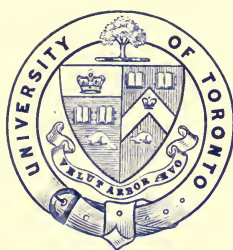




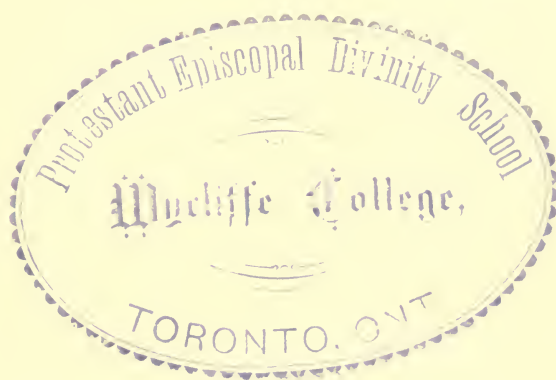
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FOOTPRINTS
OF
ITALIAN REFORMERS.



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OF



TALIAN



EFORMERS.

190221.

BY JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D., 9.7.24.

Author of "Homes and Haunts of Luther," "Our English Bible," etc.

THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY.

56 PATERNOSTER ROW; 65 ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD,

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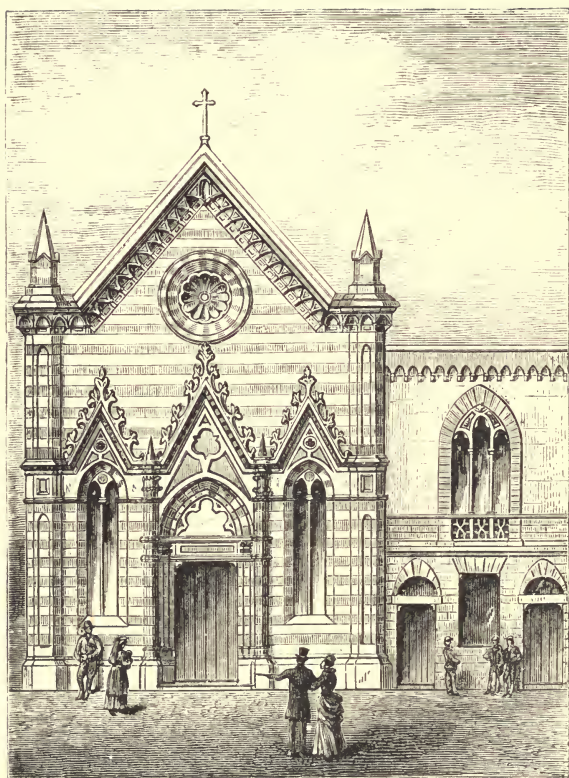
PREFATORY NOTE.

THE present Volume, which is offered as a companion to "The Homes and Haunts of Luther," is based upon observations made during my Italian tours, particularly those of the last two years. I have fully availed myself of such information respecting Italian Reformers and the religious affairs connected with them in the sixteenth century, as may be found in the works of Ranke, M'Crie, Young, and Alexander Muston. But my chief contributions to the interesting story of Protestant struggles in the beautiful peninsula, not generally known to English readers, are derived from the recent researches of Karl Benrath, Emilio Comba, and the authors of articles in "*La Rivista Cristiana*."

I am sorry that Signor Comba's valuable work, "*Storia della Riforma Italiana*," has not proceeded beyond the first volume, for I have not the benefit of his further investigations; but of the light which he has thrown on the Waldensians, I have made large use; and repeated conversations with him in Florence have been in that respect and others very helpful.

Documents in our Record Office, carefully described in its long series of most valuable Calendars, have afforded me numerous additional illustrations respecting ecclesiastical events in Rome, Venice, Bologna, and other places, at the period of the Reformation.

October, 1881.



FIRST CHURCH ERECTED FOR ITALIAN PROTESTANTS
IN ROME.

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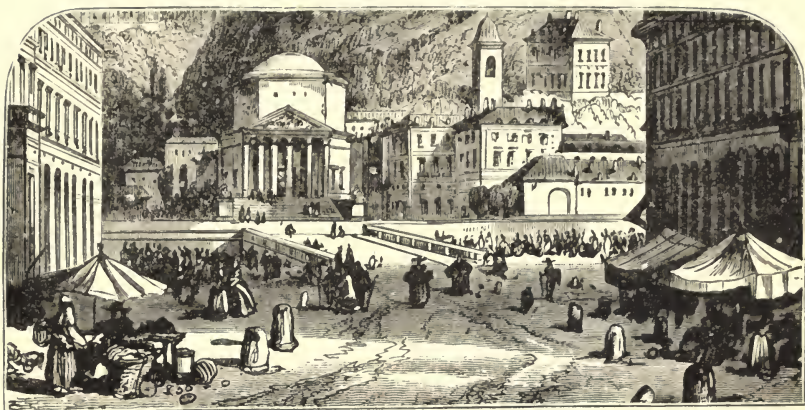
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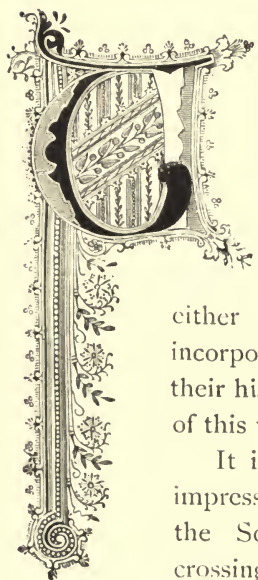




TURIN.



TURIN AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.



TURIN, the Waldensian Valleys, and the city of Aosta are included within the boundaries of United Italy; but of old they were more or less independent. Afterwards they became attached first to the duchy of Savoy, next to the kingdom of Sardinia. Though not, properly speaking, either before or at the time of the Reformation incorporated with Italy, they claim, on account of their historical associations, a notice at the opening of this volume.

It is many years since I received my earliest impressions of Turin; once when returning from the South, and once coming from Susa, after crossing the Pass of Cenis on a brilliant night, the bells of the mules making monotonous but pleasant music in the crispy air. Other first views of Italy are more imposing,—as from

the grand descents of the Splugen, the St. Gothard, and the Simplon, or from the rich chestnut groves of the Maloja;—but the mountains and valleys which line one's way to the capital of Savoy have beauties of their own, which once seen are never to be forgotten. Little incidents connected with journeys often leave a magic memory behind; and well do I recollect years ago the glow-worms and fire-flies in the hedges as night closed in—emblems of the spiritual light-bearers in that region during the ages at which we are about to glance.

Turin has on the whole a modern, almost common-place look, with its broad streets and uniform houses; but the walk down to the broad and steady-flowing Po commands a noble view of neighbouring heights, and conducts to pleasant walks by the water-side; and the stranger, as he threads the streets which cross at right angles, will lift up his eyes to the hills which open at the ends of straight avenues, with green and rocky precipices, here and there snow-capped, penetrating the clouds. They form unchangeable surroundings to a place which retains but little of an antique appearance; modern civilization, especially since the union of Italy, having swallowed up vestiges of an early past. Yet Turin runs back to an early date, and notice is taken of two towers as Roman, the Torri Augustali; but they have little pretension to so ancient an origin; at any rate, they now belong to a castle erected in the fifteenth century. A curious custom connected with the Eve of St. John lingers in the Piazza Castello. Until of late an enormous bonfire used at that season to be witnessed by the Royal family. It was connected with a mediæval belief, that on St. John's Eve evil spirits haunted the air. Such superstitions abounded in the ninth century, when a mark was made in the history of Turin by one who first claims our attention.

Claude, Bishop of this see, was a Spaniard, appointed by the Emperor Lewis in A.D. 820, just at the time when Carlovingian opposition to the idolatrous worship of images was at its height,

and the eyes of a few were open to the growth of ecclesiastical corruptions. Claude seems to have opened his eyes wider than other men, and to have seen farther into the depths of evil round about him ; so much so that he alarmed many who were in sympathy with himself, and roused displeasure in the conservators of ancient customs. To use his own language, when he came into Italy, he "found all the churches full of images and of votive offerings ;"—words which remind us of what one sees, for example, at Lyons, in the Church of Nôtre Dame de Fouvrières, where the walls are covered with innumerable wax figures and pictures, commemorative of escapes and cures through the help of the Virgin. The zealous Bishop wished to make a clean sweep of such things, and even crosses and relics came within the range of his censures. "Because," he says, "what men worshipped I began to destroy, immediately they opened their mouths to condemn, and unless God had helped me would have swallowed me up alive." "They said," he tells us further, "we do not regard as Divine the images we reverence, we only pay them respect for the sake of those they represent : " his reply was, "If you have left the worship of heathen images that you may worship images of saints, you have not relinquished idolatry, but only changed the name." Yet again he argued : "If people adore a piece of wood shaped into a cross, because Christ hung on a cross, why not adore virgins because Christ was born of a Virgin ? why not adore mangers because **He** laid in a manger ? why not adore old rags, because when He was born He was wrapt in swaddling-clothes ? " There was in this homely appeal a vein of common sense, strongly reminding us of our own Latimer, whom the Bishop of Turin, in the ninth century, resembled in honesty of purpose and quaintness of denunciation. Nor did he spare the corruptions of the Papacy. Without denying the supremacy of St. Peter, or calling in question the primacy of his sec, he contended that they only were his successors who walked in holy ways. "No one," said he, "is to be called an apostle because he sits in an

apostle's chair, but only he who fulfils an apostle's office. Concerning those who only fill the seat and not the office, the Lord hath said, 'The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat.'"¹ Language of this kind was very daring; and some of it was heard in those days from other dignitaries, particularly Agobard, Bishop of Lyons. That part of the country, including a portion of France and of Savoy, seems to have been distinguished both by abounding superstition on the one hand, and a condemnation of it on the other, and also by a bold style of criticism in reference to certain occupants of the Papal chair; yet Papal censures fell on them lightly: in the case of Claude it may be attributed to his standing high in Imperial favour. The Frankish clergy at first sympathized with him, but afterwards were displeased at some of his censures, and obtained the condemnation of them from an Imperial Council. He was cited to appear before an ecclesiastical synod, but he boldly refused, one of his antagonists declaring that he called it an assembly of asses.

Claude was careful not to separate himself from the Catholic Church. He repudiated the charge of dividing the body of the faithful. "I do not teach sectarianism, but hold and proclaim truth and unity. Sects, schisms, and superstitious heresies I have fought against and exterminated as far as possible, and God helping me I shall not cease doing so."² It is difficult for some persons to understand such a position. Claude had strong convictions derived from the Fathers—Cyprian in particular—respecting Church unity as one visible organization, having divinely-appointed ministers and sacraments: to separate from that appeared to Claude an immense evil; and therefore his course was simply to protest against existing corruptions. It is moreover to be remembered that a firm hold on certain evangelical principles did not imply separation from the one Church of Christendom; for

¹ Gieseler cites these passages in his "Text Book of Ecclesiastical History," ii. 35.

² "Ap. adv. Theod." quoted in Comba's "Storia dei Martiri della Riforma Italiana,"

Augustine and Ambrose had upheld what are termed the doctrines of grace with remarkable force. Those doctrines were not the badge of a party outside the Church, but they were included in orthodox teaching within its pale. Theological tendencies of different descriptions are seen in the controversy between Pelagius and Augustine. Opinions on the part of the former supported the idea of human merit; opinions on the part of the latter decidedly exhibited the idea of Divine grace. Pelagianism was heresy. Augustinianism was orthodoxy. Some writers were more pronounced on the Augustinian side than others; and some were suspected of Pelagian sympathies. Claude upheld the doctrines of the Bishop of Hippo, maintaining that all which is good in man proceeds from Divine mercy, and that to look for salvation through human merit is utterly vain. He taught that Christ suffered for us, and thereby justified us, that we are delivered from the law by faith in Christ, and that they are the enemies of His cross who say righteousness comes by the law, and not of faith by grace. These passages occur in his Expositions of Scripture, which chiefly consist of citations after a common mediæval fashion, taken from commentators such as Jerome, Augustine and Hilary. Such was Claude, whose name is identified with Turin; and in the absence of any trustworthy picture of his person, his spiritual presence as a bold, truth-loving man, hating superstition and formalism, accompanies us, as we walk through streets which are now far different from what they were when his shadow fell upon the walls. The present Cathedral, or Duomo, was begun in 1498, and consecrated in 1505; the building, however, has been considerably altered, and only some arabesques in the pilasters of the arcade can be regarded as portions of the original structure. No part of Claude's cathedral now remains, but there is the fragment of a column at the top of the entrance steps earlier than his time.

Turin is distinctly associated with the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Celio Secundo Curione was a native of the

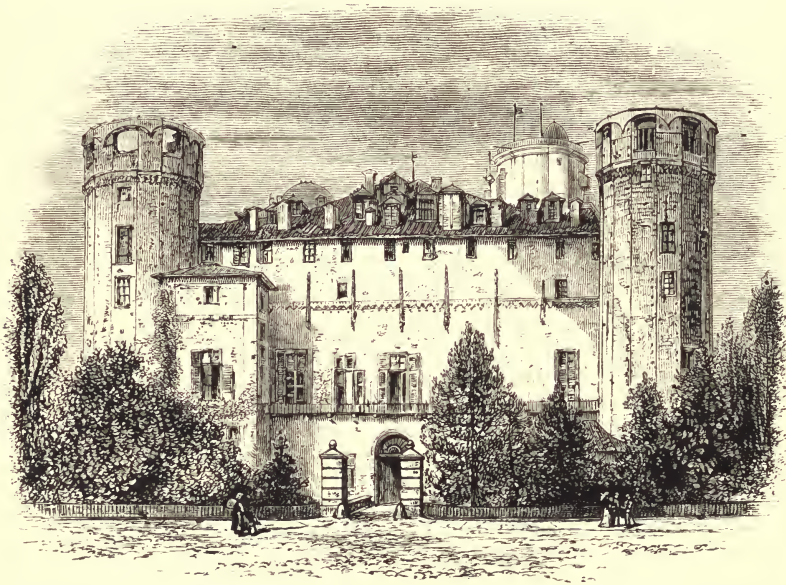
city. He received, as a legacy from his father, a beautiful MS. of the Bible, which he read with deep interest ; and adopting, in consequence, views opposed to Romanist doctrines, he was thrown into prison. Released through the intercession of relatives, he became an inmate of the Priory of St. Benigno ; and whilst there, abstracting certain relics from a box, he substituted a copy of the Scriptures, writing over the reliquary—"This is the Ark of the Covenant which contains the oracles of God, the true relics of the Saints." That incident, which ended in his escaping to Milan, occurred about 1530, and it was followed by his exposure of a monk, who had grossly misrepresented Martin Luther, by giving false quotations from the Reformer's writings. Thus again involving himself in trouble, Curione was brought to his native place, and there, like St. Paul, was committed to an inner prison, where his feet were made fast in the stocks. He seems to have been skilful in contriving escapes, for on this occasion he persuaded his jailer to allow one of his feet to be set free ; then managing, by means of a quantity of rags, to make an artificial foot, he inserted it in the room of the real one ; thus obtaining the use of both limbs he contrived at night to reach a window, from which he dropped, and then sought refuge in a village within the duchy of Milan. After several romantic adventures we find him at Ferrara, at Lucca, and other places, where he zealously employed himself in teaching the principles of Protestantism.

Another instance of early Protestantism terminated very differently.

There was a young man, Geoffrey Varagle, or Varaille, who in company with a monk from Urbino went on a mission for repressing heresy. As sometimes happens, those who engage to support a system become dissatisfied with it ; so it turned out in this case ; for ere long the heresy-hunters began to feel doubts about the Papal system, then exposed to vigorous assaults in Germany and elsewhere. Doubt on one side began to produce conviction

on the other, and these men looked favourably on Protestant views. Consequently they were apprehended on suspicion of heresy, and imprisoned in Rome. Varaille did not attack the Church of his fathers ; on the contrary, he manifested towards it a friendly disposition, in consequence of which he obtained his liberty ; and we find him attached to the Papal Legation in Paris. There he became better informed respecting the main controversy of the age ; for Paris was deeply moved by its agitation, and there if anywhere, light could be thrown on the merits of the case. Varaille studied the subject anew, and, excited by what he heard about the persecution of Protestants, felt constrained to repair to Geneva, to ascertain what John Calvin was doing in the lake-girt city. He embraced Calvinism, and was invited to undertake the charge of a Protestant church in the parish of St. John, in the Waldensian valleys. Returning one day from a visit to his birthplace—the little town of Busque—just as he reached the foot of Monte Viso, he was, through the interference of a neighbouring prior, arrested and detained. After gentle treatment, having “a richly-furnished house assigned him as a prison,” and after several examinations into the charges brought against him, he was removed to Turin for a decisive trial. “Be assured, gentlemen,” he said when condemned, “that you will sooner want wood for piles than ministers of the Gospel to seal their faith upon them, for they multiply daily, and the Word of God endures for ever.” He was burnt alive in the square of the old castle at Turin, the Piazza Castello, as it is called, in the midst of a large area surrounded by stately palaces, whence runs the Strada del Po to the bridge which spans the river. Much of the castle is comparatively modern, but the front facing the street just mentioned is of mediæval date, with the Torre Augustali flanking the sides. They were in existence when Varaille suffered martyrdom ; and two paintings in the Pinacoteca, showing a bridge, a ditch, and a rampart near the Cathedral, give an idea of the Turin of his day. In the piazza blazed the fire in which poor Varaille’s body was reduced to

ashes on the 20th of March, 1558. The executioner knelt down and begged pardon for what he had to do. "Not only thee," answered the martyr, "but all who have caused my death." "A dove," says Crespín, who narrates the tragedy, "flew around the fire, and rose into the air, which was esteemed a sign of the innocence of the martyr." Pious imaginations are wont at such a time to read certain incidents as full of symbolized meaning; and



CASTLE OF TURIN.

this little legend will even now strike many as conveying no inapt similitude of the departure of a spirit pure and dove-like from amidst the smoke of angry fires, into God's blue sky of love and peace, which ever over-arches the scenes of this sinful and suffering world.

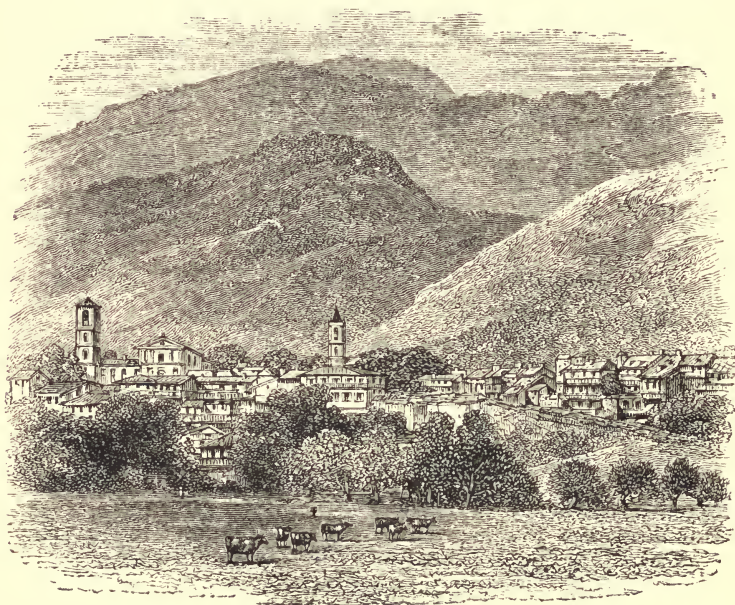
Another victim, an old man who had suffered much before,

after witnessing the terrible execution, was branded with an iron heated red-hot in the burning pile ; also two years before this, Bartholomew Hector was burnt in the same place. Hippolyte Roussier is further mentioned as undergoing a similar fate.

About thirty miles from Turin lies a large cluster of valleys, forming a triangle in a large middle space between the Cenis Pass and Monte Viso. They extend over a tract on the Italian side of the Cottonian Alps, and may be separated into three divisions, the largest and most important being the valley of Luzerna, with the main stream of the Pelice. The valleys of Angrona and Rosa run down into this central one, and to the north run up the adjacent valleys of St. Martin and Perouse. The whole district is studded with mountains, which, like the billows of the Atlantic, seem to dash and mingle themselves together in wild and most unintelligible confusion. Though snow mountains are within sight from certain points, the scenery is scarcely Alpine, and in the fairest weather is more beautiful than sublime. Rich meadows, patches of barley, trellised vines, hills mottled over with spots and streaks of brown and purple, green and gold ; gardens and orchards on the lower slopes, chestnuts and walnuts, beech and oak, hazel and birch higher up,—these are features of the landscape. Luzerna—a town of considerable extent, with many good houses and an aspect of prosperity—stands at the entrance of the valley bearing its name ; further on is La Tour, decidedly inferior to Luzerna ; then comes Villar ; and farther still to the west, Bobbio ; each declining in the scale of civilization, the last being the rudest, roughest and dirtiest of the whole. Such is the home of the present Waldenses ; such the scenes of their fathers' far-famed sufferings and exploits—almost every rock being associated with some romantic story of the olden time.

I visited the valleys last spring, not the best time for a tourist in search of pleasure, but having this advantage in my case, as I was in quest of Waldensian associations, that the vestiges of winter still lingering in snow-drifts and cloud-wreaths, and dropping

in drizzling rain and heavy showers, gave an idea of the inhospitality of the elements on many a dark day, which added natural discomfort to the inflictions of human intolerance; at the same time the promises and pledges of summer, in the bright verdure of the fields, the early blossoms of the orchards, and the bursting buds of the hill-side trees, suggested an idea of the loveliness of the country in June and July; and how all this must have soothed the spirits of



VILLAR.

Waldensian confessors in an hour of calm, as they saw in it the smile of Divine love, and rejoiced in that favour which is better than life. At the same time, what I saw of the industrial habits of the people, busy with their sheep, their cattle, and their market traffic—men and women streaming down on foot from villages and châteaux perched on the heights, to buy and sell in the crowded streets and

little piazza of La Tour—gave me some inkling of the daily life of old Waldensians, who not only often fought and endured, but, like other human beings, bought and sold, and went to market, and were married and given in marriage. They did not always live up to the high pitch which appears in startling narratives of past centuries, but spent years in common-place employments, like their honest and steady descendants.

The story of the Waldenses is a wide one, and complicated with a large amount of controversy, of which no idea whatever is given in many of the popular narratives relative to this interesting community. Muston, in the last volume of his "*Histoire Complète des Vaudois*," gives an enormous list of works bearing on the subject, some in Latin, some in German, some in French, and some in English, which may be classified in two large divisions of Roman Catholic and Protestant—the former, of course, antagonistic, the latter more or less friendly. The latter must be subdivided into those which attribute a very early origin to the Waldensian Church and those which dispute that point—considering the Church to have taken its rise in the twelfth century. Not to mention German authorities, it is sufficient to give the name of the French M. Muston, in his "*Histoire*," as the most learned representative of the first class; and the name of the Italian Professor Comba, as the most learned representative of the second class.

I will state my own conclusions before noticing those of Signor Comba. It has long appeared to me very unsatisfactory to cite a number of evangelical passages from mediæval, Italian, and other authors in proof of the existence of a fellowship among the inhabitants of the valleys, distinct from the Church of Rome; because similar passages as to the doctrines of Divine grace may be easily extracted from a number of authors who remained fully identified with the predominant communion. A connection between Claude of Turin and the Vaudois has never been satisfactorily traced; and knowing what we do of his history, we see that he could not

have been the patron of any separate Protestant sect. The true origin of the name of Waldo, and of the name Waldenses, is not yet released from all obscurity; but this is plain, that in 1194, about a quarter of a century after the date assigned to the mission of Peter Waldo, described as a citizen of Lyons, an edict of Alphonso II. of Arragon speaks of persons denominated *Waldenses*, and *Sabbati*, a circumstance which, though it does not settle the question as to the origin of the term, shows that at that time the *Waldenses* were connected if not identified with the poor men of Lyons. It has often been affirmed that the "Nobla Leyczon," a famous Waldensian composition, bears at the beginning the date 1100; and that in it the people are denominated Vaudes, or Vaudois. The latter statement is quite true; but, according to modern researches,¹ the very MS. from which the "Nobla Leyczon" was originally printed still exists in the University of Cambridge, and there the number turns out to be not a thousand and one, but a thousand and four—not *Ben ha mil e cent anz*, but *Ben ha mil e 4 cent anz*,—a change which would bring the "Nobla Leyczon" down as late as the fifteenth century. Another MS. confirms this reading by the letters, "cccc anz." I find it further stated that in other Waldensian MSS. are traces of Hussite influence. The people of the valleys who came to be called Waldenses are to be distinguished from contemporary sects of a Manichæan stamp,² *i.e.*, those who believed in two independent principles, good and evil, as lying at the fountain-head of creation. "Friend and foe," says Gieseler, "have contributed to confuse the history of the Waldenses. In the first place, they were confounded with the Cathari or Albigenses, by Catholics, in order to make

¹ Todd's "Books of the Vaudois," 210, 217. Robertson's "Church History," v. 328.

