano dei momenti che il papa ascolta gli uni e l' altro e poscia tutto a sua volontà e talento differentemente risolve. Per questo ancora, se vi sono degli altri ben distinti soggetti tra li palatini, non contano gran cosa nel presente pontificato o almeno in rapporto ai gravi affari dello stato. Uno è il card<sup>l</sup> Passionei, studiosissimo ed amante delle scienze, pratico ministro per le nunziature sostenute, e non ha altra ingerenza che nella secretaria dei brevi. Del giovane prelato mons<sup>r</sup> Marcantonio Colonna maggioruomo il zio card<sup>l</sup> Girolamo promaggiorduomo è uno tra li predileti del papa: ma egli non si da pena d' altro che di quelle cose che interessino le particolari sue brame. Il segretario alle zifre mons<sup>re</sup> Antonio Rota, conosciuto dal papa e dall' universale di tutto il sagro collegio ed a parte dalle congregazioni coram sanctissimo per

un' uomo della più scelta politica ed un pensiero il più fino, che per l' aggristatezza dell' estero, dove abbia ad esservi un tratto d' accortezza, altro non ha migliore, talmente conosciuto necessario che con distinto modo si ammette anche podagroso nelle occorrenti congregazioni, non ha però maggiori ispezioni che quelle del suo carico o le avventizie."

165.

*Girolamo Zulian Relazione di Roma, 15 Dicembre, 1783.*

Towards the close of the republic, that peculiar talent for this sort of political business which had distinguished the Venetians, declined.

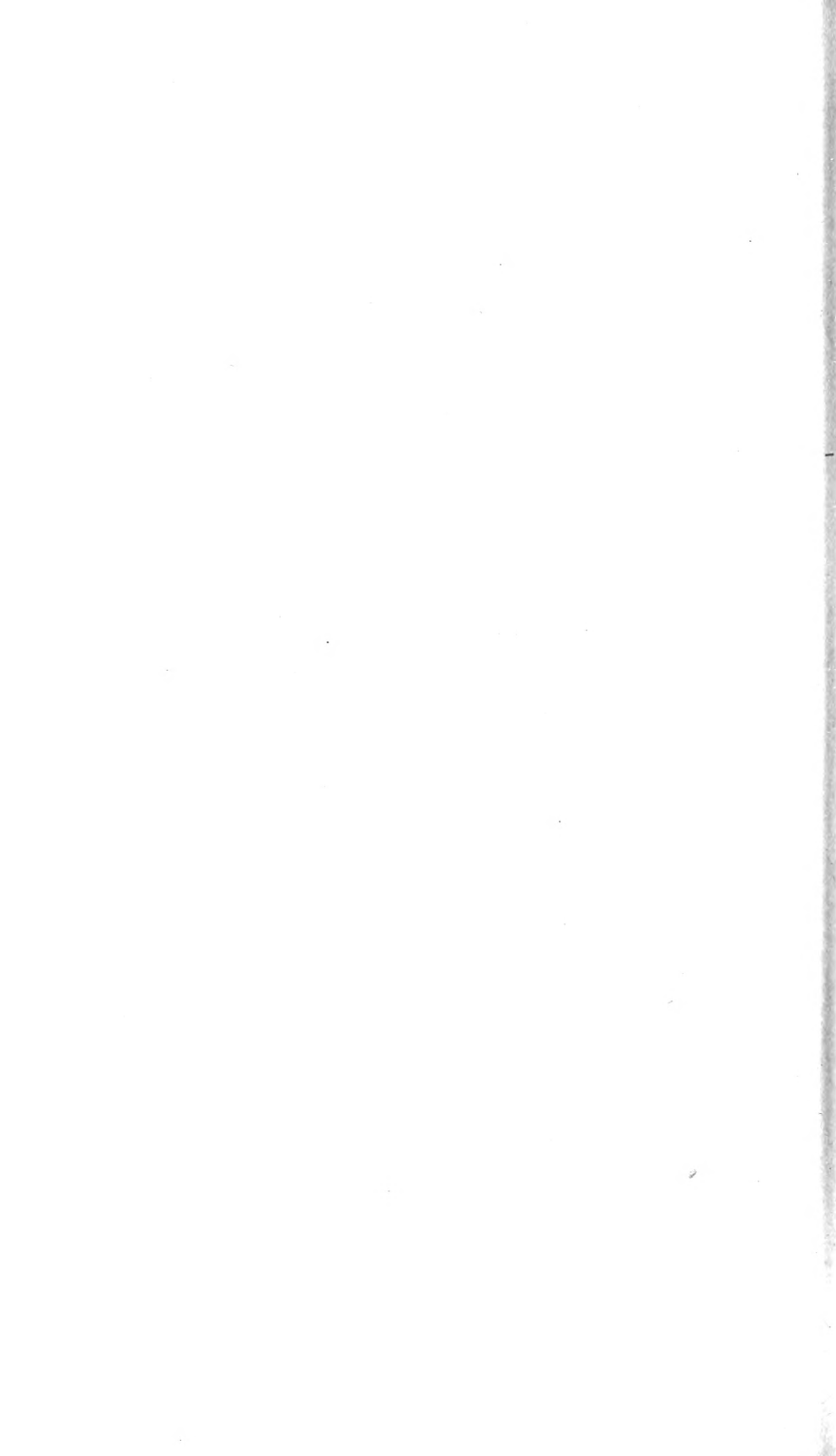
The reports become shorter; the observations which they contain are not to be compared with those in the older reports for penetration and comprehensiveness.