² The question of the heterodoxy of the Albigenses has been keenly contested, being affirmed by Mosheim and Gieseler and denied by Allix and Faber. A later apologist has appeared in F. de Portal, author of "Les Descendants des Albigenses et des Huguenots." Paris, 1860.

them out Manichæans ; by the Reformed, in order to clear the Albigenses also from the imputations of Manichæism." The Waldenses were clearly distinguished from the Albigenses by some of their Romanist adversaries, and the best accounts we have of the former attest their acknowledged orthodoxy. They studied the Bible in their own simple way, not with critical aids, but with an insight into its spiritual meaning, such as in all ages has been secured by deep meditation and prayer. Their idea was to frame a system of theology, not derived from Church creeds and rituals, but from Biblical study. They claimed the right of lay preaching, and also the lay administration of Christian ordinances ; many of them insisting upon personal piety as an essential requisite for every religious teacher. They proclaimed the free forgiveness of the Gospel, saying in the Saviour's words to those who repented, "Go and sin no more." They denied the doctrine of purgatory, and prayers for the dead connected with it ; and as to oaths, war, and capital punishment they resembled the Society of Friends. They shunned worldly amusements, and by a code of comprehensive moral precepts sought the noblest moral ends.¹

These opinions I had formed before I became acquainted with Professor Comba, and his elaborate work on the Reformation in Italy. Though I do not accept all the inferences which he has drawn, it appears to me that he has established the following points : the people called Waldenses do not appear on the field of history earlier than the twelfth century ; they then are seen scattered over Europe in the south of France, in the city of Metz,

¹ "Before Wiclif's time the Waldensians came the nearest to the Biblical principles of the Reformation, when, in their desire to justify their practice of free lay preaching, in opposition to the Roman hierarchy, they appealed from the existing law of the Church to Divine law, to the Word of God, to Holy Scripture. Thus they set against Church tradition and Church law the Holy Scriptures as the higher and decisive authority, by which they measured and tested not only the prohibition of lay preaching, but also other ordinances and traditions of the existing Church." "John Wiclif and his English Precursors," by Professor Lechler, translated by Dr. Lorimer, ii. 27.

and in the country of the Netherlands, their origin at this period being ascribed by their enemies to Peter Waldo of Lyons ; Waldo himself never visited the valleys ; but those who settled there as emigrants from France, driven from their former homes by persecution, were deeply imbued with his opinions ; possibly, even probably, they found in Piedmont some previous inhabitants who sympathized with them : soon after their arrival they were subjected to persecution, nevertheless they produced a varied literature of their own, of which a signal monument is preserved in the "*Nobla Leyczon*." Their productions may be classified thus : first, the most original, anterior to the time of John Huss ; next those that appeared or were altered under the influence of the Hussite reaction, and under that of the Bohemian brethren ; and lastly, those contemporary with the Reformation. Signor Comba shows that the primitive faith of the Waldenses neither fell into Pantheism nor rose to the fulness of Protestantism. They believed in salvation by grace and justification by faith, but they honoured the holy Virgin, they used the confessional, they admitted the seven sacraments, and they believed in transubstantiation.¹

I made the acquaintance of Signor Comba in Florence a year ago, and had the advantage of further conversation with him there this last spring, when he opened up stores of knowledge in a way which proved him master of his subject. He is very earnest in maintaining that the name Waldenses is derived from Peter Waldo ; and his representations of Waldensian opinions include the statement, that though they were in some respects Dissenters in practice, meeting for worship by themselves, and forming companies of their own, they were not schismatics in theory, never losing sight of the existence of good people in the Church of Rome.

¹ These conclusions are abundantly supported in the first volume of "*Storia dei Martiri della Riforma Italiana* ;" the portion relative to the Waldenses has been translated and published in America.

Under the influence of personal intercourse with this distinguished scholar, and the perusal of his writings not only in the "*Storia dei Martiri*," but in the "*Revista Cristiana*," I visited the valleys, and will now briefly relate what I saw of the historical localities in that romantic region.

Accompanied by my daughter, I first drove along the valley of Luzerna as far as Bobbio. The excursion in fine weather must be very charming, and even with the abatement of dull weather we found it extremely interesting. La Tour has a good Waldensian church, a pleasant manse, a row of picturesque houses fronted by gardens, and an orphanage; but it has no longer a college—that institution being removed to Florence, where it is conducted by Signor Comba. The road to Villar is by the side of the Pelice, which rushes along its rocky bed, and is not deeper than a broad mountain torrent.

We called on the pastor at Villar, and were most kindly received by him and his family. They were preparing for Easter, when they expected a crowded church, with six hundred communicants, the women all in their best attire, and wearing snow-white caps. Our conversation became very animated when I touched on Signor Comba's views, which find no favour in the valleys. "We do not believe in them at all here," protested one of the intelligent daughters of the worthy minister; and she proceeded to tell us that the controversy had been taken up in a local newspaper—an earnest contest being carried on against modern historical criticism in favour of old-fashioned Waldensian traditions. We had passed on the way a little bridge, crossing a mountain torrent, and hard by a sort of gateway, with a loophole in the side wall; whence, as our friends told us, the forefathers of the village had entrenched themselves in the days of persecution, and had fired through the loophole on the invaders of their peaceful homes. Farther on, near Bobbio, a lofty hill was pointed out as the scene of one of those covenant takings which charac-

teristically figure in Waldensian legends. The next morning I walked up toward the Pass of Angrogna, but the weather did not permit of my exploring its more distant recesses.

In Angrogna a synod was held in 1532, and good old Farel, the Swiss Reformer, came to it "mounted on a white horse." "The



BOBBIO.

Reformers," to use the words of a Waldensian present on the occasion, "were greatly rejoiced to see *that* people who had ever proved faithful—*that* Israel of the Alps to whose charge God had committed for so many centuries the Ark of the New Covenant—thus eager in His service. And examining with interest the MS.

copies of the Old and New Testaments in the vulgar tongue which were among us correctly copied with the hand, at a date beyond all memory, they marvelled at that favour of Heaven which a people so small in number had enjoyed, and rendered thanks to the Lord that the Bible had never been taken from them." It was resolved to make use of these ancient copies for the publication of a French Bible, which appeared in 1535, the same year in which Coverdale's English Version was published. At the end of the volume are the words, "*achevé d'imprimer en la ville et comté de Neufchastel, par Pierre de Wingle, dict Pirot, l'an MDXXXV le iiij^{me} jour de Juing.*" The publication cost the Vaudois 1,500 golden crowns.

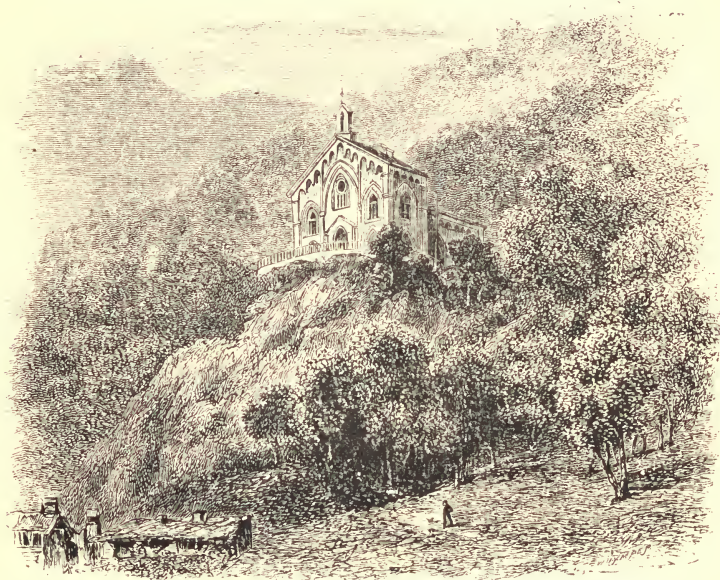
Besides the important decision respecting the Bible, the assembled Waldenses discussed certain questions of faith and practice, bearing upon the relation in which they stood to the Churches of the Reformation in Germany. Space forbids my entering upon points canvassed by the Waldenses. They are noticed by Muston in his "Israel of the Alps;" but the most careful and accurate account of them is furnished by Dr. Benrath from an ancient MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, and printed in the fourth volume of the "*Revista Cristiana.*" It takes up such matters as the lawfulness of oaths, the nature of good works, auricular confession, the observance of the Sabbath, the essence of prayer, the imposition of hands, and the taking of usury, not to mention other practical points not arranged in any logical order. The 19th and 20th Articles distinctly state, that the elect were chosen before the foundation of the world, and that those appointed to salvation must be saved. So far the Waldenses agreed with Calvin. This solemn assembly was held in the open air; "it met on one of those shady pieces of level ground situated half way up the mountains, in a verdant amphitheatre, shut in like an arena for giants by the distant slopes of the Pra del Tor, then crowned with sparkling snows." At a period subsequent to the meeting of this synod

we find a place of worship built in Angrogna, the oldest Waldensian church in existence, very plain in appearance, as may be supposed. After that, higher up the valley, a chapel was erected at a place named La Serre. Upon the Protestant portal in Angrogna there still stands the appropriate inscription, "Allons, montons à la montagne de l'Eternel, et à la maison du Dieu de Jacob; et il nous montrera de ses voies, et nous marcherons dans ses sentiers."

From the balcony and garden of the pastor's house in Angrogna there is a view of the valley, reminding one of "the land Beulah" in the "Pilgrim's Progress"—with the "Delectable Mountains" close at hand, and a region in the distance, leading, as by steps paved for angel feet, up to the gates of the Heavenly City, where clouds of crimson, purple, and gold are piled above the everlasting hills. This is the Pra del Tor, or Meadow of the Tower. The pastors of the Waldenses were called *Barbas*, a title of respect signifying, in the language of the valleys, a term of relative endearment something like our uncle. Here in this green paraisaical region, with a stream struggling amidst broken rocks overhung by the walnut, the willow, and the weeping ash, the Waldenses had their school of the prophets. Scarcely any vestige remains of the building; but tradition says the Meadow of the Tower was the site on which it stood.

The Waldensian pastors trained up their young brethren for the ministry, not indeed by an elaborate curriculum, but by the study of the Gospels, especially St. Matthew and St. John, and some of the Epistles of Paul—parts of Scripture which they were required to commit to memory. Here, during two or three successive winters, whilst preparing for summer work, they devoted their time to the Latin, Romance and Italian languages. They spent the best parts of some years in this retirement, catching an inspiration from the scenery around them, and gathering illustrations from rocks and trees and flowers, from clouds and sun, from moon and stars, wherewith

to set forth the Gospel in thoughts such as were likely to kindle the imagination of their mountain brethren. Then followed a solemn ordination, by laying on of hands and prayer. Ministers were supported out of voluntary offerings, divided annually into three parts, one for themselves, one for the missionaries, one for the poor. To aid them in their support, they received instruction in useful trades ; and, as few of them married, and their habits were simple,



PRA DEL TOR.

a small income sufficed for their maintenance. They changed their abode every three years, except when advanced age rendered removal undesirable ; and in the course of their ministrations they preached, catechized, led the people in worship through a series of low responses, and taught them in private loving hymns, like the primitive Christians. The topics of their ministry are

thus described: "the absolute authority and inspiration of the Bible; the Trinity of the Godhead, the sinful state of mankind, free salvation through Jesus Christ; above all, faith working by love."¹

Into this same beautiful valley of Angrogna, where the Barbas held their primitive college, Inquisitors entered in the beginning of the fourteenth century; and in 1476 the Lords of Pignerol and Cavour were commanded by the widow of Amadeus IX. to bring back the erring children of the valleys within the fold of the true Church. One invasion of their liberty followed another. Innocent VIII. in 1487 fulminated a bull of excommunication, and summoned all Catholics to enter on a crusade against these heretics. A Papal legate took up his headquarters at Pignerol, in the Convent of St. Lawrence, to carry on the work of conversion, first by persuasion, then by force. "Do not condemn us," said a couple of deputies sent by the Waldenses; "do not condemn us unheard, for we are Christians and loyal subjects, and our Barbas are ready to prove either in public or in private that our doctrines are agreeable to the Word of God." "We condemn the love of wealth, and the thirst of power, with which we see our persecutors consumed; and our hope in God is stronger than our desire to please men. Take heed that you draw not His wrath upon yourselves by persecuting us; and be assured that if God wills it, all the forces which you have assembled against us will avail you nothing."² Then came war, and the Vaudois defended themselves with a valour which forms the subject of many a Waldensian legend. The Pradel Tor—so peaceful when the Barbas studied there and preached, so peaceful still as the tourist treads the valley—echoed in 1560 with the shout *Viva Jesu Cristo*, as the Waldenses defended their hearths and homes. Down the rocks of Roccialla they hurled stones on their enemies; they built up barricades in the mountain

¹ "Israel of the Alps," translation of Muston's "Histoire," i. 27.

² "Israel of the Alps," i. 30-32.

paths, and into the clear stream of the river leaping in water-falls, they plunged the invaders.

Another beautiful spot is found in the valley of Perouse. There, as in some other places in the Waldensian district, occurred a solemn covenant, such as pertains to seasons of peril. The three Swiss patriots stood under the Seelesberg, in the Lake of the Four Cantons, and swore an oath that they would stand fast in the cause of their country's freedom; also the Scotch in the seventeenth century swore to uphold Christ's Crown and Covenant. In a like spirit delegates from Pragela and Luzerna stood up in 1561 before their brethren, pronouncing these memorable words: "In the name of the Vaudois Churches of the Alps, of Dauphiny, and of Piedmont, that are all here united, and whose representatives we are, we here promise, with our hands upon the Bible and in the presence of God, that all our valleys will courageously stand by one another in what relates to religion, without prejudice to the obedience due to their lawful superiors. We promise to maintain the Bible, entire and without admixture, according to the usages of the true Apostolic Church, stedfastly continuing in this holy religion, although it should be at the peril of our lives, in order that we may be able to leave it to our children intact and pure, as we have received it from our fathers. We promise aid and succour to our persecuted brethren, and not to regard individual interests, but the common cause; and not to wait upon men, but upon God."¹

D'Aubigné, the old French historian, relates in connection with the war carried on by the Count de la Trinité, that when some Waldensian deputies were addressed in this strain, "How dare such wretches as you treat with a prince against whom you have made war? or how can such poor ignorant shepherds, who deserve a gibbet for your folly, have the assurance to contest religious points with a great prince, advised by men of learning and authorized in

¹ "Israel of the Alps," i. 263.

his belief by the whole world?" the oldest man amongst them replied: "Our resistance has been just, since it was compulsory, and God has approved it by the wonderful assistance He has afforded us; nor have we fought for worldly wealth, but purely for conscience sake; and that, when we found our prince endeavouring



RORA.

to put an end to the true service of God, and actuated not by his own will (as we charitably believe), but by that of others, while executing with regret the commands of the Pope. With respect to the simplicity with which you reproach us, God has blessed it, since the most humble instruments are often the most agreeable to Him,



MONTE VISO.

and He can elevate the most ignoble for His own good purposes ; the counsels of the Spirit are sufficiently wise, the hearts He creates are sufficiently courageous, and the arms which He strengthens vigorous enough. We are ignorant, and affect no other eloquence than to pray with faith. As to the death you threaten us with, the word of our Sovereign is dearer than our lives ; at all events, he who has the fear of God in his heart fears not death.”¹ The answer is said to have made a favourable impression ; and peace followed, in 1565, for a time.

But as I am restricted to the notice of incidents at the period of the Reformation, and must not enter on later romantic chapters of Waldensian history, I must terminate these memorials by referring to a romantic ravine, up which we drove, known as the Rora, being the home of Gianavello, who occupies a high position in the Vaudois annals. On the peak of Rocheberas he and his brave band stood watching their enemies and contriving methods of self-defence. His house is nestled in the orchards which grow by the roots of the towering cliffs. The rugged Vandolin, the lovely Angrogna, the summit of Monte Viso, all come within view from this watch-tower ; and far away in the distance may be caught on a fine day a sight of the city of Turin, with its neighbouring Superga on the edge of the horizon.

Proceeding through Turin, in another direction, the traveller arrives at Ivrea, and from Ivrea, Aosta is reached by diligence. You enter under the Arco Della Trinità, or Triumphal Arch of Augustus a Roman structure with Corinthian pilasters, carrying back our thoughts to Imperial times. The city is associated with the name of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, a reformer of theology in the eleventh century, born here, and accustomed as a boy to look up to the snowy Alps as God’s throne ; and with the name of Bernard, a

¹ “ Authentic Details of the Waldenses,” 178. This anonymous work contains a personal narrative of travels, and abridged translations of “ *L’Histoire des Vaudois*,” par Bresse, and “ *La Rentrée Glorieuse*,” par Henri Arnaud.

monastic reformer and Archbishop of Aosta, who established the world-known Hospice which bears his name. In this charmingly situated little city other footprints may be traced. There was a young man there, one Good Friday, who heard a friar declare in the pulpit that Christ's sacrifice was daily renewed in the sacrament of the mass. "Christ has died only once," said this youth, whose name was Nicholas Sartoire; "and He is now in heaven, and will not return until the last day." "You do not then believe in His corporal presence in the blessed host?" retorted a priest who overheard the remark. "Do you know the Creed?" asked the young man. "Yes; but what of that?" "Is it not there said that Jesus is now seated at the right hand of the Father?" "Yes." "Well, that is not in the host." Such was the kind of talk not only on the German but on the Italian side of the Alps; it was, however, not so safe in the South as in the North. Consequently the inquisitive young theologian got into trouble, and his friends contrived an escape for him by night over the Pass of St. Bernard, hoping he would reach the Swiss Cantons; but at the village of St. Remy, on the Savoy side of the frontier, he was again arrested, and brought back to prison. Attempts to secure his rescue by appealing to the authorities of Berne, under whose dominion he had lived, proved in vain; and when the rack came to be applied there arose that sort of disputation which is not unfrequently reported in torture-chamber proceedings. "Retract your errors," said the judge. "Prove to me that I have errors," demanded the accused. "The Church condemns you," urged the voice of authority. "But the Bible acquits me," pleaded this advocate of the right of private judgment. "You incur the punishment of death by your obstinacy," the priest proceeded to say. "He that shall persevere to the end shall be saved," was the Protestant reply. "You wish, then, to die!" exclaimed the Inquisitor. "I wish to have eternal life," added the suffering confessor. So ended the colloquy. For his obstinacy he was condemned to be burnt alive. Friends begged

him to retract, holding out the hope of obtaining pardon. He replied : "The pardon I desire I have already obtained from God." He was burnt at Aosta on the 4th of May, 1557.

Calvin's name, as everyone knows, is connected with the city. A monumental stone contains an inscription recording his flight from the place in 1541. Tradition also points to a farmhouse where he sojourned ; to a window by which he escaped ; and to a bridge he crossed on his way.

In these days of sceptical inquiry the story of Calvin's labours in Aosta has been treated as a myth. Professor Riliet and M. Douen decidedly reject it. But the learned and patient M. Bonnet, after an examination of Aostian documents contributed by him to the "*Bulletin de l'Hist. du Protest Français*," in a letter to Professor Riliet, seems to have established on a sound historical basis the following points : That in 1536 Calvin brought over to the side of the Reformation a number of persons in the Val d'Aosta belonging to distinguished families, those of La Creste, La Visière, Vaudan, and Borgnion, not to mention others ; that his converts, together with himself, were charged with plotting a scheme for the independence of the Aostians, who were to throw off the Savoy yoke and connect themselves with the Swiss Cantons ; that the Estates in 1536 unanimously resolved to the contrary, declaring their determination to live and die in obedience to the Duke and Holy Church ; that Calvin and his adherents found much difficulty in getting over to Switzerland ; and that expiatory processions were instituted at Aosta, in token of gratitude for their deliverance from heresy and schism, the Bishop and the nobility, as well as the common people, walking on a cold winter's day barefoot, and in sackcloth and ashes.² There is a tradition in Aosta that the cause of Calvin's flight was his having promised to raise a dead man to life, and his having failed in the attempt to do so ; whereupon the

¹ Muston's "*Israel of the Alps*," i. 127.

² Baird's "*Rise of the Huguenots*," i. 207.

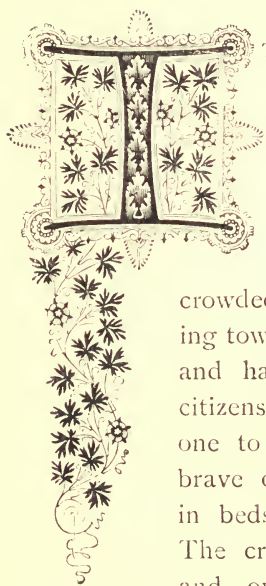
inhabitants were so enraged that he fled for his life at midnight, or rather at an hour earlier. In proof of this—and the proof is worthy of the story—an appeal is made to the practice in Aosta of dining at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. While I was in the Vatican Library looking over a catalogue of MSS. there preserved, I lighted on the following item, "Calvinus Joannes—Miraculo finto de Calvino." The *pretended* miracle thus referred to, in all probability, relates to the legend at Aosta. I am sorry I had not an opportunity of examining the document.





ENTRANCE TO THE CATHEDRAL, LUCCA.

PISA AND LUCCA.



It has been felicitously remarked respecting the four world-renowned edifices of Pisa that they are "fortunate in their solitude and society." There they stand by themselves, Cathedral, Baptistery, Campanile, and Campo Santo, in a wide, desolate area removed from closely-packed buildings, crowded streets, and noisy bustle in the neighbouring town. The grouping is wonderfully picturesque and harmonious. From the Baptistery, where the citizens still carry their children, a few steps take one to the Campo Santo, the last resting-place of brave old Pisans, who deemed it a privilege to lie in beds of earth brought from the Holy Land. The cradle and the tomb are thus close together; and over both them and the Cathedral there falls the shadow of that tower whose position is a puzzle, and whose seven bells have not only called to prayer, but rung out notes for many a sorrow and for many a joy.

The Cathedral is one of the greatest architectural wonders in

Italy, where wonders of that description abound. Seen again and again, it overawes the visitor ; each time it comes with a new surprise, days and days being needed for full acquaintance with the peculiarities of the edifice, its various parts and marvellous perspectives, together with the pictures, statues, and carvings which diversify the proportions of the structure. Here was held the Council of 1409, an event of much significance amongst the antecedents of the Protestant Reformation.

More than a hundred years before, a Pope, Benedict XI., just after his death had been described as *Maleface*, a wicked sorcerer. For many months in 1305 the chair of St. Peter continued empty because the Cardinals could not agree on a successor. When Clement V. reached that elevation he moved from place to place in France, and then settled at Avignon. The seventy years' captivity at Avignon, as it was called, during which the most infamous corruption prevailed, was of evil omen to the interests of Rome. The first schism, which began in 1379, proved more mischievous still. Pope was opposed to Pope—strange division in a Church which made its boast of unity, and pointed to its succession of bishops as a bond of perfectness. The scandal aroused indignation throughout Europe ; and it is curious to note that in 1394 the University of Paris strove to heal the schism, and a chest was placed before the members, that they might throw in their written opinions as to the best mode of effecting the object. Ten thousand papers were then collected, and the three chief plans recommended were, first, that both the existing claimants should abdicate ; secondly, that they should by compromise agree to a list of persons to be submitted for arbitration : thirdly, that the matter should be referred to a general council. This third method, after the quarrel had lasted fourteen years longer, was adopted in 1408, when summonses were issued for holding a Council at Pisa the next year. The need of a Reformation was almost universally felt.

Pisa was then subject to Florence. The first of these republics

had actually sold its cathedral to the other ; but on the 25th of March, 1409, the former city might have vaunted superiority over the latter owing to the magnificent assembly convened within its precincts. For there met twenty-two cardinals, four titular patriarchs, twelve archbishops, eighty bishops, and eighty-seven abbots ; besides priors, proctors, generals and grand masters, ambassadors, university deputies, and doctors of theology beyond number ; and the attempt to picture their arrival—some coming by sea in galleys of unwieldy build, but with imposing insignia of pomp and state ; some by land, with long processions of attendant horsemen—tasks the imagination. The difficulty in bringing the scene before one's view increases on turning to the Duomo, where they seated themselves in due order, forming one House, that there should be no distinction in the privilege of giving votes. It must have been a rare spectacle when, in gorgeous robes, they crowded the nave and choir, and performed the services of such an occasion. A sermon was preached by a cardinal, who lamented the existing division and exhorted to the restoration of unity. The rival pontiffs were, by public proclamation at the cathedral door, summoned to appear in person or by proxy ; and as they did not come they were declared contumacious. At the end of ten days' confinement in conclave, the cardinals elected Peter of Candia, a Franciscan of Milan, seventy years old, to the vacant chair, and he took the name of Alexander v. Another subject, besides the election of a new Pope, lurked behind, which the Fathers had no wish to see put in a prominent position. So it was put off, and, in the last sitting, the new Pope announced that the subject of Church Reform would be deferred to another Council, appointed for the year 1412. But no Council was then held ; yet four followed, springing out of that at Pisa, in connection with the necessities of the times. It is natural to think of them as harbingers of the Reformation.

The Council of Constance met in 1414, and rendered itself infamous by the execution of John Hus. They met under obligation

to promote reform, shifted on to their shoulders by the Fathers at Pisa ; and now the chief thing they did was to burn the man who strove to accomplish what they declined even to attempt.

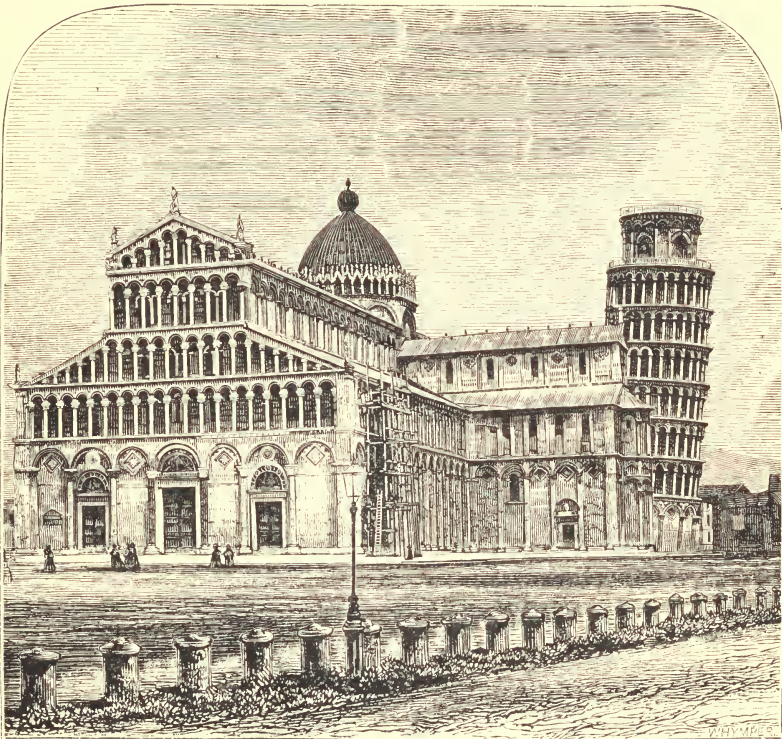
The Council of Bale assembled in 1431, when Christendom remained in a divided state, for the spirit of religious inquiry was not extinguished in the fires of Constance. Out of the ashes of Hus, and Jerome of Prague, sprang influences which prepared for changes greater than they contemplated ; and one moot-point at the time came to the front—where lies the ultimate authority for the settlement of religious controversies, in popes or councils, or the Word of God ?

The Council of Bale was translated to Ferrara, which we intend to visit ; and there, in 1438, Pope Eugene presided himself at the head of only seventy-two bishops, and, instead of attempting reform, he promulgated a decree against the Fathers who had assembled at Bale. Differences between West and East were discussed, professedly to bring about union ; and after sixteen sessions it was carried that the Council should be transferred from Ferrara to Florence. Within less than a year, the Council met in the latter city, when the points of doctrine which separated the Greek from the Latin Church were canvassed, and a decree of union was formulated, without advancing one step towards the object proposed, as the continued alienation of the two communions convincingly testifies. No other Council pretended to be general was held during the fifteenth century ; but in 1511 we find a second meeting held at Pisa, aspiring to something of a general character, because Julius II., after having at his election sworn to assemble one, had done nothing of the kind.

This brief sketch of successive Councils, suggested by what is associated with Pisa, shows the state of things in the Roman Catholic world just before Protestant Reformers made their appearance, and proves how needful it was that earnest individuals should take in hand the work which the Church in its collective capacity refused to touch. “ We have neither faith nor country

left," said Machiavelli; "and this we owe to the Church and the priests."

Pisa and Lucca are intimately associated in the history of the Reformation, as we shall see ; arising mainly from their being near



THE CATHEDRAL AND CAMPANILE, PISA.

each other. By rail it occupies about half an hour to cross the space between them. Lucca is described as "the city which formed the favourite winter quarters of the first Cæsar, the city which if enslaved was also glorified by the genius of Castruccio Castracani, the city which preserved its republican independence

for two centuries and a half after Florence and Siena had fallen.”¹ The Lucchese spirit of independence was manifested by many of the citizens at the time of the Reformation.

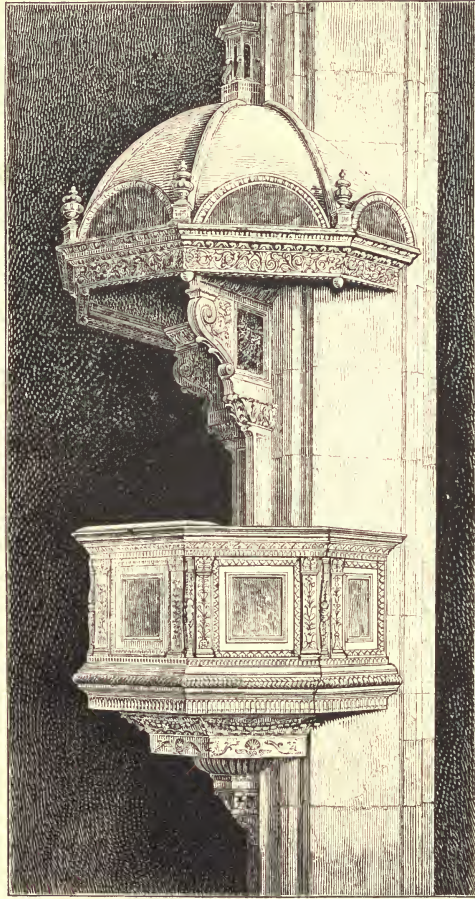
In the Cathedral of Lucca, dedicated to San Martino—the apse of which is “a Romanesque structure, with tall columnar arcades, of grand and stately work, with galleries covered with the devices of an exuberant fancy”—there is preserved a relic still famous, but it was much more so in the sixteenth and preceding centuries. William Rufus, “the Red King” of English history, we are often told, was wont to swear by the face of St. Luke; but his favourite oath really was “per vultum de Lucca,” by the face at Lucca. That face is known in Italy as the *Volto Santo*, the Holy Countenance, being an image carved on a crucifix. Nicodemus, so runs the legend, was ordered by an angel to make a likeness of Christ, and taking a hatchet cut down a cedar for the purpose. Having fallen asleep over his work, he was astonished when he woke to find that the wood had been transformed into the Redeemer’s likeness. It was brought to Leghorn, and thence taken to Lucca, where it remained an object of unspeakable reverence year after year.

Whilst the Cathedral boasting of such gross superstition still proves the need of reform in Italy, the Church of San Fridiano is connected with the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Fridiano was an Irish saint, and the church dedicated to him belonged to an Augustine abbey of high repute. Peter Martyr Vermiglio, a Florentine, of whom more will be said hereafter, was made prior of the brotherhood in 1541. He was at that time anxious for reforms in the popular religion.

He aimed at improvements in education, and established a seminary for the study of Divine truth, according to a fashion then popular in the Roman Catholic communion. Other scholars

¹ As my endeavour to visit Lucca was cut short half-way, I avail myself of what I find in Hare’s “Cities of Italy,” ii. 494.

united with him in his work, and his department was the explanation of Holy Scripture, especially the Psalter and the New



MARBLE PULPIT IN LUCCA CATHEDRAL.

Testament. His lectures were attended by some of the Lucchese grandees. With the labours of a professor he combined those of a

preacher, and during Advent and Lent gathered large congregations to listen to sermons on the Gospels for the day. Not only did he occupy the pulpit, but he instituted a society for spiritual edification; and he is represented as forming a "separate Church," of which he became pastor—a statement which must be qualified by the remembrance that he still remained in fellowship with Rome. "A separate Church," in the Protestant acceptance of the words, was impossible at that time.

The Emperor Charles V. and the Pope Paul III. visited Lucca in 1541; and great excitement must have been produced by the spectacle of two such potentates within the city walls. It would be accompanied by magnificent processions, imposing Church services and gorgeous banquets, in which the Prior of Frignano could not fail to have some share. He suffered no molestation whilst the Imperial and Pontifical presence remained; but the next year we find the Bishop of Lucca writing to the municipal authorities touching the spread of heresy.

"Till now," he said, "it has been thought, as it was formerly by our Lord the Pope, that the evil arose from pedants and women; but hearing of conventicles which are held in the Convent of St. Augustine, and the doctrines which are taught and printed, and seeing no hindrance is offered either by the spiritual or temporal rulers of the city, and that they do not ask others to do what they have not courage themselves to accomplish, we can only conclude that all proceeds with their consent and approval."¹

Spies watched the conduct of Peter Martyr Vermiglio; tales were told to his discredit; plots were laid for the overthrow of his authority; but his popularity outside the priory walls stood him in good stead, and baulked the efforts of his enemies. The latter, however, persevered, and accused of heresy a friend of his, a certain friar of the convent; committed to prison, this friar was rescued by the citizens; but meeting with an accident, he was retaken,

¹ Quoted in Young's "Life and Times of Paleario," i. 409.

and conveyed to Rome. Martyr's foes, becoming more bold, now attacked him with success, and lodged against him such charges as secured a citation to appear before a general congregation of his order. He determined to disobey, evidently because he was dissatisfied altogether with a monastic life ; the basis on which it rested, as well as the corruptions it embraced, having opened his eyes



PETER MARTYR.

to its true character and its natural tendencies. It was not in a fit of spleen, but from a conscientious conviction of the institution being unsound and mischievous, that Peter Martyr sent the ring he had worn as Prior to the authorities of his order. He abandoned monkery, and having left Lucca for Florence, there joined Bernardino Ochino, and with other companions travelled to Zurich,

the head-quarters of Protestantism in that part of Switzerland. The step proves that Martyr had abandoned Popery altogether, and had cast in his lot with such as were decided and thorough young Reformers. From Zurich he proceeded to Strasburg, where we shortly find him engaged as an academical professor. There he published in Italian an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, which rendered "to all an account of his faith;" and there he issued an epistle to his friends at Lucca, addressing them as "*Ecclesiæ Lucensis fidelibus.*" A distinct constitution on their part as a Protestant Church is here recognised; and it would appear that after Peter Martyr left Lucca, the principles he had inculcated developed themselves amongst his converts, and that they separated themselves in fact, if not by public avowal, from the Church of Rome. Some Lucchese monks had imbibed the views of the Prior, whilst presiding over them, and consequently were arrested and thrown into prison; eighteen of the order are said to have left Italy for Switzerland. Peter Martyr's little congregation, growing up into greater distinctness and more decided separation, though opposed by the priesthood, enjoyed the favour of several leading citizens, who afforded it protection. Twelve years after his departure, he wrote to his friends, "Such progress have you made for many years in the gospel of Jesus Christ, that it was unnecessary for me to excite you by my letters; and all that remained for me to do was to make honourable mention of you everywhere, and to give thanks to our Heavenly Father for the spiritual blessings with which He had crowned you. In this I had an honourable motive, from reflecting that my hand was honoured to lay the foundation of this good work, in weakness, I confess, but still, by the grace of Christ, to your no small profit. My joy was increased by learning that, after my labours among you were over, God provided you with other and able teachers, by whose prudent care and salutary instructions the work begun in you was advanced."¹

¹ M'Crie's "*History of the Reformation in Italy,*" 226.

Celio Secundo Curio, to whom the reader was introduced at Turin, was one of the able teachers referred to in this letter. He obtained office in the university, and there promoted the cause of Protestantism, much to the vexation of the clergy, who stirred up the Roman Inquisition against him. Expecting a citation to appear before that dread tribunal, Curio sought refuge at Ferrara, under the protection of the Duchess Renée. Returning to the neighbourhood of Lucca, he stopped at Pessa, where he experienced one of those escapes which give a romantic air to the lives of the Reformers. Seated at dinner in the little inn, he saw a *Barisello*, or captain of Papal soldiers, enter the room, and received from him a demand that he should immediately deliver himself as a prisoner. He rose to do so, "retaining unconsciously in his hand the knife with which he had been carving his food."¹ His athletic figure, and the formidable weapon, which he had no thought of employing, it is said, struck the *Barisello* with a sudden panic; and, availing himself of this unexpected circumstance, Curio walked into the stable, mounted his horse, and was soon at a distance from the soldiers.

The Inquisition with its terrors was greatly detested by many Italians, and with this detestation there came to be combined the discontent of several Florentines, Pisans, and Siennese at the subversion of their republican constitutions. These persons sought refuge in Lucca, and there brooding over wrongs inflicted by both Popes and Emperors, began to devise means for the recovery of their former liberties. For refugees from one state to be laying plots in another, was amongst the common incidents of those troublous times; and hence the exiles now mentioned busied themselves in the way described. Francesco Burlamacchi was now Gonfalonière of the Lucchese troops; and he placed himself at the head of an enterprise for accomplishing more than the exiles originally contemplated. Francis I., Charles V., and the Princes of

¹ M'Crie's "History of the Reformation in Italy," 226.

the Smalcaldic League were at that time (1546) pursuing very different plans, in which political and ecclesiastical interests were variously involved ; and Burlamacchi, availing himself of existing antagonisms, thought that by the aid of Francis and the Smalcaldic Leaguers he might overcome the Emperor, and advance the freedom of the Italians. Protestant plans could easily be made to coalesce with others of a simply political character ; but there seems to be no evidence that the Reformed Church at Lucca took part in Burlamacchi's schemes : at all events, those schemes were frustrated. They became known to the Senate of Lucca and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the plotting Gonfalonière presently saw the inside of a prison at Milan : this discovery, and the disgrace it brought on his co-conspirators, operated to the disadvantage of the Lucchese Protestants, who though, as it would appear, perfectly innocent, were supposed to sympathize in attempts to alter the government.

After this, when the Reformed congregation at Lucca had imagined itself for awhile quite secure, persecution arose with great violence under Paul IV., and orders reached the city for suppressing the Protestant conventicle. On the same night, the principal members were seized and thrown into prison ; and their courage failing at the sight of the rack, they made peace with the irresistible tribunal on the best terms they could obtain. Some of them had accused Peter Martyr of cowardice because of his flight ; it was mortifying now to be themselves accused of cowardice because of their submission. He wrote to them as follows : " How can I refrain from lamentations, when I think that such a pleasant garden as the Reformed Church at Lucca presented to the view, has been so completely laid waste by the cruel tempest as scarcely to retain a vestige of its former cultivation ? Those who did not know you might have entertained fears that you would not be able to resist the storm ; it never could have entered into my mind that you would fall so foully. After the knowledge you had of the fury of Anti-

christ, and of the danger which hung over your heads, when you did not choose to retire by availing yourselves of what some call the common remedy of the weak, but which in certain circumstances I deem a wise precaution, your friends were disposed to say, ‘ These hard and brave soldiers of Christ will not fly, because they are determined, by their martyrdom and blood, to open a way for the progress of the gospel in their native country ; emulating the noble examples which are given every day by their brethren in France, Belgium and England. Ah, how much have their hopes been disappointed ! What matter of boasting has been given to our Antichristian oppressors ! But this confounding catastrophe is to be deplored with tears rather than words.”¹ There is a sting in these rebukes, and no wonder—the exile had the advantage over people who looked like apostates ; and it would appear that the Lucchese Protestants had been wont to boast of their firmness when others gave way to persecution or persuasion. But though they bent before the blast, their strength was not uprooted, and the trees of the field in the goodly city amongst the hills were not stripped of all their honours. Protestantism was not crushed by all which Paul IV. and the Inquisition could accomplish. I find that in 1556 many remained at Lucca, who had either recovered, or had never given up the beliefs taught them ; and they imitated their teacher’s example. They fled from their country. Amongst them were several distinguished families—the Micheli, the Turrettini, the Calandrini, the Burlamacchi, the Diodati, the Balbani, the Minutoli. Readers will recognise among these names some which are conspicuous in Protestant literature. These citizens of Lucca crossed the Alps and reached Geneva, where they joined their brethren who had previously settled there ; certain divines who bore some of these names distinguished themselves by learned authorship. Even this large emigration did not sweep out of the place all seeds of Protestantism. The year 1562 witnessed “ heretics ” at Lucca,

¹ M‘Crie’s “ History of the Reformation in Italy,” 286.

who kept up a friendly correspondence with their countrymen abroad, and managed to import books from Geneva and Lyons.¹ Another stream of emigration followed. More families left the city for the shores of Lake Leman ; and the magistrates, to stop the flow, prohibited intercourse between the citizens and such religious rebels. All, however, who betook themselves to Switzerland were not of the orthodox faith. A good many Italians were free-thinkers, in the sense of wandering beyond the bounds of general Christian belief. One Lucchese emigrant of this kind is especially mentioned, a medical man named Simon Simon. After residing at Geneva, he removed to Heidelberg, Leipsic, Prague and Cracow—being successively a Calvinist, a Lutheran, and an Arian. Some called him a Jesuit, and an atheist.

A curious incident occurred more than a century afterwards. Cardinal Spinola, Bishop of Lucca in 1679, wrote a letter to the descendants of the refugees then residing in Geneva. He told them how concerned he was that so many persons of noble extraction and superior ability should in times of trouble have left their native city ; what affection he felt for their families ; and how he cherished a strong desire to see them within the bosom of the true Church, for which object he sought the intercessions of the faithful. The refugees replied—reviewing the progress of the Reformation at Lucca, criticising the contents of the Cardinal's letter, and cutting off all hope of their recovery—by an appeal to the citizens as "kinsmen according to the flesh still groping in the darkness of Popery."

¹ I am informed by a friend in Italy, that he had occasion to examine the city records of Lucca, and found in them the names of well-known Protestants, who were driven away by persecution, and sought shelter in Geneva. Information respecting these refugees is given in "*Le Refuge Italien de Genève aux xvi. et xvii. siècles*," par J. B. G. Galiffe, D.D. He gives their general history, and a long list of Italian families who were formed into a distinct Church. He says, "*L'organisation régulière de l'Eglise, et de la communauté italiennes de Genève ne date que de 1552, et fut l'œuvre du marquis Galeas Caracciolo*," p. 36.

Lucca for a while appears to have been a centre of Protestant influence. So strong was the impression made by Peter Martyr's labours, that Reformers there propagated in the neighbourhood the principles they had embraced. They sent missionaries to Pisa with such success that the converts "formed themselves into a Church, and had the sacrament of the Lord's Supper celebrated among them;"¹ but beyond this general fact, stated by M'Crie on the authority of Simler, in his life of Peter Vermiglio, I am unable to discover anything connected with the history of the Reformation in that city.

Another name connected with the Reformation in Italy occurs to me whilst thinking of Lucca. Aonio Paleario, who will meet us again and again, became a classical professor there. Writing to one of his learned correspondents, he says, "When the honourable men invited me to interpret the classics for an hour every day, and promised me suitable remuneration, I accepted it, however tiresome and even hateful it is to me. For I have to speak every day without preparation, which is the part of a sophist. Not to do this, I always devote a certain portion of time to the consideration of my subject, which time I generally take from my night's rest. As I do not approve of translations being unfurnished with the inexhaustible treasures of Greek literature, I employ the rest of the day in studying Greek authors."²

Paleario also lectured in public, and caused much excitement among the literary Lucchese, whose minds were much occupied with subjects belonging to the revival of ancient literature at that period; and by his studies he was preparing for subsequent work in the domain of theology, where we shall find him before long in a prominent position. "Not a single day passed," he says, "without a great concourse of young men; and such was the influence on them of one man's oration in praise of eloquence, that not only

¹ M'Crie's "History of the Reformation in Italy," 154.

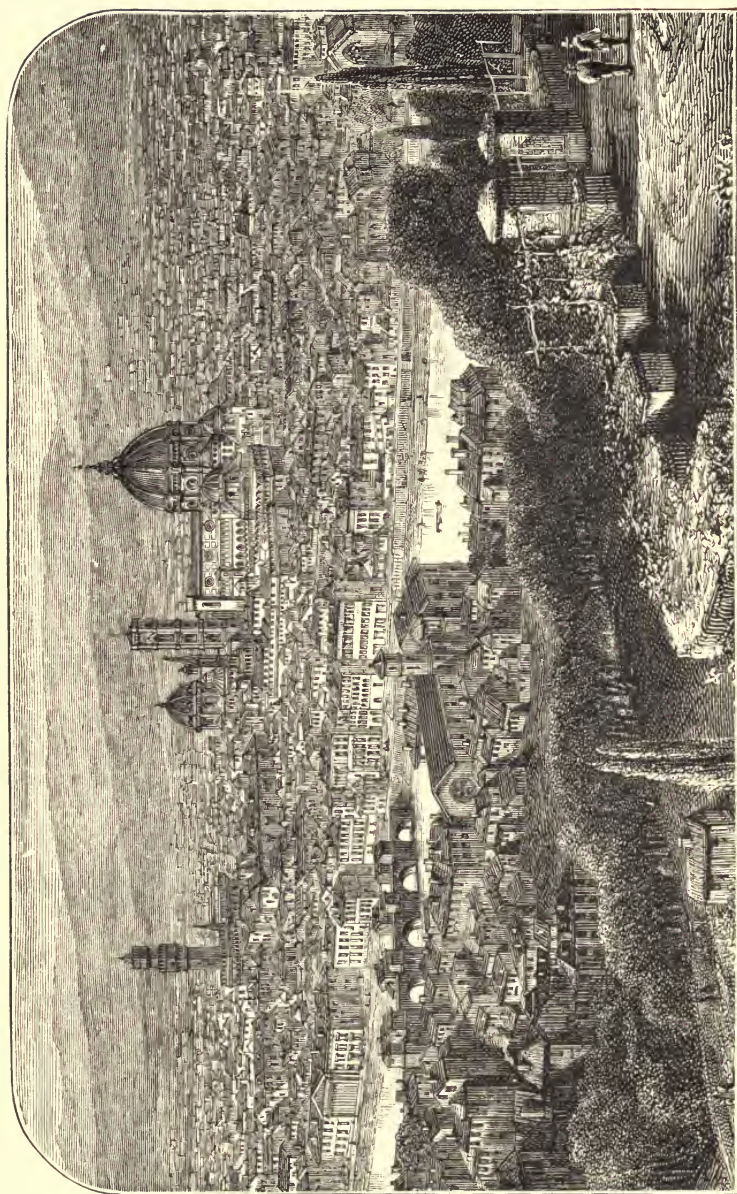
² Young's "Life and Times of Paleario," ii. 326.

did they purify their style from false latinity, but conceived a dislike for its votaries.”¹

He went to Lucca in 1550, and left it in 1555, a period some years after Peter Martyr had departed from the place.

¹ Young's “Life and Times of Paleario,” ii. 330.

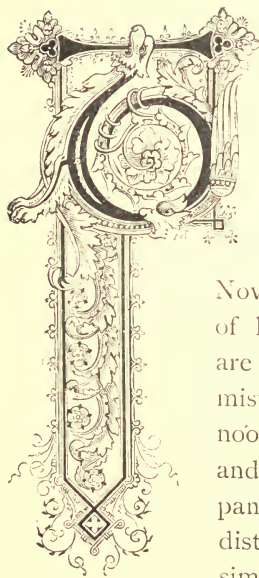




FLORENCE.

FLORENCE.

“Of all the fairest cities of the earth,
None is so fair as Florence.”



THESE words of the poet Rogers are verified abundantly by most visitors. They are so when, from the steps of the church of San Miniato, one looks down on the winding Arno, the bridges crossing it, the old Palace Tower, the Bargello, the Duomo, the Campanile, Santa Croce, Santa Maria Novella, the wooded Campagna, and the girdle of hills dotted with villas. Water and stones are seen at mid-day covered with a veil of golden mist; but in early morning and the late afternoon—while sky and clouds are of richer hues, and the atmosphere is quite colourless—the panorama is more bewitching still, from the distinctness of objects far as well as near. And similar effects are also produced when, coming down from Fiesole, the eye follows shadows cast by the declining sun, and takes in a variety of foliage—the grave-looking olive, the graver cypress, grand as grave, contrasted with the gay livery of other wooded brethren, and with the blue hills and blue sky:—all

these encircle as in a picture-frame the central objects on the Arno banks. The river is like steel in a subdued light ; and crowded buildings are seen pointing to the skies, whilst the western horizon glows like the gold-field of an escutcheon. Nor can I forget how, during a visit twenty-five years since, returning from the Grange of Vallombrosa, amidst swelling uplands clothed with figs and chestnuts, rich enjoyment came from rambles in little rocky dells, and by the side of vineyards where clover was shooting up under trellised vines. Though all was Italian, the agricultural cultivation of the then Grand Duchy made me think of scenes by the side of rivers in dear Old England.

Florence now is not the Florence of the Middle Ages. It is not so architecturally, except in a few instances. Certainly it is not so politically, nor is it so sentimentally—or intellectually, or morally, or religiously—if the expressions may be allowed. Changes began to come over it long, long ago. If we go back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we find Florentines living in an atmosphere of thought and feeling very difficult for us to understand. Myths and legends of all kinds, many of them full of poetic beauty, remain painted on walls, sculptured in marble, and woven by traditional association round many and many an edifice. They have a charm, even in our prosaic age. But they had a meaning once, they have lost now. The miracles of saints, the ministries of angels, the sufferings and achievements of prehistoric times, were to the people then as real as any of the facts we now believe. In truth, there was a second kind of world, supernatural, full of mystery, crowded with all sorts of beings and agencies, which floated above and around the citizens' daily life, as fully recognised, as firmly believed, as the existence of their own dwellings. They had no scepticism about what appears to modern thought a universe of dreams. It has been said of Athens that it had a second population composed of statues with which the living citizens daily mixed and dwelt. What these works of art were to the old Greeks, the paintings and monuments

of Florence were to the citizens, only the latter had a firmer faith in the associations suggested. At the same time, with all this child-like credulity, with this immense collection of imaginative beliefs, there prevailed a system of spiritual despotism, claiming absolute dominion over human consciences ; and in practice it was identified with numerous social and moral corruptions, which poisoned popular life in all its grades, from the highest to the lowest. It had its seat and centre in Rome, but it extended its sway more or less over the whole of Christendom, making itself especially felt in Italy, and exerting its power with great effect in Florence. Ignorance of what we now understand by the word *literature* combined itself very naturally with such signs of the times as I have indicated. Reading and writing were rare accomplishments. Manuscripts were chiefly confined to monasteries. There were no printing-presses. The classics were much neglected. Few scholars could read Greek. Criticism, properly speaking, had scarcely come into use. Metaphysical theology flourished. The schoolmen indeed exhibited rare genius and industry. There was plenty of intellectual action and achievement ; but literary culture, in its modern acceptation, had not come to light. Social injustice and disorder pre-eminently marked the period to which I refer ; and of this fact Florence afforded a striking example ; for amongst faction-torn republics, that city, with all its enterprise in commerce and art, witnessed a large amount of ambition and injustice, of patriotism and selfishness, of disinterestedness and cruelty. Finally, amongst other evils, and the source of many of them, was the neglect of Holy Scripture as the final test of religious truth. Not that a verbal acquaintance with the Old and New Testaments was uncommon. The daily services of the Church, and even some of the preaching, made many familiar with Bible texts as well as Bible facts ; but the Word of God, as the supreme and conclusive authority for Christian convictions, was neither upheld nor followed.

This condition of society rendered the Reformation necessary.

It was in this field, grown over with so many thorns, that the Reformers had to work ; and I shall now endeavour to trace the footsteps of some who, by different methods, sought to improve the times in which they lived, and who in varied degrees helped beforehand to prepare for, or afterwards efficiently to promote the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

I referred to the Albigenses in my first chapter. The Albigenses appear to have been tintured with Manichæan principles ; and principles of the same kind were diffused in Northern Italy as early as the eleventh century. Though there can be but little doubt as to the fact of erroneous opinions being held by some of the people so called, though many of them may perhaps justly be connected with the class of persons engaged in the Albigensian movement of Southern France ; yet, as we know that little care is taken in the application of names to religious parties, it is quite possible that the appellation of heretics was fastened upon Christians who did little if anything more than oppose prevailing superstition. Be that as it may, certain persons called Paterines are spoken of as making an appearance in Florence at an early period, and as attracting the attention of the Church authorities there. Severe edicts against sectaries emanated from Imperial as well as ecclesiastical sources ; but the principal agents in the work of repressing heresy were the order of friars instituted by Dominic in the thirteenth century. What we call persecution they deemed a work of justice and even mercy—justice in extinguishing evil, mercy in saving others from its mischief and misery. Dominic sent some of his order to Florence, who, about 1222, were settled down within an enclosure on the outside of the city walls, where they built a monastery, which grew into Santa Maria Novella, the first grand architectural object which attracts the attention of the traveller as he issues from the railway-station. There the brotherhood who had special charge of the popular faith took up their head-quarters, and there they unfurled their banners, with a significant blood-red

cross on a white field, one of which is preserved in the sacristy of the beautiful church. Fra Pietro of Verona—Peter Martyr, as he is commonly called, from his having been murdered in 1252, when engaged in one of his missions—was a member of the order, and became well known in Florence through his pulpit eloquence. According to the common practice of the Dominicans, he was a street preacher. At the corner of the Palace of the Vecchietti, in the Via Ferriocchi, leading to the old market, he addressed large crowds. "On one occasion he declared that he saw the Devil in the shape of a black horse galloping past, and he exorcised him by the sign of the cross. At other times he preached from a pulpit attached to the walls of the oratory belonging to the Misericordia now called the Bizallo. The hooks or cramps by which Peter Martyr's pulpit was fastened were till recently to be seen there."¹ In the course of his preaching he denounced heresy, and specially attacked the people called Paterines. They do not seem to have quietly submitted to the friars' authority. Florentines generally were not distinguished by meekness, and were not disposed to endure with patience the rod of persecution. Few controversies were settled in the city without an appeal to physical force. Disputes which began in words, commonly ended in blows. Battles were waged between the Dominicans and the Paterines: Peter in person leading on his twelve captains with a band of followers against the hated heretics, who are said to have been all massacred with the exception of a few individuals, who fled to a monastery situated beyond the Porta Romana of Florence. The incident illustrates both the progress of free inquiry and the violence employed to overcome it.