Zulian, whose report is the last which I have used, treats no longer of politics, of foreign affairs, or of the personal character of Pius VI; he merely touches upon certain points of the internal administration.

The papal exchequer, according to him, showed a considerable deficit, which was much increased by the extraordinary expenditure, the building of the sacristy of St. Peter's, and the draining of the Pontine marshes—which two works then cost about two millions: this deficit the government endeavored to cover by anticipating the revenue, and by the creation of a paper currency. Much money besides went out of the country. "Le canapi, le sete, le lane che si estraggono dalla stato, non compensano li pesci salati, li piombi, le droghe e la immensa serie delle manifatture che si importano in esso da Genova specialmente e dalla Francia. Il gran mezzo di bilanciar la nazione dovrebbe essere il commercio de grani: ma la necessità di regolarlo per mezzo di tratte affine di proveder sempre l'annona di Roma a prezzi bassi lo rende misero e spesso dannoso. Quindi resta oppressa l'agricoltura e spesso succedono le scarsezze del genere che obbligano a comprare il formento fuori dello stato a prezzi gravissimi. E' comune opinione pertanto che questo commercio cumulativamente preso pochissimo profitto dia alla nazione. Resta essa debitrice con tutte quasi le piazze colle quali è in relazione, e da ciò deriva in gran parte quella rapida estrazione di monete che mette in discredito le cedole e forma la povertà estrema della nazione. Si considera che il maggior vantaggio di Rome sta colla piazza di Venezia per li varj generi che lo stato pontificio tramanda a quelle di Vostra Serenità."

The measures resorted to by Pius VI for the encouragement of agriculture are well known. They are here treated of, but not with any very profound views.

Zulian remarks that Pius VI had made the cardinals still more insignificant personages than they were before. On his return from Vienna he had put them off with the most vague and meagre information: to be sure it may be said in reply, that he had but little to tell. The fact, however, is true. Pallavicini, the secretary of state, in all respects a remarkable man, was disabled from taking much share in business by frequent illness. Rezzonico, according to Zulian, was the person who had most influence over Pius.



## I N D E X .

\* \* \* *The Appendix to Vol. II furnishes historical and documentary notices in addition to those in the text of this history.*

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