Amidst the spiritual and political despotism of the Papacy and the gross corruption of the Roman court and its succession of Pontiffs, there appeared one who made a deeper intellectual mark on his age than any other man. Dante is known as a poet, but, in

¹ Horner's "Walks in Florence," i. 96.

a certain sense, he was no less a Reformer; not that he disputed the theology maintained in the schools, not that he pleaded for any organic ecclesiastical changes, yet it is plain from his writings that he aimed at political and moral results of a most important reformatory description. His marvellous "Commedia" has employed the pens of admiring critics; and after perusing some of them, while I cannot adopt Rossetti's extraordinarily fanciful theory of a secret symbolical language against Rome from end to end—preferring rather to walk in the light of Mrs. Oliphant's inartificial, candid, and intelligent comments—I am constrained to regard the wonderful author of dreams touching Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, as a great Reformer, full of ideas bearing on the political and moral improvement of his country and mankind. There is one idea very clearly brought out—that Rome at the time was a sink of evils, and that Imperial rule was vastly to be preferred to that which was Pontifical. It is remarked that Dante "sees no Pope except St. Peter in Paradise, and no Emperor in Hell."¹ No doubt the Ghibelline, in opposition to the Guelphic, policy was the practical form which Dante's speculations took; but underneath there were principles pointing to reforms in the Church, political and moral reforms in the State.

"Rome—

Was wont to boast two suns, whose several beams
Cast light on either way, the world's and God's.—
One since hath quenched the other: and the sword
Is grafted on the crook, and so conjoined,
Each must perforce decline to move, unawed
By fear of other."

"The Church of Rome,

Mixing two governments that ill assort,
Hath missed her footing, fallen into the mire,
And there herself and burden much defiled."

¹ Stanley's "Christian Institutions," 219.

² "Purgatory," Canto xvi. 110, 127-129.

“Tell me now,
 What treasures from St. Peter at the first
 Our Lord demanded when He put the keys
 Into his charge? Surely He asked no more
 But, ‘Follow Me.’”

“Your avarice
 O’ercasts the world with mourning, under foot
 Treading the good, and raising bad men up.
 Of shepherds like to you the Evangelist
 Was ware, when her who sits upon the waves,
 With kings in filthy whoredom he beheld;
 She who with seven heads towered at her birth,
 And from ten horns her proof of glory drew,
 Long as her spouse in virtue took delight.
 Of gold and silver ye have made your god,
 Differing wherein from the idolater,
 But that he worships one, a hundred ye?
 Ah! Constantine, to how much ill gave birth,
 Not thy conversion, but that plenteous dower
 Which the first wealthy father gained from thee.”¹

Corruption is exposed with a view to its removal; and this obvious fact shows with what intent Dante painted his pictures of corruption and scandal. The source of cure he points to when he makes his confession of faith, and assigns its authority.

“From that truth
 It cometh to me rather, which is shed
 Through Moses; the rapt Prophets; and the Psalms;
 The Gospel; and what ye yourselves did write,
 When ye were gifted of the Holy Ghost.”²

Everyone is acquainted with what Dante did, by his “Divine Commedia,” in the domain of an ecclesiastical and moral reformation, though falling far short of the profounder Christian teaching of two centuries later; but it is not so generally known that he was, as Dr. Vincenzo Botta says, “the first to construct a philosophical

¹ “Inferno,” Canto xix. 91-94, 104-117.

He is addressing St. Peter, “Paradiso,” Canto xxiv. 135-139.

theory of the separation of the State from the Church in his "De Monarchia," in which he advocated the independence of the civil power from all ecclesiastical control."¹ A decided step in the direction of that great political movement which accompanied the Reformation, and which of late has been carried out to surprising lengths in the kingdom of Italy.

The Bard Reformer has left well-known footprints in what he calls "the sheepfold of St. John," the *bello ovile*,² the "beautiful sheepfold," as he also terms it.



CASA DI DANTE.

I spent a couple of hours one morning in searching round the neighbourhood of Dante's birthplace. He was born in a house, the front of which is said to have been in the Via Santa Margherita. A door belonging to it, part of his father's shop, tradition says, still remains in the street now named after Dante, near the little Piazza of San Martino. It is a narrow, arched entrance, with broad stone facings all round; the door itself being very old. Walking through an intersecting passage, I came upon the spot where the front of the dwell-

ing stood, now a hostelry, very shabby and full of dirt; but by the side of it ran once a pretty garden lane, in which, looking down from his window, the young poet could watch the movements of Beatrice, who lived not far off, at the corner of the Via del Proconsolo. At one corner of the Piazza San Martino is a tiny church, which in size reminded me of the chapel at Bemerton, near Salisbury, where good George Herbert worshipped. There are old paintings

¹ Ueberweg's "Hist. of Philosophy," ii. 462.

² "Paradiso," Canto xxv. 5.

in it of a date later than Dante's time, executed in the style of Filippino Lippi and Sandro Botticelli; to this primitive-looking place Dante was taken as a child to say his prayers, and there he was married—not to Beatrice, as everyone knows, but to Gemma, daughter of Manetti Donati. In noticing the spot, let me add that on the wall by the church door is an inscription cut into an old square stone—"Limosine per li poveri vergognosi di S. Martino"¹ (Alms for the modest poor of St. Martin). Those words remind the Italian passer-by of Archbishop Antonino, of the fifteenth century, who, though not a Reformer, was a benefactor to the city, by the establishment of what were called *Providitori di poveri vergognosi*, or, as they were commonly called, *Buonuomini di San Martino*, good messengers of St. Martin, from the church of that name being the head-quarters of the fraternity. In the absence of poor laws, Antonino established a system of voluntary parochial relief, of which the square stone and the money-box over the inscription are mementoes; and he further provided for bringing up orphans and destitute children, a provision connected with the Bigallo, a charming piece of architecture close to the Baptistery, where a like work of charity is still carried on. In the fifteenth century, fourteen thousand gold florins a year were collected by the society.

Girolamo Savonarola comes much nearer to our notion of a religious Reformer than any other Florentines of pre-Reformation times. That he did not reach a clear conception of the Gospel, such as marked the teaching of Luther and others, must be admitted: nor had he a true idea of the spirituality of Christ's kingdom. He condemned the actions of Popes, rather than the principles of the Papacy, and adhered to the dogmas and ceremonial of the Church in most particulars. He was a mystic and a visionary, and

¹ Near it is another inscription, to the effect that whoever is willing to contribute to the poor of St. Martin's shall obtain long years' indulgence granted by the briefs of five Popes.

indulged in dreams by which he deceived himself as well as others. But an evangelical spirit penetrated his mind : he aspired, under motives of patriotism blended with piety, to the realization of an ideal religious republic in his adopted city ; he wished to make the



SAVONAROLA'S CELL.

inhabitants "fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God;" and, had they yielded to his moralizing influence, they would have become a better and happier people than they were.

The Monastery of San Marco, the Duomo of St. John, the

Carreggi Villa, and the Bargello, with the Palazzo Vecchio and Piazza, are associated with the main facts of Savonarola's history.

The Monastery of San Marco is now a museum, and there the cell of Savonarola, at the end of the corridor, is carefully preserved. It is a double cell, and contains a desk, on which some of his writing is exhibited, and a cabinet containing his hair shirt, his rosary, and pieces of burnt wood taken from the pile on which he suffered. In the farther cell is a picture of his execution, copied from an original in one of the Roman palaces. Outside, in the corridor near the cell, is a charming Madonna and Child, painted on the wall by the Reformer's friend, Fra Bartolommeo, who was heart-stricken by his death. There also is the chapter-house, where, as Prior, he transacted the business of his order; also the spacious library, where he said to the monks, as he took his last leave, "My sons, in the presence of God, before the sacred host, and with my enemies already in the convent, I now confirm my doctrine. What I have said came to me from God, and He is my witness in heaven that what I say is true." In the convent garden—reminding one of the damask roses forming "a canopy of bloom over the dark head covered with its cowl"—Lorenzo de Medici said to one of the brethren, "Has he asked for me?" "No, father," replied the monk. "Let him pursue his devotions undisturbed," added the prince-like visitor. "This man is a true monk, and the only one I have known who acts up to his profession." As we leave the building let us not forget that in winter-time the square in front was thronged for hours by multitudes, waiting to get in to hear the Prior preach.

The Duomo—which from its vast extent, its severe simplicity, its narrow painted windows, strikes one with a feeling of awe followed by mystery—was the chief scene of Savonarola's triumphs in preaching; and there his spirit seems still to linger, in harmony with the strange gloom of the edifice, recalling to mind how once that nave was filled by people who would stand on the cold

marble in the early morn, waiting for the padre to enter his pulpit.

The villa at Carreggi lies three miles out of Florence, along a slightly ascending road, amidst fields and gardens ; and when the gates are reached the building is found to be of unpretending architecture, only massive and strong, commanding, on the side farthest from the road, a charming view of a wide landscape, rich in woodland and grassy fields, with tints of colour and plays of light such as we never see in northern latitudes. In a room within this house occurred a scene which has excited controversy. Certainly Savonarola came here to see Lorenzo de Medici on his dying bed. The priest required of the patient that he should profess his belief in the true faith, which the latter did immediately. Next Savonarola asked for a promise of future virtue and religion, in case of recovery, and of devout submission to the will of God in case of death. To all this Lorenzo gave his assent. Thus far biographers are agreed ; but Roscoe, following Politian, proceeds to say that on Savonarola's "quitting the room, Lorenzo called him back, and as an unequivocal mark that he harboured in his bosom no resentment against him for the injuries which he had received, requested the priest would bestow his benediction ; with which he instantly complied, Lorenzo making the usual responses with a firm and collected voice." On the other hand, a more common account—based on the authority of the nephew of the celebrated Pico of Mirandola, Lorenzo's great friend—is, that the friar stipulated with the merchant prince that he should restore to Florence the independence and liberties he had taken from it, and, on receiving no reply, left the room without pronouncing the sentence of absolution. Roscoe refuses to accept the latter account, simply on the ground of its evincing a party spirit which did not appear till after Lorenzo's death. But there existed personal disapproval of Lorenzo's policy before that incident occurred, quite sufficient to account for the conduct of the

Reformer ; and the prejudiced way in which the English biographer describes his hero, and speaks of "factious purposes" on the part of Lorenzo's visitor, is more than enough to throw suspicion on his narrative. I see no ground for questioning the trustworthiness of Pico's nephew ; and I find that Mrs. Oliphant, on noticing the omission made by Politian, quotes in full from the narrative of



SAVONAROLA.

Burlamacchi, "who seems to us," she adds, "at least as satisfactory a witness." He gives an account corresponding with that which Roscoe rejects.

In the Bargello, the well-known Florentine prison, and in the Palazzo Vecchio, not far from it, we reach the last traces of this

great man. According to a MS. among the treasures of the Magliabecchian Library, he underwent an examination, "first with words, then with threats, then with torture," and on the second day of his imprisonment was twice stretched on the rack. On eight successive days interrogations were continued; and words extorted under the pressure of a maddened brain were construed into a confession of heresy and of pretensions with which he was charged. It is hopeless to attempt any explanation of the terrible process through which he passed, as the record of what he said "is devoid of all sense and valueless—as, indeed, are all the minutes of this examination, which were falsified from the outset, and in which it is difficult to guess what could have been the genuine answer. The minutes were neither signed nor printed, nor publicly read; they were left as if broken off, and were no more attended to. They were kept concealed, except the copy sent to the courts of Italy."¹

The garbled account of what was done and said by Savonarola is but a specimen of the character of such records, and should be remembered when we come to notice the Archives of the Inquisition; also we should bear in recollection the state of suffering to which the victim was reduced by torture, showing that under such circumstances the tormentors might extort almost any confession they pleased.

I spent some hours in the library examining records connected with Savonarola's trial, and found a minute account of it in harmony with that given by Villari, in his life of the great Florentine martyr. It is neatly written, and at the end gives the particulars of his degradation. Two letters are appended, addressed to the Pope, respecting "*la Vita buono*," the good life of the martyr; one by the brethren of San Marco, the other by above thirteen hundred Florentine citizens. The names are all given.

Of all that I saw in this large library nothing interested me so much as Savonarola's Bible, which he used to carry under his arm,

¹ Villari, "*Life of Savonarola*," ii. 350.

as priests do their breviary. It is entitled, "*Biblia integra*;" the date is 1491, and the type is beautifully clear. There are in the margins copious notes in his own hand, and also several autograph pages at the end. A likeness of Savonarola is placed at the beginning, with a MS. note stating that it belonged to him, and that it comprises his prophecies written by himself. To the library a vast collection of Savonarola's productions has been contributed by Signor Guicciardini; of these there is a catalogue, extending altogether over sixty pages of close printing, enumerating edition after edition of Savonarola's separate works, expository, philosophical, political, theological, and prophetic, dating from the year 1491.

In the Palazzo Vecchio is the chapel of San Bernardo, with apostles and cherubs painted in fresco by Ridolfo Ghirlandajo; and there, with his two brethren, companions in tribulation and patience, Savonarola celebrated the last sacrament, and was permitted to pray in his own words, "Lord, I know that Thou art that perfect Trinity, invisible, distinct, in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; I know that Thou art the Eternal Word, that Thou didst descend into the bosom of Mary, that Thou didst ascend upon the cross to shed blood for our sins. I pray Thee, that by that blood I may have remission of my sins, for which I implore Thy forgiveness, for every other offence or injury done to this city, and for every other sin of which I may unconsciously have been guilty."

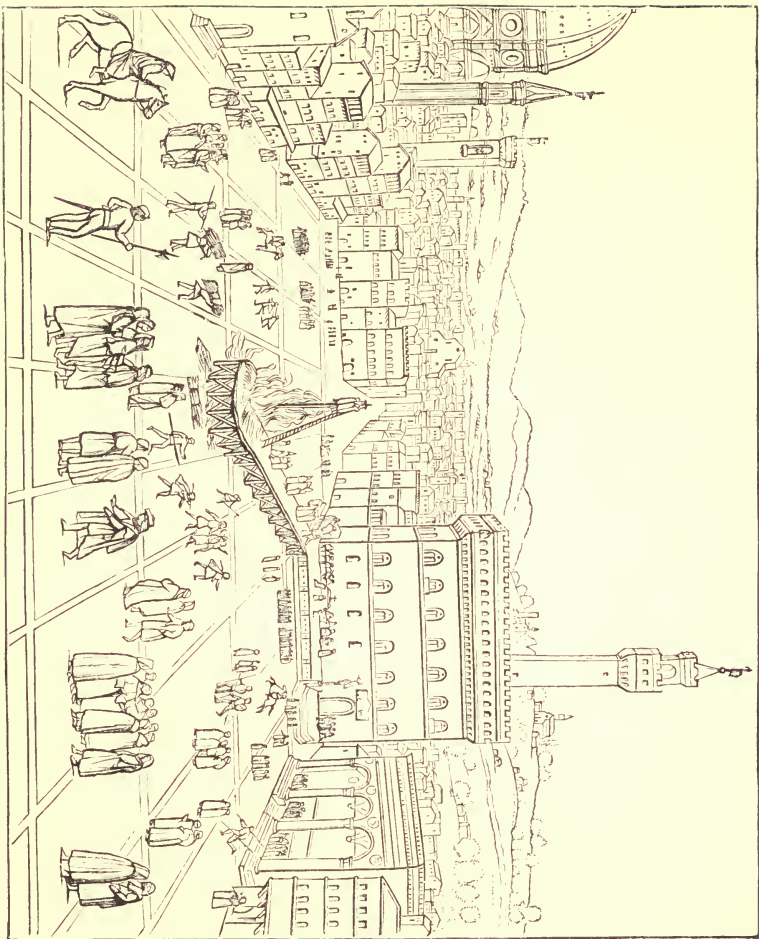
The execution took place in the Piazza in front of the old Castle Palace. The picture in the cell at San Marco brings the whole scene before us. There is a round platform, with a table and candlesticks upon it, and a mitred bishop attended by priests and other persons; whilst, at right angles with the platform, is seen a raised passage conducting to a pile of wood in flames. Three groups are depicted walking towards it, each having a white figure in the middle between two black ones. At the end of the raised passage there rises out of the midst of the fire a lofty pole, on

which three figures in white are suspended, the same persons being thus repeated in one and the same picture, after a common fashion with pre-Raphaelite artists. Groups of people are scattered over the area, and many are standing under the shadow of the Loggia.

It is a curious fact, brought to light by Professor Comba, in his "History of the Martyrs," that two brethren sent from Bohemia to visit the Waldenses in their valleys, travelled to Florence on the way, and happened to be in that city at the time of Savonarola's martyrdom. They witnessed the tragedy, and, with courage heightened by what they saw, reproached severely a Waldensian Christian whom just afterwards they found in Rome, for not daring to proclaim his faith amidst the corrupting influences of the Papal court.¹

The Piazza which witnessed the martyrdom of Savonarola had been the scene of a far different spectacle not long before. When Prior of San Marco, he had declared it to be the will of God that Florence should be a theocratical republic; that Christ should be King over the citizens. In accordance with this idea, he sought to put down their licentiousness and vanity; and for that purpose sanctioned and encouraged the destruction of objects identified with prevalent immorality and worldliness. Florentine boys dressed in white, wearing olive chaplets, and carrying little red crosses, went about the streets in procession, begging for the anatema, *i. e.* such things as had come under the Prior's malediction. They were brought into the Piazza, and formed what George Eliot calls, in "Romola," "the pyramid of vanities;" set on fire in the presence of excited citizens, they blazed up to heaven, a holocaust in honour of the new Divine commonwealth. It has sometimes been supposed that valuable works of art formed parts of the hecatomb; but Professor Villari thinks that masks and

¹ Professor Comba gives as his authority, Camerarius e Lasitius, ap. Zezschwitz, "Die Katechismen," etc., p. 165.



MARTYRDOM OF SAVONAROLA.

dressess prepared for the Carnival were the chief combustibles ; and if, says Mrs. Oliphant, "a volume of Boccaccio, or a few copies of the *"Canti Carnascialeschi,"* or even some of Botticelli's or Bartolommeo's academical studies, got into the mass here and there, I do not suppose any great harm was done."¹

In connection with this story, I may mention a fact not so commonly remembered. During Savonarola's short administration, he wished the Sala del Consiglio in the Palazzo to be enlarged ; and Michael Angelo, then a youth, Leonardo da Vinci, then in his prime, together with Giuliano da San Gallo, and Il Cronaca, both celebrated artists—the latter finding in the Florentine Reformer a generous patron and benefactor—were consulted, and after Savonarola's death they were engaged in the work.² The hall as it now stands is really an architectural monument to Savonarola's memory ; and the famous pictures intended for the walls by the two greatest painters of the age were parts of the original design in its magnificent completeness. The Prior of San Marco was not the barbarian he is sometimes imagined to have been.

Before proceeding to describe certain evangelical Reformers in Florence who appeared in the sixteenth century, let me refer for one moment to the poet Berni, who died at Florence in 1536, and was the author of the famous *"Orlando Innamorato."* That work, with all its genius, is disfigured by marks of immorality such as were common at the period ; but the author in his latter days underwent a change, and he determined to add some stanzas expressive of the evangelical sentiments which he had been led to embrace. The new edition was suppressed before publication ; but Peter Paul Vergerio, whom I shall have to notice hereafter, being in possession of the added verses, had them printed, and they are found to profess the doctrine of Christ, as opposed to the religion of the Pope, and to teach the reader to place himself in the Divine

¹ Mrs. Oliphant, *"Makers of Florence,"* 284.

² *"Leonardo,"* by Jean Paul Richter, p. 70. He cites Vasari as his authority.

hands for salvation, acknowledging God's truth without fear of man. Vergerio's tract, containing the suppressed passages, has been reprinted by Panizzi,¹ the eminent Italian scholar, who says, in reference to these and other similar writings, "the more we reflect on the state of Italy at that time, the more have we reason to suspect that the reformed tenets were as popular among the higher classes in Italy in those days, as Liberal notions in ours."²

The first decidedly Protestant name that we meet with in connection with Florence is that of Peter Martyr Vermiglio, with whom the reader is already acquainted from notice taken of him at Lucca. At this moment our attention is confined to his earliest years.

Peter Martyr, the Dominican preacher in Florence, has been mentioned in this chapter. There was another Peter Martyr, *i.e.* Pietro Martire, of Milan, a strenuous opponent of Arianism in the fourth century.³ To the latter of these a church in the vicinity of Florence was dedicated, and to the honour of this saint, Stefano Vermiglio, and Maria Fumentina his wife, determined to consecrate, in the year 1500, their new-born son, who was to be known by the name of Peter Martyr Vermiglio. The parents had lost several children, and hoped to preserve the life of their last-born infant by placing him under the protection of this Milanese martyr. His mother was a highly-educated woman, and taught him Latin, translating for him the Comedies of Terence; from which circumstance I conclude that the lady had been smitten with the love of classical learning, then in the ascendant amongst the aristocratic Florentines.

Peter Martyr Vermiglio when only sixteen determined to become a monk. Such youthful decisions were not uncommon,

¹ "Orlando de Boiardo Innamorato, with an Essay on the Romantic and Narrative Poetry of the Italians." 1830. Vol. iii.

² Quoted by Hallam ("Lit. of Europe," i. 504), who thinks the language "rather strong."

³ There was also Peter Martyr of Angheria, the author of numerous epistles in the sixteenth century.

and they often displeased the tastes and interfered with the plans of fathers and mothers. It was so in this case. Peter's father was much disappointed and greatly vexed. He is spoken of as having shared in a prevalent dislike to monastic ways, and as having opened his eyes to Church corruption, under the illumination of Savonarola's preaching. Most likely he had expected his son to marry, and perpetuate the name and importance of the family ; and after these expectations were extinguished, and his first wife died, he married again, but without having another child ; in consequence of this, he left much of his property to his second wife, and the rest to a Strangers' Home, cutting off the young monk with an allowance of fifty crowns a year. The convent selected by Peter was that of Augustine, on the sunny side of Fiesole ; and there he would become familiar with a villa with " balustraded terraces and gardens of ancient cypresses, built by Cosmo the patriot, inherited by Lorenzo the Magnificent, and celebrated ever since as the seat of the philosophical academy which celebrated the birth and death of Plato by an annual symposium." From his convent young Peter would ramble round the ruins of ancient Fiesole, an Etruscan city, with walls built of enormous blocks. There were special literary attractions in that monastery, for it possessed a valuable library, the gift of the Medici family. Elocution, we are informed, was a subject of attention in the convent. It is not without interest to add, that the sister of this youth, Gemina Felicita, took the veil in a neighbouring nunnery, an establishment which bore the name of the patron saint of the family, Pietro Martire, of Milan. Coming down from Fiesole one bright afternoon I stopped at the Augustine Monastery, with its church newly rebuilt, and was conducted through the building, now used as a college for young men students of art, and round the cloisters, which command delightful views of the city of Florence. There not only did Peter Martyr Vermiglio study, but Pico of Mirandola worked at his Exposition of Genesis, and members of the Platonic Academy

gathered within the walls, which are close under the height occupied by Lorenzo's favourite villa.

At the end of three years the juvenile Augustinian left Fiesole for the University of Padua, where he ran a prosperous academic course, to be followed by distinguished labours as a canon of his order at Rome, Bologna, Pisa, Venice, Mantua, Bergamo, and Montserrat; finally he was Abbot of Spoleto, and then Provost of S. Pietro at Naples, where we shall meet him on a future page at the opening of his Protestant career.

Antonio Brucioli makes his appearance as a Protestant Reformer about 1525 or 1527. Born at Florence in a late year of the fifteenth century, and educated with all the advantages of advanced culture enjoyed at that period, he early became a member of the Platonic Academy. Though Medicean in literary sympathies, he was by no means Medicean in political principle; for, imbued with a republican spirit, and jealous for the liberties of his fellow citizens, he entered into a perilous conspiracy for the expulsion of Giulio de Medici, and then to save himself fled to Venice, whence he retired to France, and afterwards went to Germany. Early studies had prepared him for proficiency in the knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures; and having had his mind turned to the importance of personal religion, he read the Word of Life for his own benefit, as well as that of others. Intercourse with Lutherans brought him acquainted with the doctrines of the Saxon Reformer, which at length he cordially embraced; and after that change, when the fortunes of the Medici had undergone a reverse, he returned to his native city. He seems to have been a brave man, and his outspoken opinions speedily brought him into trouble. Advised to be more guarded in his spirit, he naively replied, "If I speak truth, I cannot speak wrong." He had to encounter the opposition of Dominicans belonging to Savonarola's Convent of St. Mark; and one of them, a popular preacher, denounced from the pulpit this new controversialist, and playing upon the

signification of his name, which in Italian means *twigs* or *shavings*, exclaimed, "Brucioli is fit for nothing but to be burned." His previous political conduct afforded to his enemies an additional handle for reproach; therefore he was thrown into prison, on the double charge of heresy and treason; but, through the interposition of friends, he only received a mild sentence of banishment from Florence for two years. He went to Venice, and there obtained a precarious support through the labours of his pen. But his Biblical labours alone claim our attention. An Italian version of the New Testament executed by him appeared at Venice in 1530. He also composed a Commentary on the whole Bible, extending to seven folio volumes. His translation had the honour of being included in the first class of books prohibited by ecclesiastical authority; other works of his shared the same fate. "His Commentary on the Scriptures," remarks M'Crie, "is exceedingly rare; but a foreign writer, who examined it, and was every way qualified to pronounce a correct judgment on the subject, has assured us that it contains numerous and decisive proofs of the author's attachment to evangelical truth."¹ I saw a fine copy of his Biblical works in the Magliabecchian Library.

Brucioli wrote a Preface to the New Testament, in which he defends vernacular translations of Scriptures with great force, much after the manner of other Reformers. "If," he says, "we consider it in a pious and Christian point of view, would it not be a holy and praiseworthy thing if the ploughman, while he was guiding the plough, were to sing Psalms in his native tongue; the weaver at his loom were to refresh himself from his labours by repeating some portions of Scripture; and the boatman at the helm were to chant sacred verses? Thus all, while industriously occupied, would solace their labours by the holy praises of God and the words of the Gospel; and the venerable matron, while employed about the house or in spinning her flax, instead of talking with her

¹ "History of the Reformation in Italy," 107.

family about the Trojans, or Fiesole, or Rome, might recite passages from the Gospels to her young grandchildren."

It is greatly to the honour of Florence that no less than three natives of that city should have translated the Holy Scriptures. Besides Brucioli's version, there was one by Sante Marmochini, printed at Venice in 1538, which, though professedly taken from the original Hebrew and Greek, is in reality derived from the Vulgate, except where it follows Brucioli. At a later period (1551) came forth a version by Massimo Teofilo, printed at Lyons. Biblical labours could not be safely carried on in Florence even by natives; so the printing-press there was beyond the reach of Protestant scholars belonging to the republic. They had to live in exile, and to avail themselves of foreign printers; yet the learning cultivated in their beautiful city bore fruit in the lives and efforts of the fugitives, and there can be no doubt that, however much prohibited, reformed opinions at the time made way in Tuscany. "Oh, Florence," said one of its friars, "what is the meaning of *Florence*? The flower of Italy; and thou wast so until these men beyond the Alps (meaning the Lutherans) persuaded thee that man is justified by faith and not by works."

Pietro Carnesecchi is another Florentine Reformer. He too had a liberal education, and was praised as a young man of distinguished virtue and liberal accomplishments. Attached to the family of the Medici, he became first secretary and then prothonotary to Clement VII., by whom he was so much trusted that it came to be a common saying, "The Church was governed by Carnesecchi rather than by Clement." At Naples he learned the reformed doctrines; and, becoming closely connected with some Italian Protestants in different parts, he was accused of heresy and of assisting those who were under the Church's ban. But, enjoying the favour of the Medici, and shielded by Paul III., he escaped the usual penalties, and after temporary exile returned to Italy.

In Florence, at the corner of the Via Cavour, there is a stately

palace, such as one meets with at every turn in that palatial city, with an imposing courtyard surrounded on all sides by an arcade. In the upper part of the building is a chapel containing frescoes by Benozzo Gozzoli, a large library, and numerous splendid apartments. It is now called the Palazzo Riccardi, from a Marchese of that name who extended and adorned it; but it originally belonged to the Medici; and at one corner of the arcade there stands empty an elaborately carved sarcophagus, once filled by the corpse of Guccio Medici, who lived at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Here resided the Grand Duke Cosmo, in all the gorgeous magnificence of the sixteenth century; and probably in one of its dining-rooms, certainly in one of his Florentine residences, occurred the following incident, which covers his memory with disgrace.

On the accession of Pius v. Carnesecchi fled to his native city, to seek protection from Cosmo, who had treated him as a friend. He was sitting one day at the Duke's table, when a messenger arrived from Rome, the Master of the Sacred Palace, furnished with pontifical credentials, and demanding that Carnesecchi should be immediately delivered into his hands. The Duke had political and selfish reasons for compliance, and therefore, violating the laws of hospitality, he surrendered his friend to the tender mercies of a Roman tribunal. A diary kept by the Duke's representative at Rome thus relates the result:

"1566, 5th July. Carnesecchi arrived here last night; they have put him in the prison of the Inquisition." "1567, 9th May. By what I can understand, there are no means at present of helping him; and whatever you might do would be of no use to him, but would spoil the openness and goodwill which you have manifested by your actions against heretics. On this account you are considered by the Pope as the most Catholic prince in Christendom." The Grand Duke, however, did write on the poor man's behalf,

whereupon the ambassador informed him he would not have done so had he known all; adding, that his Holiness declared, "if he had in his power a man who had killed ten people, he would not hesitate to give him up to please the Duke;" but about Carnesecchi, the writer could not say what would be the end, the sentence being in the hands of the Lord Cardinals. Long communications followed, duly delivered to the Duke; in one of which the ambassador says, "I heard from Lodovico Ceriguola, that Pistoia, the ex-Capuchin, had little hope of Carnesecchi's affairs, he having said 'that they were trying to save him, but God chose that he should die, and that he was willing to die.'" I understand that after the sentence was passed, when he went to be degraded, he said a heap of vain and frivolous things (*un monte di vanità a leggerezze*), so that I think there is little hope of him."

"3rd October. After my last letter to your Excellency of 26th and 29th of last month, I received yours of the 28th and 29th, and in answer I have to say that you need not think any more about Carnesecchi, for on the morning of the 1st he was beheaded on the bridge,¹ and then burned. He went to execution nicely dressed, with a white shirt, a pair of new gloves, and a white handkerchief in his hand. May it have pleased God to compassionate him in the moment of death, for before it, by what I can learn, he had not laid aside any of his perverse opinions."²

At a later period we witness book burnings at Florence. In the middle of the sixteenth century commissioners of the Holy Office are seen busily at work together with the Director of the Hospital of Santa Maria Novella. One day in December, 1551, twenty-two penitents dressed in cloaks painted over with crosses and devils, marched in procession to the Duomo, and the heretical books found

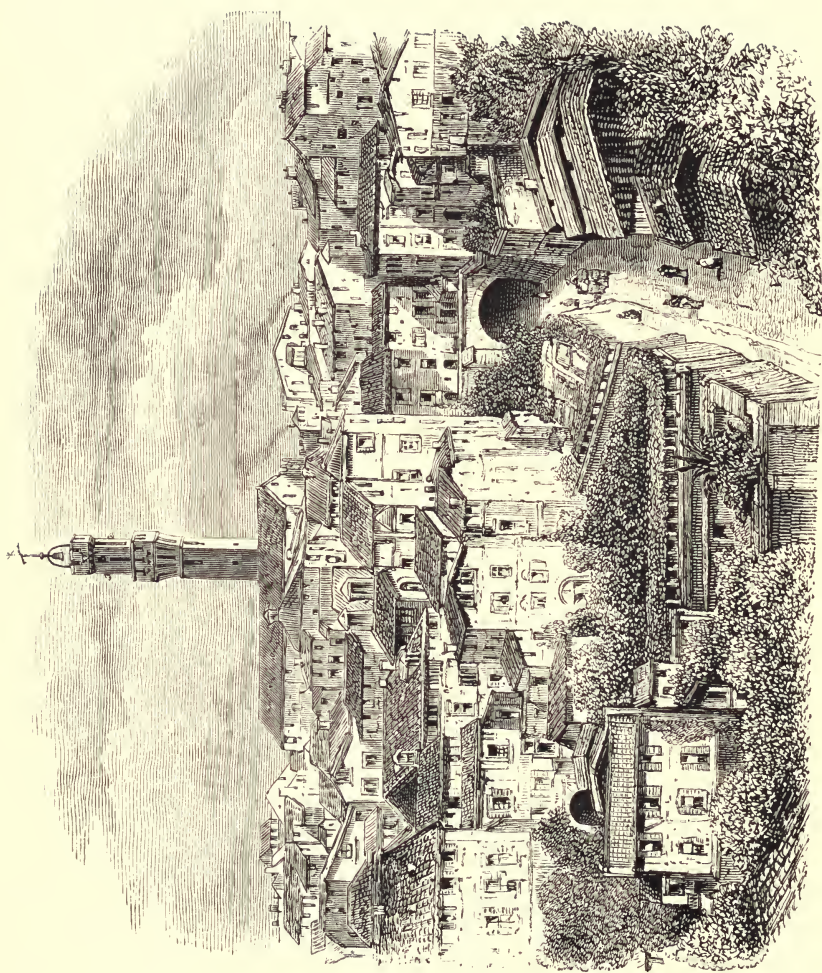
¹ Most likely the Bridge of S. Angelo.

² The journal is given in full by M. Young in the "Life and Times of Aonio Paleario," ii. 525, *et seq.* I have slightly altered the translation. Gibbings has published a "Report of the Trial and Martyrdom of Pietro Carnesecchi," from MSS. in the Dublin University.

in their possession were burnt in the Piazza. In the spring of 1559 another batch of condemned volumes were thrown into the flames before the doors of Santa Croce.

The refectory of the convent, now turned into a museum, is a long building, with an open timber roof, and a fresco of the Last Supper at the farther end. Some of the heads are beautiful. Judas is represented dipping his hand in the dish, and John lies almost prostrate in the Saviour's lap. The building is connected with our story, inasmuch as in it officers of the Inquisitionary Tribunal have carried on their proceedings. There they sat, one victim after another brought before them, to meet charges of heresy, and frightened into all sorts of confessions by the terrors of the rack. It brings a cloud over the mind of a visitor to the Church of Santa Croce, the Westminster Abbey of Florence, to think of such dark deeds going on in Dante's "sheepfold of St. John."





GENERAL VIEW OF SIENA.

SIENA, PERVIETO, AND VITERBO.



CITY set on a hill cannot be hid" are words which repeatedly occurred to me during the latter part of my journey from Florence to Siena. The town of San Miniato dei Tedeschi, marked by lofty towers, stands on a summit surrounded by a fruitful district. Castel Fiorentino comes next, looking down on the Arno as it sweeps along the vale. The picturesque Certaldo—where Boccaccio spent so much of his life, and whose grave, but not his monument, remains in the parish church—occupies another elevated position. San Gimignano is situated in a like manner. At last Siena is seen perched on another of these mountain heights, its magnificent cathedral enticing the traveller to ascend, and its inhabitants, according to common testimony, the opposite of Dante's, affording pleasant society to those who sojourn there. To what extent, if any, the Reformation made way in the neighbouring Tuscan towns and villages I do not know, but in Siena there are memorials of its rise and progress worthy of careful notice.

The rain was falling in heavy showers on the morning of my

arrival; the narrow, winding, dirty streets did not invite to any pleasant rambles, but the Duomo proved a refuge from the storm; and on entering within its striped walls I received an overwhelming impression of the interior—the coloured roof, the stained windows, the precious stones, the rich sculptures, and the mosaic floor exceeding all the descriptions of them I ever read. But not there do memories of the Reformation arise,—though, indeed, one of the Archbishops of the see, who must have ministered in this church, is reported by Father Paul, in his “History of the Council of Trent,” to have ascribed all merit to Christ, and none to man, and to have spoken of righteousness as obtained by faith alone.

But a more important person awaits attention. *Bernardino Ochino* is conspicuous in the annals of the Reformation in Italy, and his footprints are the first here we are led to follow: for Siena was his native place, and he was born there in 1487. His name is curiously connected with an object on the outskirts of the city. There are two Sienese fountains spoken of in guide-books—a fountain in the Piazza del Campo, adorned with marble reliefs; and a fountain outside the walls, under the Church of S. Domenico, bearing the name of Fontebranda.¹ The fountain at Siena is so named from the Branda family, who built the neighbouring quarter of the city; and that quarter, according to the symbolic fashion of the age, bore for its ensign an *Oca*, or white goose, emblazoned on a green field. *Oca*, say the etymologists, gave the name of *Ocelo* or *Ochino* to the boy Bernardino, who was born in the parish—a derivation which will appear to some readers rather far-fetched; but in such matters we must defer to authority. Whatever the cause, Ochino is the name under which the Italian Reformer is generally recognised; and he has certainly deeply imprinted it

¹ Fonte Branda is mentioned by Dante in the “Inferno,” Cant. xxx. 78; and by some commentators it is identified with the fountain at Siena; but P. Fraticelli, in his standard edition of “La Divina Commedia” (p. 225), says it is the Fonte Branda in the Casentino Valley, near Vallombrosa. Indeed, the preceding lines of Dante point in the same direction.

on the story of his native place. Siena is still renowned for its connection with the sainted Catherine. "The boy grew up within sight of the little house and church that bears her name, and under the influence of the many traditions concerning St. Catherine that have been specially cherished in the parish, where to this day the mother commends her child, and the girl her lover, to the protection of their local saint." He early enrolled himself in a branch of the



HOUSE OF ST. CATHERINE, SIENA.

Franciscan order, denominated *Minores* and *Osservanti*; and he would be seen in the streets of Siena, wearing a woollen garment bound about the waist with a white cord, and a sharp-pointed hood hanging at the back of his shoulder. He exceeded others in his ritualistic zeal, and introduced the practice of meditating before a crucifix forty hours at a time. His habits as a friar are vividly described by one who knew him well. "His age," says Bishop

Gratian, "his austere manner of life, and the rudeness of his dress, left so powerful an impression on the beholders that he was looked up to as an extraordinary and highly-favoured personage, and venerated not only by the multitude, but also by princes and just men, and by devout ladies not a few. . . . In the most magnificent houses, seated at luxurious tables, he still observed the strictness of his rule, ate but of one dish, and sparingly, and though offered the finest wines, drank nothing but water; instead of occupying the rich couch provided for him, he slept on the ground wrapped in his cloak."¹

Ochino must have been the most popular preacher of his day. When he mounted the pulpit he emptied the churches in the place. Rich and poor, high and low, crowded together to hear his voice; and the Emperor Charles v., who listened to him with delight, is reported to have said, "Ochino preaches with immense power, which can move stones to tears." No building was large enough to accommodate his congregations. Scaffoldings were erected to receive them; tiles were lifted from the tops of houses, that people might catch some of his words. He was elected General of his order, and attained to high renown and influence throughout the Peninsula; and this being known by the Sienese, they were anxious to enjoy his sacred oratory. "Four citizens," says a minute in the Chancellor's office, dated May 21, 1539, "were deputed to Friar Bernardino Ochino, to prevent his leaving the city, and to entreat him to preach either in the Cathedral or in the Palazzo. If necessary, the Pope to be written to that he may remain in Siena." He preached in the Duomo, and also in the Town Hall, which we shall presently visit, and made an impression such as reminds us of modern Ritualistic scenes, in consequence of which a municipal order was made in June of the same year. "Remembering with reverence how good

¹ Antonii M. Gratiani de Vita, J. F. Commendone Card., lib. ii. cap. ix. Quoted by M. Young, "Life and Times of Aonio Palcario," i. 352.

and profitable for the salvation of souls the Reverend Friar Bernardino Ochino, of Siena, is, who preached so useful a discourse this morning in the great hall of the Council, in order that the people may hear him, the illustrious gentleman and the Captain of the people are entreated to invite him to preach another day,



BERNARDINO OCHINO.

either in the Cathedral or in the Public Town Hall, so that a greater number of persons may be present.”¹

In 1564, when Ochino had become a decided Protestant, he wrote to the Senate of Siena, telling them that “the salvation of the true Church, and the ruin of the kingdom of Antichrist,

¹ “1539, Giugno 21.” *Ms. Cancellerie di Siena*. Young, “Life and Times of Aonio Paleario,” i. 568. Benrath, in his “Life of Bernardino Ochino,” pp. 24, 27, 96, gives further illustrations of his popularity in Siena.

depend on one article alone, and that is, living faith in Christ ;" that he was himself persecuted for believing the doctrines of St. Paul, who declares the helplessness of man apart from Jesus Christ ; and he distinctly affirmed the cardinal doctrine of the Reformers, that men are justified by faith, and not by works.

Leaving Ochino for the present, we turn to another Reformer, not a native but an inhabitant of Siena, Aonio Paleario, a renowned scholar, who settled there in October, 1530, and, in a letter written at the time, thus describes the place :

"I came to Siena on the 27th of October, 1530. The city is seated on the brow of a beautiful hill, surrounded by a fertile and abundantly productive country ; but it is corrupted by party spirit and almost exhausted by factions ; the greater part of the nobility, who are in general the only patrons of literature, live scattered in villages and hamlets. . . . The inhabitants of Siena, as well as the Tuscans in general, are of acute and vigorous intellects ; their women are handsome ; the young men, since the academies have been established, take delight in works written in their mother tongue."¹ The object of these learned societies was the cultivation of Italian language and literature.

Paleario mingled with the best society in Siena, and gathered round him a number of friends, who were charmed with his company, whilst they admired his genius as a philosopher and a poet—characters which he united in the same kind of composition, suggesting, however, this remark to Mr. Hallam, in his "Introduction to the Literature of Europe," that "Paleario aims rather to be philosophical than poetical." Appointed by the Senate to be a classical professor, and afterwards reading lectures on philosophy and belles lettres, he acquired high renown ; but he made personal enemies by some means, probably by the impulsiveness of his disposition and the warmth of his temper.

"Paleario," observes the author of his Life, "presents himself to

¹ Young, "Life and Times of Aonio Paleario," i. 83

us in his letters, in all the varied circumstances of social and intellectual life; and here we find the energies of his impulsive character fully displayed. At one time eager in the pursuit of good, at another indignant at the infliction of wrong. Not devoid of ambition, but earnestly desiring better things. He was endued with one of those finely organized natures capable of the loftiest aspirations, and partook largely of those keen sensibilities which 'turn at the touch of joy or woe, and turning tremble too.' Living in an age when injustice trampled upon right, and when the morals and the doctrines of the Christian religion were almost unknown, he has transmitted to posterity the animating spectacle of a life of self-devotion to a glorious cause. With all the warm affections of humanity full within him, he pressed forward, through good and through evil report, to the accomplishment of his great idea, a Reformation in Religion."

In the spacious and amphitheatre-like Piazza del Campo, lined all round with ancient and picturesque buildings, stands the Palazzo Pubblico, conspicuous by its lofty tower, and now used for public offices. It was in the Middle Ages the centre of government, and a scene of abundant civil strife, and is now famous for its antique appearance, its time-worn staircase, its rambling passages, and its gloomy apartments, adorned, however, with frescoes from the hands of pre-Raphaelite Siennese artists. The Sala del gran Consiglio is a spacious hall, containing a large painting of the Madonna and Saints by Sermino di Sermone, in 1287; and adjoining it is a chapel frescoed with legends of the Virgin by Taddeo Bartolo. With that hall we may connect a remarkable passage in Palcario's life. Having fallen into trouble, through social collisions, as well as religious opinions, he there defended himself before the City Senate.

His famous oration, which must have rung with eloquent tones in the ears of the "Conscript Fathers," as he calls them, covers fifteen closely-printed octavo pages. He charges his accusers with

personal animosity, vindicates the German Reformers against the attacks of opponents, exposes the conspiracy formed for his ruin, indulges in a good many violent personalities, defends himself from the theological charges he had incurred, and finally appeals to the equity of his judges. Two passages must have told powerfully—one in reference to himself, and another in reference to his wife. "My patrimony," he exclaimed, "is small, but in the secret recesses of my soul conscience is pure, clear, and bright; the furies do not agitate it by day, nor alarm it with burning torches at night. Let others be crowned with diadems, and clothed in purple, and sit enthroned in chairs, with carpets spread under their feet; I with my three-legged stool will retire into my library, and feel content with a woollen robe to protect me from the cold, a handkerchief to wipe my brow, and a couch on which to repose." "You, too, my wife," he apostrophized at the close of his oration, "why are you come clothed in deep mourning, accompanied by the more devout and honourable matrons, to throw yourself and your children at the feet of the senators? Oh, my life, my light, my soul! Return home and educate your children; with Christ as their surety they will not want a father. Receive her, my mother-in-law, in your arms; she is beside herself with grief, and stop my tears by removing her from hence."

We can imagine what a scene there was at that moment in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena. In the course of his speech he remarked that it was made a subject of accusation against him that he had written in Italian on the great benefits which mankind had derived from Christ's death.

The treatise to which he thus refers is a very remarkable one. It was printed in Italian in 1543, with the title, "*Il Beneficio di Cristo*," and its character may be inferred from the remark of a contemporary author: "Many are of opinion that there is scarcely a book of this age, or at least in the Italian language, so sweet, so pious, so simple, so well fitted to instruct the ignorant

and weak, especially in the doctrine of justification.”¹ The work was supposed to be lost irrecoverably, as the missing books of Livy—so said Macaulay ; but some time ago it came to light, and has been carefully edited. It attained a vast popularity on its



MARKET PLACE, SIENA.

first appearance, 40,000 copies being sold in six years ; and it must have effectively contributed to the circulation of Protestant opinions throughout Italy at that time. Palcario seemed to claim

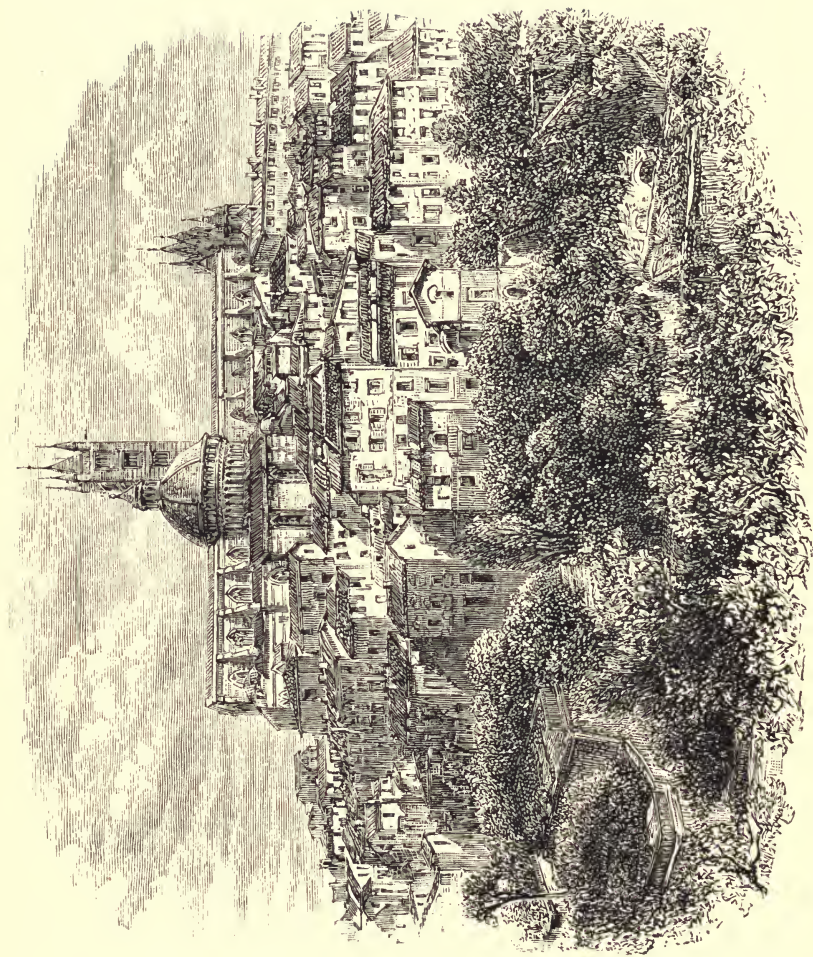
¹ “*Vergerio Amoenit Eccl.*,” M'Crie, “*History of the Reformation in Italy*,” 156.

the authorship of it, for he adds, "*I said* that from Him in whom the Deity resides, and who so lovingly shed His blood for our salvation, all may expect tranquillity and peace, and that we need not doubt of the good will of heaven. *I affirmed* on the authority of most ancient and certain documents, that the final term of evil was arrived, and that all guilt was wiped away from those who turn their hearts to Christ crucified with full faith in Him, trust in His promises, and confidently rest on one who cannot deceive."

But whether the authorship of this remarkable book belongs properly to him or not, has been subject to a good deal of controversy, on which I cannot enter. I would simply say that my impression is, he must have had a considerable share in the composition, but that others contributed much of the matter. The question will come before us again. Paleario's history runs out into a multiplicity of details, illustrative of an active Protestant career; and we shall cross his path again, before a final meeting with Him in the city of Rome.

Ere we dismiss his name for a time it is proper for a moment to advert to the town of Colle, situated not far from Siena. Near to Colle he chose a rural abode, now known as the Villa Ceciniano, in a secluded spot, where a walk is shown, called Aonio's Walk. A request having been received in 1851, from the prefecture of Siena, the Council of Colle resolved, that "as it is always commendable to perpetuate the remembrance of persons of note in the history of literature," they had no objection to the fulfilment of the request to put up a stone on the door of the house with the following words, AONIO PALEARIO LIVED HERE. One member voted against the proposition; and this circumstance, connected with the very careful language employed, shows that there was some demur at perpetuating the memory of this Reformer.

It may be further added, in the words of Dr. M'Crie, "Some idea may be formed of the extent to which the Reformed



CATHEDRAL OF SIENA.

opinions had spread in Siena, from the number of individuals belonging to it who at a subsequent period submitted to a voluntary exile on their account, among whom were Lactantio Ragnoni, Mino Celso, and the Soccini, who became celebrated by giving their name to a new sect.”¹

Having left Siena, I travelled to Orvieto, and reached it late in the evening, much perplexed, during an hour's journey up a winding road, as to where this mountain city had been built; and, after a night's rest in an old palace—transformed into an hotel, with a huge romantic-looking saloon, cheered by a fire of blazing wood,—I walked out early to see the cathedral, twin sister to that at Siena, and found it all that the most glowing language can describe. “Willingly,” says an accomplished critic, “would I descant on the matchless façade of Orvieto, similar in style, but more chaste and elegant than that of Siena; on the graces of its Lombard architecture, on its fretted arches and open galleries, its columns varied in hue and form, its aspiring pediments, its marigold window, with the circling guard of saints and angels, its quaint bas-reliefs, its many-hued marbles, its mosaic gilding warming and enriching the whole, yet imparting no meretricious gaudiness, the entire façade being the petrification of an illuminated missal, a triumphant blaze of beauty, obtained by the union and tasteful combination of the three sister graces of art.”²

In front of this amazing piece of architecture, so rich in sculpture and colour, stands a long, straggling edifice, which, from inscriptions on its walls, as well as from its general appearance, is seen at once to be a Papal palace—a palace so remarkable for pontifical associations as to have been occupied by no less than thirty-four Popes. The cathedral façade and the palatial building are very suggestive in relation to the main topic of the present volume—for the lives of thirty-four Popes, especially the mediæval

¹ “History of the Reformation in Italy,” 159.

² Crowe and Cavalcaselle, quoted by Hare.

ones, at once carry back our thoughts to the Papal court, and the whole system of corrupt despotism, superstitious credulity, and immoral practice, exposed by Dante, Petrarch, and so many others. On the other hand, the sculptured façade gathers round it meditations on the facts of Scripture revelation. "What depths of thought," exclaims Hare, "are hidden in those tremendous pictures between the doors! First the whole story of Genesis; then the Old Testament story which follows Genesis, leading on to the birth of Christ; then the story of our Saviour's life upon earth; and lastly, the lessons of His redemption wrought for us in the resurrection of the dead to the second life. Even the minor figures which surround these greater subjects, how much they have to tell us! Take the wondrous angels which surround the story of Christ; the awe-stricken angel of the Salutation; the welcoming angel of the Flight into Egypt; the praying angel of the Temptation; the suffering angel of the Betrayal; the agonized angel (and oh! what a sublime figure, with its face covered with its hands) of the Crucifixion; the angel rapt in unutterable beatitude of the Resurrection. Or let us look at the groups of prophets who, standing beneath the life of Christ, foresee and foretell its events—their eager invocation, their meditation, their inspiration, their proclamation of that which was to be." Here then, the corruptions of Christendom and the truths of Scripture come out in distinct opposition, and there is revealed the source whence sprang the impulses and efforts which led to the Reformation in the sixteenth century. It was not from any extraneous quarter that the spiritual forces of that event arose, but from *within the Word of God*, its sublime facts, its deep principles, which, however misunderstood and disfigured, remained amidst existing evils, a protest against apostasy, a monitor of the mischiefs it produced.

The palace reminded me of the Reformation in another way. It is said in a letter written at Orvieto in March, 1528, "The Pope

lieth . . . in an old palace of the Bishops of this city, ruinous and decayed, where as we come to his priory chamber, we pass three chambers all naked and unchanged, the roofs fallen down, and as we can guess thirty persons, riff-raff and others, standing in the chambers for a garnishment. And as for the Pope's bedchamber, all the apparel in it was not worth twenty nobles, bed and all." ¹ This letter was written by Stephen Gardiner and Edward Fox—men who played a distinguished part in England at the time of the Reformation, and who were sent by Henry VIII. as ambassadors to the Pope. Their visit occurred just after Henry had written a paper on the legality of his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, and their object in travelling to Rome was to obtain from Pope Clement VII. a decision in harmony with the King's views.

Copious instructions were given by Cardinal Wolsey. Gardiner and Fox were directed to declare everything which might be necessary for the King's cause, and the King's petition; and to make it clear that the King's desire was "grounded upon justice, and not from any grudge and displeasure to the Queen, whom the King," they were to say, "honours and loves, and minds to love, and to treat as his sister with all manner of kindness." On the other hand, they were told to urge the excellent virtues of the "gentlewoman (Lady Anne), the purity of her life, her constant virginity, her maidenly and womanly pudicity, her soberness, chasteness, meekness, humility, wisdom, descent of right noble and high thorough royal blood, education in all good and laudable qualities and manners." They were then to consider very carefully what answer the Pope might make to this message; and if they thought he intended to delay his decision, they were commissioned to send notice immediately to that effect.²

The letter written from Orvieto shows, by the way, that the Holy Father, as he is called, did not always live amidst the pomp and

¹ Printed in Pocock's "Records of the Reformation."

² 1528, No. 3913, State Papers, Foreign and Dom., Henry VIII., vol. iv. pt. 2.

luxury often described ; and further we are reminded, as we think of these ambassadors, of what was going on in our own country at the time, of the connection between Italy and England, of the interchange of reports between these two countries, and how, in those ill-furnished chambers, there would be much talk about Martin Luther, and the progress of the new learning on our side of the water; nor would Gardiner and Fox fail to hear how the country they were visiting had begun to catch an infection, in their judgment, more fatal than the plague.

Further south lies the city of Viterbo, on the base of the Ciminian Hills. It is called by old chroniclers the "city of beautiful fountains and beautiful women," and is rightly known, according to Mr. Hare, as the Nuremberg of Italy. "Such wonderful old houses with sculptured corners, Gothic windows, and heavy outside staircases resting on huge corbels. Such a wealth of sparkling water playing around the grand Gothic fountains, and washing the carved lions and other monsters which adorn them."

At Viterbo we come in contact with our fellow-countryman, Reginald Pole, and in his company with other distinguished persons more or less associated with the Reformation. Pole was made a Cardinal in 1537, and as soon as he reached that dignity, he discovered how large was the expenditure involved; for though a man personally of simple habits, he had to maintain a splendid retinue, and in the management of money matters he is said to have exhibited extravagance. As an assistance to his purse, as well as an accession to his dignity, he had conferred upon him as papal delegate, the government of that portion of St. Peter's patrimony which lies round the city of Viterbo. In a letter written about 1539, he says that, "When by Divine Providence he detached himself from his country, parents, and kinsfolk, placing himself in the hands of the Pope, he earnestly prayed to be relieved from the embarrassment in which he saw others involved, by awaiting from foreign powers, rather than the Lord's sole Vicar, what was

necessary for the maintenance of their dignity." "But this," he acknowledges, "he had now obtained by the Divine appointment, through the Pope's goodness, to the legation at Viterbo; and he would shortly return thanks orally, and kiss the Pope's feet; but in the meanwhile he announced how he was affected by so great and opportune a benefit conferred at a moment when the succour was greatly needed."¹

Pole commenced his administration by an act redounding to his credit. Two Englishmen were apprehended, charged with attempting to murder him, and of the crime they confessed themselves guilty. When they were brought before the Cardinal at Viterbo, he only sentenced them to the galleys for a few days, that they might make known to their fellow-countrymen what wretchedness, but for his clemency, they must have endured had their lives been spared; for the only legal alternative was death or the prolonged existence of a galley-slave. At this period of his life, Pole's sentiments on the subject of justification by faith were the same as those inculcated in "*Il Beneficio di Cristi*," attributed to Palcario. I have quoted an eulogium upon it from the pen of Vergerio, Bishop of Capo d'Istria, and at the close of his words he adds, "I will say more. Reginald Pole, the valued friend of Morone, is esteemed the author of it, or partly so; at least, it is known that he, with Flaminio, Priuli, and his other friends, defended it, and laboured for its circulation." That Pole was not the author, we may be sure; but he might have had some hand in its preparation for the press; at all events, what Vergerio says is a proof of the evangelical views maintained by the Cardinal at that time.

The kind of life which Pole spent in his palace at Viterbo can be easily imagined from what we find in his memoirs. His household was kept in good order, and scenes of dissipation and licence, such as might be witnessed in the homes of some Cardinals, were unknown. A minute account is preserved of the daily order of his

¹ Dated Dec., 1539. Calendar of State Papers, edited by Rawdon Brown, vol. v.

Eminence and attendants, when in another place ;¹ and no doubt it gives a true idea of what went on, when as Papal Delegate he ruled a part of St. Peter's patrimony. In the morning private studies and devotions were pursued by each person in his own apartment ; before dinner they assembled in the private chapel, and a service was conducted by the Master of the Ceremonies. After mass they dined, and selections were read out of St. Bernard's works. Conversation followed, and again there was reading. Afterwards they reassembled at vespers, and Pole himself expounded St. Paul's Epistles, enlarging upon clerical duties and responsibilities. When lecture was over they would take a walk, enjoying the scenery of the "sweet and pleasant land of Italy," as Pole termed the country of his abode.

Evidently formed for the enjoyment of friendship, he gathered around him a choice circle at Viterbo, as he did in other places. Amongst chosen companions was Peter Martyr. He had not then terminated his connection with Rome, but he had embraced tenets which pointed in a Protestant direction, and was strong in his belief of justification by faith. Even Carnesecchi we find enumerated amongst Pole's associates at Viterbo. Writing to Contarini, describing what he had done, the latter remarks: "The remainder of the day was spent in the holy and profitable society of Signor Carnesecchi and our Marc Antonio Flaminio. I call it profitable because in the evening Marc Antonio gave me and most of my family a supper of 'the bread which perishes not,' in such a manner that I know not when I have felt greater consolation or greater edification." Some who never imperilled themselves by professing what was acknowledged to be heretical,² but who strongly sympathized with Reformers in the early stage of their career, might be found under the roof of the Cardinal. That was the case with the celebrated Flaminio, noticed in Pole's letter, who declined the office of

¹ See Hook's "*Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*," vii.

² Dec. 9, 1541. Quoted by Young, "*Life and Times of Paleario*," ii. 224.

pontifical secretary offered by Leo x., and who, according to the historian Ranke,¹ expressed in his works, especially his exposition of the Psalms, doctrinal views of a decidedly Protestant type. Yet he acknowledged the Papal supremacy; and to this very work, so Protestant in its dogmatic spirit, he prefixed a dedication, in which he addressed the Pope as "the Watchman and Prince of all Holiness, the vicegerent of God upon earth." Such a circumstance, though perhaps an extreme case, illustrates the not uncommon combination in Italy of decided Protestantism with rank Popery; and this very combination would recommend Flaminio to Pole, who in this respect so much resembled him. Flaminio was more than the Cardinal's guest. He was one of his household, and treated as a son.

Nobody is more conspicuous amongst Italians who held a doctrine of justification like that of Luther, than Cardinal Contarini. He published a tract on the subject, in which he distinguished between two kinds of righteousness—that inherent in us, and that imputed through Christ. If asked on which we should rely, Contarini remarks, "A pious man will answer, We can trust to the latter alone." "Our righteousness," he goes on to say, "is only inchoate, incomplete, full of defects; the righteousness of Christ, on the other hand, true, perfect, thoroughly and alone pleasing in the eyes of God. For its sake alone can we trust to be justified before God." This passage appears in the Paris edition of 1571, but not in the Venetian edition of 1589, a circumstance which indicates how unwelcome such teaching was to Papal authorities after the Council of Trent. The Inquisitor-General of Venice tampered with the book, omitting some passages and altering others, before the new edition could receive an imprimatur. Contarini was very anxious to promote an understanding between the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics, and in the doctrine now referred to approached so closely to the former, that little difference on that point remained

¹ "History of the Popes," i. 139.

between him and them. Nor—as it appears from what has been stated already—did he stand alone in this respect; Seripando, General of the Augustine order, whilst declaring he did not adopt the Lutheran tenet, yet admitted a twofold righteousness—one inherent through unmerited grace, the other imputed, able to compensate for all defects, and sufficient to secure the salvation of the imperfect.¹

And this illustrious person, Gaspar Contarini, of whom I shall have more to say in connection with Venice, enjoyed a close friendship with Pole, who said of him that he lacked nothing which the grace of God communicated to the soul of man.

Another person demands particular notice—Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara, who lost her husband in early life, and never ceased to mourn for him as long as she continued in this world. A woman of deep piety, she sought the friendship of those whom she considered capable of strengthening her faith; and after having chosen Contarini as spiritual adviser, and having lost him by death, she gave her confidence to Pole. “I have no other spiritual guide,” she said, “now, than Monsignor the English Cardinal, his true and intimate friend, his more than brother.” She was ten years older than Pole; and, speaking of this estimable lady, he expressed feelings of filial affection, and regarded her as a mother. There was in the city of Viterbo a convent dedicated to Santa Caterina, and to it the Marchioness retired for a while in 1541; indeed she made it her chief residence until the year of her death in 1546, employing herself in the education of the younger members of the sisterhood. Whilst at Viterbo she was taken ill, when a celebrated physician of Verona sent her a prescription of milk and rice with an emulsion of poppy-heads and other ingredients; but above all “he recommends that she should have recourse to a physician for her mind, and suggests that Cardinal Pole should be consulted, and requested to lay his authority upon

¹ Ranke, “History of the Popes,” i. 205.

her not to exert herself too much." Otherwise he says, "I see that the brightest light in the world will be extinguished and removed from our eyes. Under the risk of appearing presumptuous, I may say that I attribute her illness partly to her having too strong feelings."¹ During her residence in Viterbo, Pole had many opportunities of seeing this accomplished woman, then enriched with knowledge and experience, derived from the ministry and conversation of eminent Italian Reformers. She had attended their private meetings, and imbibed much of their evangelical spirit. Gifted with a genius for poetry, she expressed her feelings in such lines as the following :

"How blindly once I loved the world,
How eager then for worldly fame,
Nursing a serpent in my breast,
My strength exhausted, languid with desire,
Till from the Lord the healing came.

I would my ear were closed and deaf,
That thought might be the more intent
On angels' songs, and sweetest tones,
When peace with dearest love unites.

Two means we have to measure wide,
The high and precious grace vouchsafed ;
The one is searching oft the sacred page
Where vivid shines the light of truth ;

The other, raising of the inmost heart,
To the exalted lesson of the cross,
Where He Himself is seen so near,
The soul can never be misled by sight."²

Whilst residing at Viterbo she invoked the sacred muse just in the same spirit, but with a touch of sadness, given no doubt by the memory of her great sorrow.

¹ Quoted by Young in "Life and Times of Antonio Paleario," ii. 210.

² "Rime," 161, 200. 346. Young, *ibid.* ii. 193, 194.

"Would that a voice impressive might repeat,
 In holiest accents to my inmost soul,
 The name of Jesus; and my words and works
 Attest true faith in Him, and ardent hope;
 The soul elect, which feels within itself
 The seeds divine of this celestial love,
 Hears, sees, attends on Jesus; grace from Him
 Illumes, expands, fires, purifies the mind;
 The habit bright of thus invoking Him
 Exalts our nature so, that it appeals
 Daily to Him for its immortal food.
 In the last conflict with our ancient foe,
 So dire to nature, armed with faith alone,
 The heart, from usage long, on Him will call."¹

There is a melody here in accord with that of Madame Guion's hymns; both of these saintly women possessing an element of evangelical mysticism, a craving after the absorption of the human in the Divine; the French Jansenist, however, in this respect going beyond the Italian Catholic. And each of them in their own way, while remaining faithful to the communion in which they were born, manifested a spiritual temperament, largely shared in different proportions amongst pious members of Churches in many respects opposed to each other. Before Vittoria Colonna was deprived by death of the friendship of Contarini, Cardinal Pole wrote to him respecting her in terms which throw light on her family troubles, her efforts to influence aright one of her relatives, her addictedness to prayer, and one at least of the reasons which led her to enter the nunnery at Viterbo. The contents of the letter, bearing date the 11th of April, 1540, have been summarized by Mr. Rawdon Brown in his *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*.

"With regard to the Marchioness of Pescara, supposed by him (Contarini) to be a suitable mediator for the suppression of her brother's obstinacy, she tried all means to divert him from war to obedience; and having failed in her object, had recourse to prayer,

¹ "Rime," quoted in "*Life and Times of Aonio Paleario*."

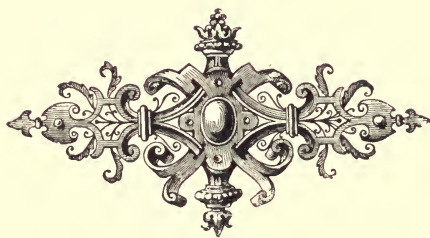
and withdrew into a nunnery, whence she writes to him (Pole) that her days pass happily. This verily is true happiness—to think of God, and not of the world.”

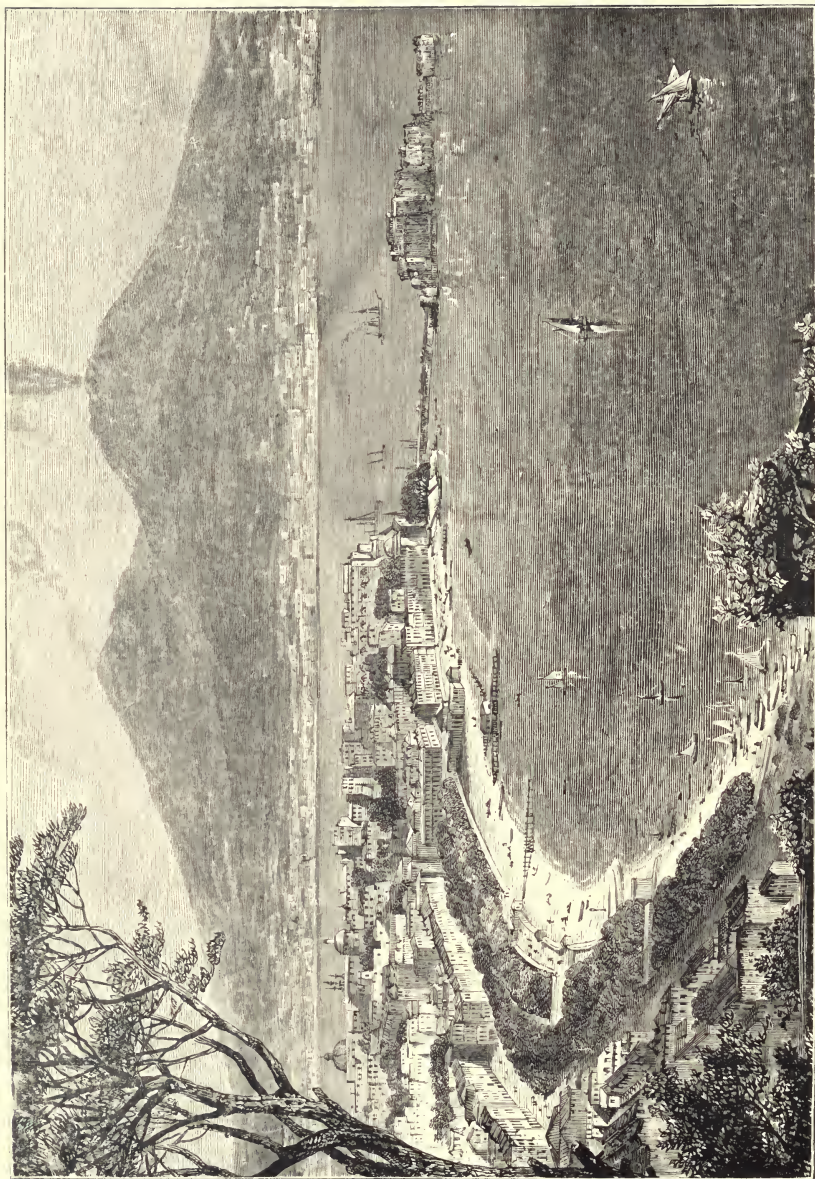
Four miles from Viterbo is the Palazzo San Martino, on the slope of the Ciminian Hills; and history speaks of another lady who abode there, Olympia Pamfili, a native of Viterbo, born in 1594, a daughter of an illustrious family, bred for a convent, but who, notwithstanding, resolved to wed a Count; and he gave her the name by which she has ever since been known. He had a brother, over whom this strong-minded woman gained a supreme ascendancy, and who obtaining admission into the Sacred College, afterwards mounted St. Peter's chair as Innocent X., chiefly through her influence. After her husband's death this brother-in-law became the simple instrument of her imperious will. “He was absolutely a puppet in her hands. The keys of St. Peter were strung to her girdle; and the only function in which she probably never interfered was blessing the people.” She acquired the appellation of the famous *Papessa*, and is an example of the abominable influences which ruled at Rome before the Reformation. What a contrast does Vittoria Colonna present to Olympia Pamfili!

In conclusion, between the former and the great painter, Michel Angelo Buonarroti, there existed a strong and beautiful attachment; and their sympathies went beyond the circles of art and philosophy and entered into that of religion. Angelo, as a Florentine, had known Savonarola, had heard his preaching, had read his writings, and had caught some of his ideas; he also studied the Holy Scriptures. M. Clement, in his life of the artist, remarks: “I do not think that there is reason to conclude that Vittoria, and consequently Michel Angelo, did more or less secretly abandon the Church, and embrace the Reformed Religion. Their religious poems, it is true, preserve no trace of Catholic legend. Christianity is there in all its simplicity, carried back to fundamental and primitive dogma. The ideas of the inability of man to do

right, of justification by faith, of Christ as a mediator, upon which the Reformers particularly insist, are to be met with in every line." "But these ideas," the biographer truly adds, "belong to St. Augustine as well as to Luther and Calvin;" yet it must never be forgotten, that they are the very ideas which inspired the great reformatory work in Italy, Germany, and England, during the sixteenth century. In harmony with these evangelical sentiments was Angelo's touching reply to Vasari, when he urged his illustrious friend to join him at Florence. "Neither painting nor sculpture can avail to calm a soul which turns towards Thee, O God; who hast stretched out Thy arms upon the cross for us."¹

¹ Clement's "Michel Angelo" ("The Great Artists"), 74-86.





NAPLES.

NAPLES.



It is more than twenty-five years since I saw Naples; but once seen, its image must remain in the mind for ever. Beheld from some aloe-crowned height on the hills above the tomb of Virgil, there spreads an unequalled landscape, which stretches out to a distant horizon bounded by the smoking summit of Vesuvius. A line of lofty houses skirts the far-famed Chiaja, with a bright green garden in front, and the Castle of St. Elmo at the back of the queenly city, which, in its proud sweep, fills a circuit of ten miles. A gracefully curved shore bounds the spacious bay, and the white Castel dell' Ovo juts far into the azure waters. The scene has the brilliant colour characteristic of the south; and tints of red, orange and blue sometimes flash out with almost blinding effect on the radiance of mid-day sunshine. Naples has had many masters—Suabian, Anjouin, Spanish, and Austrian; but Spain has left the deepest mark. Don Pedro de Toledo in the first half of the sixteenth century extended the fortifications, and on the fosse of the Angiovine defences built the noted Strada di Toledo. Naples is intensely Roman Catholic. Memorials

of the Madonna meet you everywhere; the churches are served by priests in rich raiment, and the people, in kneeling multitudes, cover the marble floors. The precious relic of St. Januarius is still prized among the holiest of treasures, and the annual miracle of the liquefaction of the saint's blood is believed with a perfect faith by thousands of the inhabitants. Whatever the priests may think of it, and notwithstanding the sceptical admissions of intelligent and candid individuals amongst their number, they continue to give it the sanction of their services, and when the season for its exhibition returns, there are large congregations gathered by eloquent friars, who expatiate on this subject, together with kindred themes. I shall never forget entering a church one Saturday evening, crowded to the doors by Neapolitans who had come to hear two or three brethren in the white dress of their order, as one after another, by the side of a large crucifix on a lofty platform, they addressed the congregation in a strain of fervent appeal. It reminded one in some respects of a revival meeting in England; and after seeing what went on late at night, I was curious to visit the same church next morning, when the same spectacle presented itself—an overflowing audience listening with attention to a succession of impassioned orators. As now, in this respect, so it was, but in a more intense degree, at the time of the Reformation. Naples was one of the most enthusiastic daughters of the Church. The hot blood of men and women boiled over with zeal in the maintenance of its dominion and its dogmas, its ritual and its festas; and amidst this state of feeling we meet with a man at Naples who in the south of Italy exercised a more powerful influence than anybody else in promoting the principles of a religious reformation. He is a central figure, and around him are grouped several others distinctly related, giving unity to the picture.

Juan Valdés was a Spaniard of noble birth, who for a short period held the office of Camarero or Chamberlain to Pope Adrian VI. He had a twin brother, Alfonso de Valdés, Latin Secretary to

the Emperor Charles v., and the two are occasionally confounded together. Both were possessed of great gifts and superior culture, and Juan won compliments from the illustrious scholar, Desiderius Erasmus.

Writing from Basle in 1528, the latter says: "Most accomplished youth—your brother, Alfonso Valdés, has conferred such obligations upon me, that I ought to love whoever in any way belongs to him. But, besides this, you, as I hear, are so like him both in personal appearance and readiness of mind, that you might seem to be not twins, but one individual; it is very proper, therefore, to love you both alike. I hear that you are given to liberal studies, in order that you may embellish your naturally virtuous disposition with every sort of adornment. Why, then, should any one exhort you to study, when of your own accord you follow this excellent pursuit? It is more to the purpose to congratulate and praise you. Rest assured that I am no one's more than your brother's, and not less yours than his." Juan Valdés is represented as accompanying Don Pedro Toledo to Naples in the relation of Secretary to the Viceroy; but the accuracy of the statement has been questioned. However, he came to the city when the Spanish prince ruled over the Neapolitan dominions, and there devoted himself to study and spiritual improvement. He seems to have been a man of retired habits, unfitted for official publicity, much fonder of contemplation and of opportunities for usefulness than those of bustling activity in human life. He appears to have early turned attention to religious themes, rather from the native bent of his mind than from any argument or persuasion. Not in the heat of controversy, but in the exercise of a meek and quiet spirit, he came to the study of the Bible, and applied what he read and believed to the Divine education of his own soul. He was one of those gentle but wise spirits that are led by a way they know not, who go much farther than they at first intend, discovering germs of truth only imperfectly

developed by themselves. They are instructors of others in a way which comes not within their own consciousness; in them is fulfilled the saying, "One soweth, and another reapeth." They cast seed into the ground, and others come into the field after-



VIRGIL'S TOMB.

wards to forward the cultivation and to reap the harvest. Valdés liked to muse over the deepest subjects of inquiry and interest; and having seen his own way clear to certain conclusions, he unfolded them to friends, not in argument, but by modest

suggestion or simple inquiry. He held meetings for devout conference, and his retired gatherings of this nature are amongst the most beautiful memories of the Italian Reformation.

On the Chiaja, not far from the rock-cut road from Naples to Pozzuoli, where tropical vegetation mingles with that of higher latitudes, and where Virgil's tomb arrests the traveller's attention,—where

“ Still, as of yore, the setting sun declines
O'er marble terraces and trellised vines;
Around her beauteous bay the mountains bend,
And glorious lights and balmy dews descend ;”

Juan de Valdés had a country house, not crowded into a long line of palaces and villas, but standing by itself, “set in verdure,” with an open view of the glorious bay, and refreshed at eventide by a cooling breeze. “Here Valdés received on the Sunday a select number of his most intimate friends; and they passed the day together in this manner: after breakfasting and enjoying themselves amidst the glories of the surrounding scenery, they returned to the house, when he read some selected portion of Scripture, and commented upon it, or some ‘Divine consideration’ which had occupied his thoughts during the week—some subject on which he conceived that his mind had obtained a clearer illumination of heavenly truth.”¹ After dinner they resumed conversation on subjects suggested by his guests. “The Sunday meetings may have continued four or five years. These Sabbaths of studious Christians, this exchange of subjects, this intercourse of thought between the proposers, the day, the pure elevation of mind they brought, as it were, with them, the situation, the beauty of the country, the transparent skies of a southern climate, the low murmurs of the bay—would all be favourable to the purposes of Valdés; and from these social

¹ “Life and Writings of Juan de Valdés,” by B. J. Wiffen, prefixed to the “CX. Considerations,” translated by Betts, p. 138.

meetings with his friends his purely religious works appear to have derived their origin and form." Valdés has been called by one "a noble knight by the grace of Cæsar, but a more noble knight by the grace of Christ;" and another depicts his "pale delicately cut countenance, in which was reflected the invisible world, in the contemplation of which he was immersed,"—his "frail body," his "patient spirit," his "courtly bearing," the charms of his speech, and "the spotless purity of his life." A third witness remarks: "He seems appointed by God as a teacher of noble and distinguished men, although he was so good that he served even the humblest and least cultivated with his endowments, and was all things to all men to gain all for Christ." These descriptions enable us to form an idea of this remarkable man, and to give life to the centre of the select society which hallowed the Chiaja of Naples three centuries and a half ago.

The subjects discussed in these conferences are embalmed in a work which Valdés bequeathed to the world under the title of "A Hundred and Ten Considerations." It was originally written in Spanish, and in that form has been reproduced of late, I believe, by an English press.

The Italian version has been rendered into English by Mr. Betts, with a valuable introduction by Mr. Wiffen; and now we are enabled to clear away the confusion which from ignorance of his writings long attached to his name and reputation. From a persual of the work, we find that he did not deal in scholastic propositions or in logical reasoning; that his habits of thought were rather religious than theological, experimental than scientific; that he did not attack the errors and superstitions of Romanism, but confined himself to the inculcation of what he believed to be Divine truth. In his "Considerations" he dwells upon the atonement, which he describes as "justice executed upon Christ;" upon justification by faith, which is expounded in a somewhat Lutheran form; and upon regeneration as the

work of the Holy Spirit, after much the same type of doctrine as that adopted by evangelical divines. The fruitlessness of mere speculation, the moral power of Christian faith, and the spirituality of religion, are ever-recurring topics in the long series of his remarks, which do not exhibit any systematic order. He frequently refers to Scripture, without giving long quotations, and abundantly insists upon the illumination of the soul by the direct agency of the Holy Ghost. Several questionable statements are introduced ; but the chapters are rich in shrewd ideas and lively illustrations, and present throughout much subtlety of thought, and a keen habit of analysis. The whole is pervaded by a spirit such as characterizes authors classed together as mystics ; and this accounts for misapprehensions of his meaning into which critics, both foreign and English, have been betrayed. Old moulds and forms of thought were broken up by some writers of this description, and they were not unlikely to say things which enemies and even friends might misunderstand.

The use of the word "mysticism," as characteristic of Valdés' writings, has been resented by his amiable and accomplished biographer, Mr. Wiffen, who, from his habits of thought as a member of the Society of Friends, had sympathy with phases of sentiment denoted by the appellation he criticises. I do not employ the word in any depreciatory sense, but simply as indicating, without the employment of circumlocution, what was the cast and bent of Valdés' spiritual meditations. I cannot agree with the excellent person just named, in his remark that Valdés "endeavours in all he writes to prove his position by strict though not formal reasoning, —he seemed to possess more of the Saxon or Teutonic element than is common to his countrymen." On the contrary, Valdés seems to me to have had one of those *intuitive* minds, which, with a keen glance, discovers, and then unhesitatingly asserts, what is not demonstrated or proved by any process of reasoning or argument whatever, whether formal or real. He does not resemble, so far as I

can see, any of our Anglican Reformers. He has little in common even with John Wycliffe ; but he resembles strongly John Tauler, and has caught the spirit of the *Theologia Germanica*, reminding me frequently of Martin Luther.

The writings of Valdés found their way to the parsonage of Barneston, near Salisbury, and in the retirement of that pleasant village—perhaps in the very parsonage so well preserved opposite the interesting little church where George Herbert prayed—the rector read with great delight the “Hundred and Ten Considerations,” and Izaak Walton, the dear old author of the matchless “Lives,” has recorded the circumstance, and dressed up an allusion to Valdés with a story about his connection with Charles v., which has no historical foundation whatever. But Herbert’s own remarks on the book he read with pleasure are worth repeating. “It is true there are some things which I like not in him, as my fragments will express when you read them,”—he was writing to Nicholas Ferrar, of Little Gidding,—“nevertheless I wish you by all means to publish it, for these three eminent things observable therein :—First, that God, in the midst of Popery, should open the eyes of one to understand and express so clearly and excellently the extent of the gospel in the acceptance of Christ’s righteousness (as he sheweth through all his ‘Considerations’) a thing strangely buried and darkened by the adversaries, and their great stumbling-block. Secondly, the great honour and reverence which he everywhere bears towards our dear Master and Lord, concluding every Consideration almost with His holy name, and setting His merit forth so piously ; for which I do so love him that were there nothing else I would print it, that with it the honour of my Lord might be published. Thirdly, the many pious rules of ordering our life, about mortification, and observations of God’s kingdom within us, and the working thereof, of which he was a very diligent observer.”¹

¹ Walton’s “Lives,” p. 345, ed. 1845.

Before quitting this notice of Valdés' work, let me add, that though it would be going too far to say that he had an idea of religious liberty like ours, yet he expresses a strong condemnation of religious intolerance. "I learn," he says, in Consideration LXXVI., "that I ought to guard myself as from fire against persecuting any one *in any manner*, pretending in that way to serve God." And he further observes, in a comment upon 1 Cor. xv. 9: "One thing is here worthy of remark—that St. Paul rested his unworthiness to be called an apostle on the ground that he had persecuted the Church of God, although, as he himself elsewhere says, he had not been aware that he erred in so doing. This serves to show us what evil they do who persecute others, and more especially those who do so under the pretence of religion and piety; and that we should understand that there is nothing more foreign to a Christian mind than persecution. It is proper that the Christian suffer, and so far as this is proper to him, so much is it improper for him to persecute another." I know that passages of this description, looked at in the light of *our own conceptions*, may be taken to mean more than the writer meant. And it is curious to think of the one-sidedness of some Reformers on this subject. It was taught that truth might be upheld by physical force, but not error; and Farel thought that if the Pope condemned the pious for heresy, and its penalties are inflicted on the innocent, it is madness to maintain that heretics ought not to be destroyed. Calvin and Beza wrote treatises to prove that "heretics are justly to be reproved by the sword," even while begging for Protestants in the dungeons of Lyons;¹ and Marguerite, Queen of Navarre, when she opened the French Parliament in the name of her brother Francis,² exhorted and prayed the court to "*punish and burn the true heretics*, but to spare the innocent

¹ See Baird's "Rise of the Huguenots," ii. 211.

² "Reg. du Parl.," May 24, 1543. Boscheron des Portes, "Hist. du Parlement de Bordeaux," i. 63. Quoted by Baird, "Rise of the Huguenots," i. 227.

and have compassion upon the prisoners and captives." They had one measure for themselves and their friends when accused of heresy, but another when they charged certain of their opponents with heresy. But the principle which Valdés lays down is so broad that when carried out it must cover a wide field of toleration ; and though possibly he might not, under certain circumstances, have been perfectly consistent in its application, he certainly seems to have had, though a Spaniard, more light on the subject than Frenchmen had some years afterwards.

As the work entitled "*Il Beneficio di Cristo*" did so much to diffuse evangelical principles in Italy, I shall not be going out of my way to refer to the share which possibly Valdés, in connection with others, might have had in its production. I am of opinion that Aonio Paleario could justly claim the authorship in chief of that treatise in its published form ; but there is room for a good deal of what Wiffen, following a Spanish view of the matter, says of people taking down the thoughts of Valdés, and then expressing them in their own words. He thinks Paleario and Flaminio might, after hearing the Spanish teacher, compose addresses on the benefits of Christ's death. They might borrow ideas and catch impulses from such a man,—even be indebted to him for language, for he was a teacher who could *inspire* as well as instruct.¹ Hence Mr. Wiffen adds :

" To them his voice seemed mellowed to a sound
More sweet than Virgil's on Italian ground ;
For every lesson, every turn he drew,
Fell on the heart, and melted it like dew."

It does not, however, appear that Paleario visited Naples, or came in personal contact with Valdés ; certainly he is not enume-

¹ Benrath, in his "*Life of Bernardino Ochino*," page 221, remarks that when Valdés' "*Considerations*" were circulated in manuscript among the members of this circle (the Neapolitan) the author of the tract concerning "*The Benefit of Christ*," had made use of it, and among other things he had taken from it the idea of man as the image of God, and the development of this idea.

rated as one of the company accustomed to meet in the Chiaja ; yet he might have received from some of them notes and reports which would assist him in his composition.

Valdés died in Naples, 1540, in the very midst of the excitement produced by his teaching ; and recollections of him are pathetically expressed. Jacomo Bonfadio, one of his admirers, writing from the beautiful shore of the Lago de Garda, to Carnesecchi, alludes to the place of meeting—"the window of that turret," "those sunny gardens," "the spacious bosom of that smiling sea," and then exclaims, "Where shall we go, now Signor Valdés is dead ? This has truly been a great loss, for Signor Valdés was one of the rare men of Europe, and those writings he has left on the Epistles of Paul and the Psalms of David most amply show it. He was, without doubt, in his actions, his speech, and all his conduct a perfect man. With a particle of his soul he governed his frail and spare body with the larger part and with his pure understanding, as though almost out of the body, he was always raised to the contemplation of truth and of Divine things."

How far a literary preparation had been made for the effect of Valdés' writings and personal influence, it is impossible to say. But this is clear, that Pontanus, the Italian poet, who presided over the Neapolitan Academy at the close of the fifteenth century, wrote some moral and political essays in prose, which are said to be full of just observations and sharp satire on the court of Rome, and written in a style which his contemporaries regarded with admiration. They were published in 1490. Another Italian poet, Baptista Mantuan, who indulged in Latin verse, "was among the many assailants of the Church, or at least the court of Rome ; and this animosity inspired him with some bitter or rather vigorous invectives." And, in the words of the author who is my authority for these statements, it may be further remarked in general terms, "that we find traces of this aberration from orthodoxy, in one or the other form, through much of the literature of

Italy, sometimes displaying itself only in censures of the vices of the clergy, censures from which, though in other ages they had been almost universal, the rigidly Catholic party began now to abstain." At a later period Trissino, in his "*Italia Liberata*," sharply rebukes ecclesiastical vices; and Manzolli, in his "*Zodiacus Vitæ*," published just before Valdés' death, says "more than enough to incur the suspicion of Lutheranism."¹ Exposures of clerical corruption only touched the surface of a subject into which Valdés deeply penetrated; but books of the former kind, circulated early in the sixteenth century, might serve to break up the ground for his more direct and effective toils.

But it is time to turn to those whom Valdés gathered round him; and the first place must be assigned to Bernardino Ochino. We have seen him as an eloquent preacher in his native city Siena. We shall meet him again at Venice. He traversed Italy on the missions of his order, and was particularly popular in the city of Naples. Crowds listened to him in the largest churches; and after he had left the pulpit he would repair to the Chiaja, listen to Valdés, drink in his sentiments, and then the next Sunday reproduce what he had heard before assembled multitudes. It is remarkable to find how writers of that day ascribe to the sage of the Chiaja an influence which wrought widely through Naples and Italy, in support of evangelical views. But Ochino only in a very gradual way made his escape from the darkness of Popery into the light of the gospel. Indeed, the history of his mind in this respect, as will appear hereafter, is somewhat of a puzzle, owing in part to a confessed habit of concealing his convictions. Peter Martyr also appears at Naples, coming under the influence of Juan Valdés; but nothing distinctive and characteristic appears in connection with this incident. More may be said about Carnesecchi, for he possessed an abbacy at Naples, and actively assisted in the publication of his eminent teacher's works. He was in the city when Valdés died in 1540; "and if

¹ Hallam's "*Introduction to the Literature of Europe*," i. 310, 311, 505.

he did not receive his last confession, which is very probable"—for it must be remembered neither of them seceded from the Church of Rome—"he at least knew what it was, for his commendation of it formed part of the accusation against him in his trial in 1567, before the Inquisition at Rome." He was expressly charged with having been, before the year 1540, indoctrinated by the late Juan Valdés, a Spaniard, Marc Antonio Flaminio, and Bernardino Ochino of Siena, and holding converse with them and with Peter Martyr, with Galeazzo Caracciolo, and with many other heretics and those suspected of heresy; reading the book of the "*Beneficio di Cristo*," and writings of the said Valdés. Fabio Mario Galeota—an inhabitant of Naples, thrown afterwards into the prison of the Inquisition at Rome, with the good fortune of escaping out of it when the building was attacked by the mob, on the death of Paul IV. in 1559—was also of the select company which imparts so much interest to the Chiaja. He dissented from the traditional doctrines of the Church of Rome, Papal authority, auricular confession, purgatory, transubstantiation, and indulgences. Much additional light has been thrown on the character, opinions, and history of this remarkable man by Karl Benrath, in an interesting contribution of his to "*La Rivista Cristiana*."¹ Of the same number was Benedetto Cusano, a companion of Peter Martyr at Padua; and respecting the two we are told, "the first rays of the morning light, appearing through the windows of the library, alone reminded them of the lapse of time. Thus they read the orators, philosophers, and best poets, and obtained that knowledge of the originals which enabled them to study the New Testament at the fountain-head." Giulio da Milano; Giovanni Mollio of Montalcino, near Siena, and a lecturer in the monastery of San Lorenzo at Naples; Giambattista Folenga, Prior of the famous Benedictine monastery on the road from Naples to Rome, exempted from the general sweep of dissolution by the Government of United Italy—are also mentioned amongst the attendants on Valdés' private

¹ Anno vi. 41.

instructions. It may also be stated that the last of these wrote a commentary on the Psalms, containing evangelical sentiments, together with censures on the popular superstitions of his day.



ISLAND OF ISCHIA.

Giovanni Francisco de Aloys, a man of learning, and Galeazzo Caracciolo, are also included in the list.¹ Some of these will come under notice in other localities.

¹ These are all noticed by Wiffen in his "Life and Writings of Juan de Valdés," 104, *et seq.*

There were ladies, too, who joined in the meetings—Isabella Manrique, of a noble Spanish family, sister to a Cardinal—more than a hearer of evangelical truth, for she laboured in the cause, so as to become known as a heretic, and after the death of Valdés had to flee to Switzerland for liberty, if not for life; and Constanza d'Avolos, Duchessa di Amalfi, also of Spanish extraction, fond of poetry, and one who herself invoked the muse; but I must pass them by to notice more particularly two other distinguished women, one of whom we have already seen in the city of Viterbo—Vittoria Colonna.

She resided in the neighbourhood of Naples, in the Castle of Ischia, an island which Bishop Berkeley, in one of his letters to Pope, describes as “an epitome of the whole earth, containing within the compass of eighteen miles a wonderful variety of hills, vales, rugged rocks, fruitful plains and barren mountains, all thrown together in the most romantic confusion.”

The castle belonged to the Marquis of Pescara, Vittoria's husband, whose loss she so deeply mourned; and there, after his death, she continued to reside, except when she sought a retreat in the Convent of St. Catherine at Viterbo. Her sorrowful heart, and the evangelical instructions she had received from Contanni, Pole, Flaminio, and Carnesecchi, prepared her for the still higher teaching of Valdés, and hence she was wont to repair to the mainland on many a sunny day, to sit with the rest of the company and listen to his voice.

But of all the noble ladies attracted to the sphere of Juan de Valdés, Giulia Gonzaga Colonna, Duchess of Trajetto and Countess of Fondi, Mr. Wiffen tells us, “was the one who drank deepest of his instructions, and towards whom his mind was most forcibly brought into exercise. Her noble faculties, her pursuit of the highest virtue, and the loveliness of her mind and person alike engaged his regard.”

Eulogized by the father of Tasso and by Ariosto, she has come

down to us as a poetess in a little volume published at Bergamo in 1750. At sixteen she married the Duke and Count who gave her the titles she bore. Her husband, older than herself, inspired her with an affection which continued in all its strength after his death, which induced her to reject offers of a second union, and which led her to adopt, after a fashion of that age, an amaranthine flower as her symbol, with the motto, *Non Moritura*, "that will not die." Her history is most romantic, and has been chronicled by Wiffen;¹ and after a series of adventures she went to live at Naples in the Borgo delle Virgini. The lady whilst there became immersed in troubles, owing to a family dispute; and it was "under these perplexing circumstances that her intimate acquaintance with Juan de Valdés took place, and that the conversation—detailed with great clearness in a volume entitled 'Alfabeto Christiano'—was held. These incidents serve to explain some parts of the dialogue: the return in the evening from hearing the preacher's sermon; the prolonged conversation carried on in her house to a late hour; how Valdés could have assisted her in her outward affairs by his intercourse with the Viceroy and the Emperor; and the reason why Valdés endeavoured so much to impress upon her mind an entire dependence upon God and faith in His promises for outward support; the duty of forgiveness of injuries, and the sacrifice of mere worldly honour."² On the death of Valdés, Giulia gave her confidence to Carnesecchi, and he became her spiritual adviser; her correspondence with him was noticed in the course of his trial, and he was charged with having recommended to her a couple of heretical teachers sent to open schools on her property. Again and again she was harassed by the Holy Office searching after proofs against her; but she was never imprisoned, though it is said the vexations she endured shortened her life. For the last thirty years she lived a secular life, as it was called, in the Franciscan convent of Santa Chiara at Naples, by Papal permission granted

¹ Introduction to "Life and Writings of Juan de Valdés," 109, *et seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 115.

her at the commencement of the term, which permission does not seem to have been suspended or interrupted by suspicions of heresy.

That the principles of the Reformation spread in Naples, we have painful proof in the proceedings of the Inquisition. Twice in the early part of the sixteenth century the Neapolitans resisted with effect the establishment of that infamous court in the city and kingdom. In 1546, Charles v., as King of Spain, and extending his sovereignty over this part of Italy, set up the terrific Spanish tribunal in the south of the Peninsula, but not without arousing the discontent of the people, who assaulted some officers as they were taking a heretic to prison. Strange to say, the court of Rome sympathized with the inhabitants in their rebellion against the Government, wishing to substitute the Holy Office of the pontifical city for that of an authority imported from another quarter, alleging as a reason the extreme rigour of the Spanish Inquisitors, and the milder method of the Roman tribunal. The people of Naples, thus cajoled, submitted to Rome, in order to be relieved from the cruelty of Spain ; only, however, to find that there was little difference between them. Once admitted, the fearful engine in the hands of its new managers made sad havoc in Naples and the neighbourhood. Prisons were filled with untried captives, left to pine in secret cells, their fate unknown to their friends, save that the mystery which followed the seizure filled them with fear, and made them tremble at the idea of Protestantism. It is stated that nevertheless many remained firm in their Reformed opinions, and continued to meet in private for mutual edification. But grinding despotism told in the long run, and the work of Valdés was defeated and destroyed. Two causes, besides the efficacy of persistent force, are assigned for the extinction of the Reformed cause in that part of Italy. First, the intrusion of Arian and Anabaptist opinions, which strengthened the hands of the Church ; and secondly, the practice of outward conformity to Popish practices, which in time wore away Protestant

impressions.¹ Some suspected of heresy escaped out of the kingdom; but the love of country induced them to return, when they were apprehended and cast into prison.

Connected with the Neapolitan dominions is one of the saddest stories of South Italy. The province of Calabria extends for one hundred and sixty miles from the Gulf of Policastro to Cape Spartivento. Divided into two parts by the Apennine ridge, covered with pines, the valleys abound in fresh pastures, and feed vast flocks of sheep. Rice and cotton, saffron and the sugar-cane, oranges and lemons, figs and mulberries, flourish in the soil, and iron and marble are dug out of the earth. In the sixteenth century there were four thousand Waldensian colonists living in the northern parts of Calabria, descended from those who migrated thither in 1370.

The founders obtained the district for purposes of cultivation and for the exercise of their faith. The land, under their industry, assumed a new appearance, and became a "garden of the Lord." The hills echoed with the bleating of flocks, and the valleys were covered over with corn. The settlers paid their tithes, but they did not heed the ceremonies of the priesthood; moreover, though honest and sedate, they did not sympathize with their neighbours; thus out of alienation grew dislike. The cry of heresy was raised against the colonists; but they were good tenants and profitable parishioners, and as tithes became more productive, the clergy were reconciled to the ways of the strangers.

At different periods, links of connection appear between them and the Church of the Valleys; for when, in 1530, that Church discussed new questions as to doctrine and practice, it sent a message to the Calabrians inviting them to attend the discussion; and when, two years afterwards, the new French translation of the Bible was projected at the Synod of Angrogna, the poor people of Calabria contributed to the undertaking.

¹ M'Crie's "History of the Reformation in Italy," 298.

The Calabrian Waldenses--degenerating in their religious character for want of proper means of instruction, and through distance from the brethren of their own faith--had their traditions revived and their spirit aroused by hearing that doctrines like those of their fathers were being propagated in this neighbourhood. They therefore sent to Piedmont to obtain ministers of the Vaudois creed. The ministers came, and not only reformed the colonists, but extended their religion beyond the borders; when this came to be known in Rome, plans were set on foot to defeat the enterprise.

On the western side of the hills near Ritorto, on the road from Naples to Cosenza, is a village named San Sisto. This village was a home of the Waldenses--there they lived in peace, and worshipped God according to their conscience; but monkish emissaries from Rome were sent to disturb their worship and put an end to their liberties. These agents visited San Sisto, and spoke to the inhabitants very kindly, saying they were come to instruct them in the true religion, and that if they would hearken to truth, and abandon their errors, they would be treated well; but if they acted otherwise, they would endanger both their property and their lives. As a test of obedience, mass was to be said, and the people were to attend. Instead of doing this, the more vigorous amongst them fled to the woods. Not far off on the coast is a place called La Guardia. Thither proceeded the missionaries from Rome, and they told the inhabitants that the San Sistians had given up their errors, and had returned to the true Church. The people of La Guardia were exhorted to follow the good example, and, deceived by the false report, proceeded to comply. Finding out how they had been misled, they determined to join their brethren in the woods, but were diverted from this plan by the persuasion of Salvatore Spinello, their feudatory lord. The Romish ministers, disappointed as to the execution of their original scheme, now, through the assistance of people in the neighbourhood, attacked the refugees, crying out, "Murder them." The fugitives requested a parley,

and besought mercy of their assailants, promising that, if no longer allowed to enjoy their freedom, they would retire and promise never to return. The parley was useless. Some of the innocent villagers were killed, the rest took flight. Upon a report that rebellion had broken out in Calabria, troops were sent from Naples. A proclamation delivered up San Sisto to fire and sword; in consequence of this, the remaining fugitives were tracked, to be slain, or to be starved. Seventy persons from La Guardia were conducted in chains to Montalto. It appears that resistance was made by the Waldenses to the persecutors. They had the spirit of their fathers, and could not quietly sit down under this murderous invasion. Violence on their side increased violence on the other, and the agencies of the Inquisition came out in distinctive activity. Heretics were tortured in frightful ways I do not care to repeat; and death, even by fire, seemed preferable to some things which preceded it.

The only narrative in detail I shall give is from the pen of a Roman Catholic servant, relative to what happened in 1560 at Montalto. He says to his master, Ascanio Caracciolo:

“Most illustrious Sir,—Having written you from time to time what has been done here in the affair of heresy, I have now to inform you of the dreadful justice which began to be executed on these Lutherans early this morning, being the 11th of June. And, to tell you the truth, I can compare it to nothing but the slaughter of so many sheep. They were all shut up in one house as in a sheepfold. The executioner went, and bringing out one of them, covered his face with a napkin or *benda*, as we call it, led him out to a field near the house, and causing him to kneel down, cut his throat with a knife. Then, taking off the bloody napkin, he went and brought out another, whom he put to death after the same manner. In this way, the whole number, amounting to eighty-eight men, were butchered. I leave you to figure to yourself the lamentable spectacle, for I can scarcely refrain from tears while I

write ; nor was there any person who, after witnessing the execution of one, could stand to look on a second. The meekness and patience with which they went to martyrdom and death are incredible. Some of them at their death professed themselves of the same faith with us, but the greater part died in their cursed obstinacy. All the old men met their death with cheerfulness, but the young exhibited symptoms of fear. I still shudder while I think of the executioner with the bloody knife in his teeth, the dripping napkin in his hand, and his arms besmeared with gore, going to the house and taking out one victim after another, just as a butcher does the sheep which he means to kill. According to orders, waggons are already come to carry away the dead bodies, which are appointed to be quartered and hung up on the public roads from one end of Calabria to the other. Unless his Holiness and the Viceroy of Naples command the Marquis de Buccianici, the Governor of this province, to stay his hand and leave off, he will go on to put others to the torture and multiply the executions until he has destroyed the whole. Even to-day a decree has passed that a hundred grown-up women shall be put to the question, and afterwards executed, in order that there may be a complete mixture, and we may be able to say, in well-sounding language, that so many persons were punished, partly men and partly women. This is all that I have to say of this act of justice. It is now eight o'clock, and I shall presently hear accounts of what was said by these obstinate people as they were led to execution. Some have testified such obstinacy and stubbornness as to refuse to look on a crucifix, or confess to a priest ; and they are to be burnt alive. The heretics taken in Calabria amount to sixteen hundred, all of whom are condemned ; but only eighty-eight have as yet been put to death. This people came originally from the valley of Angrogna, near Savoy, and in Calabria are called Ultramontani. Four other places in the kingdom of Naples are inhabited by the same race, but I do not know that they behave ill ; for they are a simple, unlettered

people, entirely occupied with the spade and plough, and, I am told, show themselves sufficiently religious at the hour of death."

Such narratives, like all martyrologies, must be taken as they are found. Whatever abatement may be allowed by a critical historian, enough remains to convince us of the terrible ways in which the Reformation was stamped out in Italy.

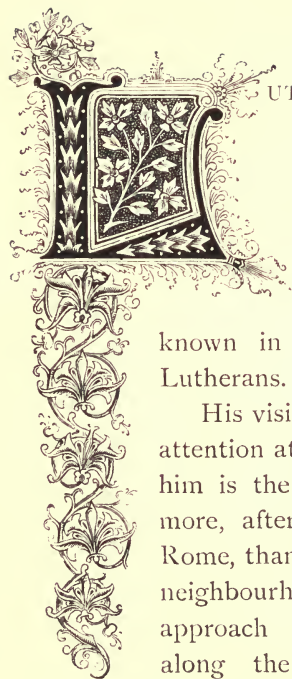
Lutheranism, as all decided reformatory movements were termed, existed to the north as well as the south of Naples, and was repressed by the same kind of policy as that just recounted. On my way to Naples twenty-five years ago, in company with friends, I stopped at S. Agata, above which the Apennines rose with their unstained snows, on a fair spring morning; and around these, spread olives, figs, vines, and wild flowers; "dove-coloured steers" were ploughing up and down the vineyards, herds of goats browsed on the grass, birds sung in the trees, and distant views of Mola di Gaeta were caught as we turned to look behind. I remember walking up to the picturesque village of Sessa hard by, where men wore dark brown cloaks, and sharp-topped hats; and the women appeared in scarlet mantles, and blue aprons, and pink handkerchiefs, and white caps, neatly frilled stomachers, high-heeled and buckled shoes, and a green skirt tucked up over blue petticoats edged with red; and all these details of costume were thrown out in artistic relief by the background of old buildings in a little market-place, stored with heaps of bright-coloured vegetables—the combination of objects and hues resembling a picture on the walls of our Academy in May. I did not think then that such a scene so attractive to artists could have anything to do with the Reformation in Italy; but now I find that in S. Agata, a number of Protestants were delivered to the secular arm, and "if any individual came forward to intercede for the prisoners, he was immediately put to the torture as a favourer of heresy."¹

¹ M'Crie, on the authority of Perrin, 205, 206, "History of the Reformation in Italy," p. 530.



INTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S.

ROME.



LUTHER, though a German, may be reckoned amongst Italian Reformers; for his teaching stirred up many of the Italian people, especially in the North, to inquire into the doctrines of the Reformation; and when they embraced those doctrines they were commonly known in Italy, as elsewhere, by the name of Lutherans.

His visit to Rome, therefore, in 1511, attracts our attention at once.¹ The first point at which we meet him is the Porta del Popolo. Nothing strikes one more, after an absence of twenty-five years from Rome, than the change wrought in the immediate neighbourhood of the railway station; but if the approach be made by the old-fashioned route along the road to the gate just named, the traveller will find things much as they were in days of yore. The church of Santa Maria del Popolo stands close by; and in it, amidst many notable objects, is a monument of Gio. Batt. Gislenus, who died in 1670. It represents his portrait,

¹ Melanethon gives this date.

with the inscription "*Neque hic vivus ;*" it contains a medallion representing a chrysalis with the words, "*in nidulo meo morior ;*" opposite is the image of a butterfly, with the motto, "*Ut phœnix multiplicabo dies ;*" and below is a skeleton in a winding-sheet, bearing another inscription, "*Neque hic mortuus.*" Adjoining this church is the Augustine Monastery where Luther said his first mass in Rome. Before entering the doors of the convent the monk, then twenty-three years old, fell on his knees, and raising his hands to heaven, exclaimed, "Hail, holy Rome, made holy by the blood of the martyrs, and by the blood which has been spilt here !" He thought of the persecutions of the primitive Church, little dreaming at the moment of other persecutions, consequent, in a large degree, upon his own visit, and the impressions received during his memorable sojourn. In unaltered parts of the city we can trace his footsteps. He entered the Pantheon ten years before the body of Raphael was there laid to rest, and when the glorious picture of the Transfiguration had no existence, save that the idea of that unparalleled work of art might be already floating in the master's imagination. The massiveness of the columns arrested the attention of the Augustine monk, as he stood there in the habit of his order ; and he describes them as scarcely compassable by two men with their outstretched arms. He mentions the Catacombs, and says he was told that eight thousand martyrs lay buried there in one vault ; then these subterranean passages had not been explored ; and the idea we have of them is very different from that entertained in those days.

The new Basilica of St. Peter was at that time in progress. The first stone had been laid by Julius II. in 1506, when mass was celebrated with pontifical splendour. Another stone-laying of certain pillars followed in 1507 ; and the neighbourhood of the Vatican, no doubt, during the whole of Julian's reign was a scene of industry and bustle, as the gigantic edifice rose from its foundations. Leo X.,

who so zealously promoted the vast undertaking, did not wear the tiara until 1513, and therefore it was before he gave such impetus to the gorgeous erection that Martin Luther visited Rome. The cupola was not completed until 1590.

Within the cathedral, as it then was, Luther saw a relic which excited his contempt: "Nothing but a black board with a cloth hung before it, and over that another when the Veronica is shown; the poor besotted pilgrim can see nothing but a cloth before a black tablet." But of all the places visited by the monk none have left the same impression on his history as the Santa Scala. The famous staircase behind the triclinium of St. John Lateran, still often crowded with pilgrims on their knees crawling from step to step, was in Luther's day probably more crowded still, and as he patiently ascended, he heard, more loudly than ever—often as they had touched his heart at Erfurt—the Bible words, "The just shall live by faith." The whole Reformation seemed wrapped up in that saying, and it came to him as a voice from heaven.

As we pass into one church after another of the three hundred and sixty-five said to be scattered about the city, we think of the Reformer's complaint of masses irreverently celebrated, whilst worldliness, extravagance, pomp, vice, and crime were rampant on every side. "I myself"—these are his own words,—“have heard people say openly in the streets of Rome, ‘If there be a hell, Rome is built upon it!’” And the testimony of others very unlike him is accordant with his own. "It was the tone of good society in Rome to question the evidences of Christianity. No one passed, remarks P. Ant. Bandino, "for an accomplished man who did not entertain heretical opinions; at the court the ordinances of the cathedral church and passages of Holy Writ were spoken of only in a jesting manner; the mysteries of the faith were despised." ¹

But Rome, a few years later than Luther's visit, was not without evidences of something better. A conviction of the necessity of

¹ Ranke's "History of the Popes," i. 74.

reform, already illustrated in these chapters, had not expired, and cravings after spiritual and ecclesiastical improvements were strong in many minds. Even in the reign of Leo X. a society was formed known as the Oratory of Divine Love. It was founded in 1523, and met in the church of Santa Dorotea.

Fifty or sixty distinguished men joined this Oratory ; amongst them were Contarini, and two others, contrasted together by the historian Ranke; Gaetano da Thiene, "peaceful, retiring, mild, of few words, given to the raptures of religious enthusiasm, of whom it was said that he wished to reform the world, but without having it known that he was in the world ; the other, Gianpietro Caraffa, violent, turbulent, a fierce zealot. But Caraffa had discovered, as he confessed, that the more he had followed after his desires, the more his heart had been oppressed ; that it could find rest only when it quitted itself for God, when it communed with heavenly things. They felt, therefore, in common, the want of seclusion (a want which in the one was the result of natural disposition, in the other of unsatisfied longings and aspirations) and the inclination to spiritual activity."¹

Besides these noted characters were Giberto, Sadoletto, and others, to the number of fifty or sixty. These men aimed at a higher life than they had hitherto lived, and they also contemplated measures of Church reform. But their views were superficial. They did not look deep enough into what needed to be done. They resolved, as others had before, to attend the ordinances of religion diligently, to be regular in the celebration of mass, to be frequent in visiting holy places.

Another movement accompanied that of the Divine Oratory. It was the institute of a new monastic order, such new institutions being common methods in the Middle Ages of attempting Church reform. The order established in 1524 has left a visible mark in Rome in the first convent of the Theatines, which took its name

¹ Ranke, "History of the Popes," i. 175.

from Caraffa, who was Bishop of Theata. The convent was connected with the church of Santa Dorotea, and in it is buried the body of Caraffa, who became a cardinal.

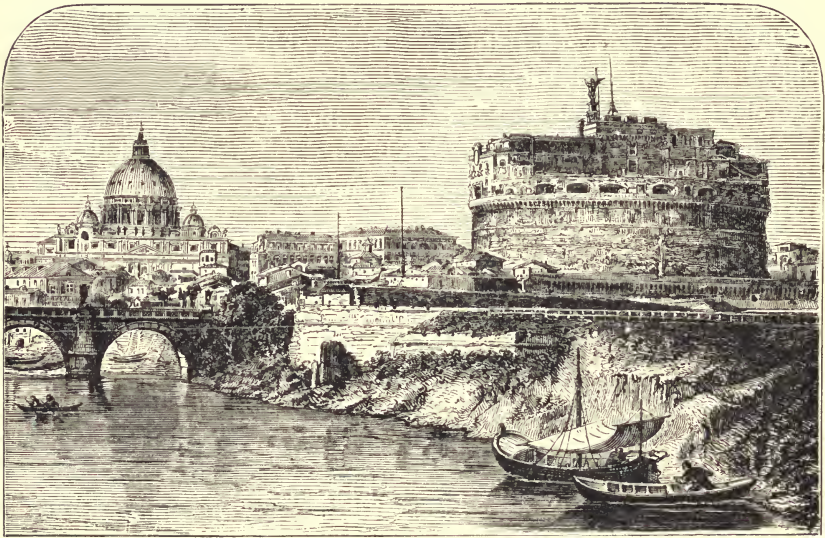
The Theatine brotherhood added to the usual monkish vows this peculiarity, that whilst forbidden to possess property, they would never beg. The members were of noble families; subsequently proofs to that effect were in some places requisite for admission, and it is clear that the original plan could be carried out only under conditions of that kind. The whole thing is curious—an aristocratic order, vowing to live on alms, but confining membership to the rich and titled: a very roundabout device, worthy of the old Italians, and to them chiefly its practice is confined.

The Castle of St. Angelo is one of the best-known objects in Rome. Its appearance is familiar enough; but comparatively few English people enter the interior. I had for my guide an enthusiastic cicerone, who pointed out memorials of the unhappy Beatrice Cenci, and repeated the usual traditions respecting her—calling attention to an old fresco on the wall of one of the rooms, representing, as he said, Beatrice's advocate at her trial—and he also told me, with burning indignation, that in a dungeon which he opened, there had once been confined a Protestant, who was strangled at the door when led forth to execution. Further, he showed rooms where Pope Clement VII., during the siege of Rome, found poor accommodation; and he also directed attention to wells within the precincts, which supplied the Pontiff and his scanty court with water, and to openings in the battlements, down which boiling oil was poured on the besiegers.

That siege is one of the most frightful memories in Rome; and it belongs not merely to the age, but to some incidents of the Reformation. It was in May, 1527, that the Constable de Bourbon attacked the walls at the head of German troops, many of whom were Lutherans fired with hatred against the Papacy; but they would not have succeeded as they did, had it not been for allies

near the Papal throne. Rome's worst enemies were the Italians. By them Bourbon had been advised to besiege Florence. They had guided his march, and planned his attacks ; and what followed may be imagined, when we are told that the Germans were penniless and shoeless, ragged and half-starved, and had but one thought in their minds—to satisfy their hunger, and fill their pockets.

The morning of the 6th rose heavily with clouds and fogs, hiding



CASTLE OF ST. ANGELO.

from the Romans the advance and manœuvres of the assailants. Artillery was useless. Twice the assault was given, and twice repulsed. At the third onset Bourbon, in white armour, holding a ladder in his left hand, and mounting to the attack, fell mortally wounded. The Pope fled from the Vatican, and with difficulty entered the Castle of St. Angelo, whilst many hopeless fugitives in his rear, driven back and compelled to make way, were

crushed to death, or forced over the bridge into the Tiber. Excesses of the most horrible nature were perpetrated by the assailants, who thus manifested their horror of Popery: "One group of Lutheran infantry, in their drunken orgies, laid hold of the Cardinal of Ara Coeli, carried him in a bier through the streets of Rome, singing the office for the dead. Stopping before one of the churches, they pronounced over him a funeral oration, interlarded with the most revolting obscenities. Then, taking him to their quarters, they compelled him to serve them with the choicest wines in consecrated vessels. The higher the rank of their prisoners, the greater their reputation for wealth, the more refined and exquisite were the tortures prepared for them. Some were suspended by their arms in the air, others, with their feet shackled, were dangled over wells and deep pits of water, with the threat of having the rope cut if they did not declare where their treasures were hidden. Many sunk under the blows they received, or were branded with fire in different parts of their bodies, or their teeth torn out, or molten lead poured into their mouths. In one instance a prelate who had been taken prisoner with a diamond ring on his finger was compelled to surrender it. As the soldier who was drawing it off lost patience, his corporal, seeing his embarrassment, drew his knife, cut off the prisoner's finger, and presented it to his comrade. Drawing off the ring, the soldier threw the finger in the face of the unhappy prisoner."¹

Such was the scarcity, that the Pope and his Cardinals, it is said, were forced to live on horseflesh, and even to avail themselves of an ass's carcase, whilst a poor old woman was strangled for attempting to convey lettuces for the table of his holiness. The German soldiers added to his mortification and distress by beating drums under his windows, and exhibiting a fellow dressed in pontifical costume, who swore obedience to the Emperor, amidst shouts of "Long live Pope Luther!" Literature suffered

¹ Letters and Papers, Foreign and Dom. Henry VIII., vol. iv. int. clxiii.

from the violence of the invaders. Libraries were destroyed, and MSS. were torn up for kitchen fires and stable litter.

But though these outbursts of an anti-papal temper appeared in connection with the siege, the nature and object of the expedition must not be estimated by a simple reference to such circumstances.

Italian quarrels of Imperial Ghibellines and Popish Guelfs were of old standing, though now the names were dropped ; this seems but a perpetuation of the old feud. The Emperor and the Holy Father were striving for mastery ; and the excesses which disgraced the German arms were but such horrors as commonly followed in the wake of sixteenth-century wars. Charles v., though he was inimical to the Pope, and sought to humble him as a political power, professed still to reverence him as a spiritual ruler, and had the hypocrisy, when Clement had been made prisoner, and could be at any moment liberated by an Imperial order, to command prayers and penances in the Spanish kingdom for the Pontiff's deliverance. He also wrote to those European Governments with which he was on friendly terms, to condemn the excesses of the siege, and to repudiate Bourbon's assault on the city. Some may hope that on that miserable occasion, besides cruel landsknechts—who, so far as they pretended to any religion at all, were blind and furious fanatics—there were some better-behaved soldiers. But little could be expected in the way of improvement for Roman citizens from these terrible incursions, however moral might be some of the men engaged. Lutheranism in some parts of Italy has been attributed to the march of this army ; but it is difficult to see how, under the circumstances, they could have helped on any religious cause whatever.

There were amongst the Roman Catholics men who regarded the sack of Rome, like the sack of Alaric, as a judgment from heaven for the sins of earth. It was not, said the prelate Staphileus Siburicensis, by any spontaneous act of theirs, but God Himself, the avenger of wickedness, who by the hands of abandoned men

overturned tribunals and plundered sanctuaries. "How," he exclaimed, "is the faithful city become a harlot! righteousness lodged in it, but now murderers." The prophecy of Babylon he applied to Rome, declaring that the words gave so clear an account of it as not to require explanation.¹ At a later period a conviction of the need of reform remained in the minds of many familiar with the court of Rome; and even Michael Angelo, when he heard that Paul IV. wished to efface the Last Judgment from the wall of the Sistine Chapel—a painting which Aretino said "might give the artist a place among the Lutherans"—replied, "Tell the Pope not to trouble himself, but to do something toward reforming mankind; a much easier thing than correcting pictures."

One scheme of reform followed another in the Romish Church, and a remarkable attempt appears in the reign of Paul III. A commission was appointed to investigate the condition of affairs, and when the commissioners met they were received with great state and ceremony. They transacted their business in the apartments of Contarini.

It was confessed that irregularities prevailed; that priests were carelessly ordained; that Church offices had become hereditary; that incumbents resigned in favour of their children; that bishoprics were held by incompetent persons; and that non-residence was notoriously common. Discipline was in decay; monks were irregular; confessors were mercenary; married clergymen were numerous. A dark picture is drawn of what was nearest home: "And as this city and Church of Rome is the parent and mistress of all Churches, she hath an extraordinary obligation upon her to exceed all others in religion and decency of living. But notwithstanding this there are a great many ignorant and slovenly priests belonging to the Cathedral of St. Peter, who are so meanly and scandalously provided, both in respect to their own clothes and the vestments of their office, that it would be a very ill sight for them

¹ Young's "Life and Times of Aonio Paleario," i. 41.

to appear in that manner, if it were only in ordinary and private houses. And in this indecent garb they perform Divine service, to the great dissatisfaction of those who are present. Therefore order must be given to the archpriest or to the penitentiary, that all such offensive negligence may be removed out of the way, first in this town, and afterwards in other places. But, then, what complaint is sharp enough against those shameless strumpets who are suffered to appear in the same dress and figure with women of virtue and condition, who ride upon mules through the most public places of the town at noon-day, and have *part of the retinue of cardinals* of the first quality, and such extraordinary attendance to wait upon them? Truly we must needs say we never saw such marks of dissoluteness and debauchery in any other town but in that which ought to be, as it were, the pattern and original for all the world to draw after and imitate: and to make their grandeur uniform, these lewd women are permitted to dwell in stately houses, to the great scandal of the place."

At Christmas, 1536, special festivities were held in honour of the commissioners, who no doubt appeared in the streets in all the pomp and glory of scarlet and purple. Paul III. determined on making a batch of cardinals, and Pole was of the number. He had lodgings for himself and his suite in the palace. That of St. John Lateran had been for ages the Pontiffs' home—not the palace now existing, built in 1586 by Sixtus V., but an ancient one running back to a remote date; in fact, the seat of the Roman diocese and the Papal see is the Church of St. John Lateran, not the Church of St. Peter Vatican. Boniface IX. quitted the rambling edifice of the Lateran, decayed and inconvenient, and took up his abode in the newly built structure of the Vatican.¹

Paul III. occupied it sixteen years, and there he promoted the new Catholic movement which, whilst in some respects a revival of

¹ See "Les Sept Basiliques de Rome," par le Baron M. T. de Bussierre, for all these particulars.

old attempts, was still more so an obvious reaction against what went on in Germany—in short, a counter-revolution meant to check what was accomplished by Luther. Also he repressed, by means of persecution, the rapid growth of Italian Protestantism. As Alexander Faranese, Paul had been seen at meetings in the gardens of Lorenzo de Medici at Florence, for he was born in 1468, and, a thorough man of the world, he had, like some others, been lax in reference to his priestly vows. When Cardinal he built the Grand Farnese Palace. After reaching the Popedom, which through a long life had been an object of steady ambition, his character and ways often puzzled cardinals and other courtiers; but “so much was clear to all, that he never relinquished a project that he had once entertained, he hoped to accomplish whatever he had undertaken, if not presently, yet at some future time, under altered circumstances and by other means.”

The name of Paul III. is closely associated with the Inquisition in Rome; and to that fearful institute the attention of every one must be turned who is searching for localities bearing upon the fortunes of the Reformation.

The first spot which here claims notice is that occupied by the Church and Convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

The church, though depreciated by some, is one of the most interesting in the city, being an example of the Italian Gothic quite unique. It has of late years been restored, and is now exceedingly attractive, not only from its paintings and sculptured monuments, as well as the illustrious dead buried there, including Catherine of Siena and Fra Angelico da Fiesole, but from the masses and other musical services which are there performed. Connected with the church was a Dominican convent of the same name, formerly the residence of the General of the order; but, now that the monks are scattered and the institute dissolved, it is occupied by a vast library of 120,000 volumes collected by the Cardinal Casanata, and called after him the “*Bibliotheca Casanatensis*.” Some parts of the spacious

edifice, which enclose a court with a colonnade, are now used for municipal purposes. Here existed the old court of the Inquisition, the Holy Office for the suppression of heresy, and here occurred the world-known trial of Galileo, on which fresh light has been thrown of late.

An odd scene once occurred within the walls of this church. De Dominis, Archbishop of Spolato, abandoned Roman Catholicism, and came over to England in the reign of James I., who made the new convert Dean of Windsor. But De Dominis was an inconsistent and changeful sort of person ; he listened to overtures from Rome, became suspected by the English monarch, and visited the Papal city, still protesting that he would ever justify the English Church, "as orthodox in fundamentals, even in the presence of the Pope or whomsoever, though with the loss of his life." I cannot follow his story, but it appears that when he reached Rome he talked in a way indicated by these words, and this brought him into trouble. He was arrested and imprisoned. Possession was taken of his papers by the officers of the Inquisition, and they reported that he abjured his heresies, gave signs of repentance, and confessed that the pressure of imprisonment had led him to see the light as he had done before. In this state he died. Some people said he was poisoned ; poisoning was very common, and so was the suspicion of it, when there could be found no evidence whatever of the fact. Strange to tell, after the report of his repentance, there assembled in Santa Maria sopra Minerva an enormous multitude, so that the cardinals could scarcely reach their places, though Swiss guards were stationed in the church. The sacred Senate, the Inquisitors, and the City Prefect had brought before them the effigy of De Dominis clothed in black, with a cap and a paper on it, bearing his name and former dignity. A wooden coffin smeared with pitch enclosed his corpse. A sentence was then read to the effect that the departed was cast out of the Church ; that his corpse and his effigy were to be delivered

to the Prefect for the infliction upon them of due penalties ; that his writings were to be consumed, and his goods confiscated. Accordingly, body and books, with the Archbishop's image, were piled up in a heap and burnt in the Campo de Fiore.¹

There is another spot in Rome requiring notice in connection with Inquisitorial proceedings.

The Palazzo del Santo Uffizio is a large building near the Vatican, and was formerly used for the business of the Inquisition, in the form instituted by Paul III., in 1542. That tribunal was abolished by the Roman Assembly after the Revolution of February, 1849 ; but Pius IX. restored it as early as the following June. The old palace was turned into barracks during the French occupation of the city, and the business of the Holy Office, so far as it continues, is carried on within the Vatican.²

When Paul III. aimed at crushing the Protestant Reformation, in the year 1542, he issued a bull creating the tribunal of the "Holy Office," as it was called. He appointed six cardinals, the chief being Caraffa and Toledo. They received a right to delegate powers similar to their own on other ecclesiastics, and were invested with authority to decide all cases without appeal to any other court. All persons, whether rich or poor, noble or plebeian, were entrusted to their hands, to imprison the suspected, and to punish the guilty. The only restriction imposed was that they must not pardon, that supreme prerogative being vested with his holiness. These were the rules of action :

" 1. In affairs of faith there must not be a moment's delay, but on the slightest suspicion proceedings must be taken.

¹ Quoted by Rule in his "History of the Inquisition," 412.

² The new palace near the Vatican, completed in 1569, was used as barracks during the French occupation. It contains a hall with frescoes of Dominican saints, and there are cells lined with reeds, in which a prisoner could not stand upright. A curious advertisement appeared in the "Times" of August 28th, 1880 : "To be sold, the halls of the tribunals, prisons, and dungeons of torture, situate No. 3 Via Monte Bechio, Rome. Building valuable, and architecture, 1614." I do not understand what is meant by this date.

"2. No regard must be paid to any potentate or prelate, whatever be his power or dignity.

"3. On the contrary, the greatest severity must be shown towards those who seek to shelter themselves under the protection of a ruler; only where confession is made are leniency and fatherly compassion to be shown.

"4. To heretics, and especially Calvinists, no toleration must be granted."

The Cardinal Inquisitors diligently carried on their work, under the supremé superintendence of Paul III.; but Paul IV. exceeded his predecessor in persecuting zeal. Though seventy-nine when he ascended the steps of the throne, his eyes gleamed with the fire of youth, and his tall thin frame was tightly laced by nerves that never quailed; all his powers were devoted to one end, the restoration of the old faith to its ancient ascendancy. It is said he knew not what it was to make a concession; and in harmony with this he carried on the acts of the Holy Office with a sternness which never relaxed, with an intolerance which knew no mercy. He overstrained the engine by the pressure he put on it, and when he died in 1559 there arose a riot. The prison of the Inquisition remained shut when, according to custom, on a change of Popes, other prisons were opened. The people, however, would not endure this, but forced the gates, and set the building on fire, and were hardly prevented from serving the Convent of Sopra Minerva in the same way.

In a correspondence preserved in the State Paper Office there is a curious despatch, which was forwarded to England regarding this memorable incident. "Yesterday morning," says the writer, under date August 31, 1559, "certain advice came of the decease of Paul IV. upon the 18th instant. When he was dead, all at Rome went on wheels—hell broken loose. The Roman people, in their fury, discontented with the terrible proceedings of the new manner of the Inquisition, established by the late Pope (for the branches thereof

extended not only to heresy, but also to sodomy and blasphemy, things no less familiar than hard to be touched or reformed amongst them), went in a *plompe*, after news of the Pope's death, to the Chamber or Court of the Inquisition, and there slew, as some letters purport, the Chief Inquisitor, a friar, or (as other letters affirm) only wounded and very roughly entreated him and his accomplices. And not content herewith, set all the prisoners *suspectos hereticæ pravitatis*, and some others for company, at liberty. And, that no archives might call things in question, they burnt or spoiled them all. A guard of two hundred horsemen guarded Caraffa on his way to Rome, so unpopular had he become. The Caraffas and Carafetti," says the writer, Sir Thomas Challoner, to Secretary Cecil, "are clean dashed." Five months later, January 20, 1560, it is said : "The Pope (Pius IV.) has again set up the tribunal of the Inquisition of Rome, only for the causes of faith, and appointed judges Coropi Puteo Paceco, Ara Cœli; Frani and Alessandro. The latter was the principal and terrible judge of the Inquisition under the former Pope; and now, learning from Pope Pius that he would not allow espionage to be employed in causes of religion, or that certain small matters should be looked into, requested permission to leave, on his own business, for two or three months, since in any way little was to be done (at present). Whereupon the Pope with a smile replied that he willingly gave him liberty to depart, not only for three months, but if he pleased for ever."

I cannot better preface what I have to say respecting the manner in which business was carried on by the Inquisitors than by referring to a curious volume lent me whilst I was in Rome; the title of it is : "Sacro Arsenale, over oprattica dell' offitio della Santa Inquisitione—con l'insertione d'alcune Regole fatta dal P. Inquisitore, Thomaso Menghini Domenicano, e di diverse annotationi del Dottore Gio Pasqualone.—Roma and Bologna MDCCXVI."

The sixth part relates to the detection of heresy, and describes modes of interrogation by torture. Three are specified; *tormento*

del fuoco, or torture with fire, *tormento della stanghetta*, or torture with the bolt or bar, *tormento della cannetta* or torture with the soldering-pipe. The professed object of inflicting torture is said to be simply the determination of truth with regard to the accused. He is to be treated gently, as he may be able to bear the process. Allowance is to be made for weakness of constitution and tenderness of age ; and when brought to the place of torture, he is to be benignantly admonished (*benigne monitus*) to confess the truth, otherwise he must endure the prescribed ordeal. If he obstinately refuses, there is no escape, and he must take the consequences. If ever in this world there was an instance of framing iniquity by a law, we have it here ; and it is not necessary to read harrowing tales of what occurred in the cells and before the tribunals ; it is quite enough to peruse the pages of this extraordinary book, where, with the utmost coolness, rules are given for the infliction of exquisite pain.

The records kept of the proceedings of the Inquisition have been made accessible to the historical student, as appears from the pages of the "Rivista Cristiana," where numerous extracts are published. Everything seems to have been done with the utmost regularity. The Inquisitors assembled in solemn fashion, invoking the name of Christ, summoning before them the persons whose names were inscribed in the records, just as the names of prisoners are written down in Newgate Calendars. One day there might be eight cases : for example, on the 6th of June, 1566, there are the names of Hettore Bussone, a Neapolitan ; Giovanni Sproniere, Io Laurentio Lento, Don Jacobo di Sabbato, Vincenzo del Ciampo, Hettore Moncello, Giovanni Greco, and Don Cola Gambabona. They are described as having made false depositions in court, and are sentenced to be publicly whipped, and to pay the expenses of their trial. On the 30th of May, 1566, there is a case of another description. Christophoro Gomez de Sotomajor di Malaga, after invocation of the name of Christ by the tribunal, is pronounced,

sentenced, and declared—so runs the formula—not to have been convicted by evidence or his own confession ; and he is therefore altogether liberated and absolved from the charges brought against him. Another day, the sentence on Don Antonio Petronillo de Altamura is canonical purgation, and absolution. *Sententia absolutoria* is repeated again and again, in connection with certain recorded names. A man is accused of having sold prohibited books, and he is to suffer the loss of them, and also to pay a fine of one hundred ducats. Then we find the Inquisitors General of the Holy See engaged in the judgment of Johannes Rangonus Mutinenses, who had been cited on a charge of heretical pravity ; and having been convicted on the evidence of his acts and his writings, he is sentenced to suffer confiscation of property, and doomed to perpetual infamy ; accordingly, he is to be denounced and avoided by all faithful Christians.

An abbot gets into trouble, and is arraigned before the judges on the 11th of January, 1567. He had incurred suspicion of heresy, as appeared from admissions by himself and from the testimony of others. Errors he had been charged with holding are specified, *i.e.*, that confession to a priest is of no profit, and that the real presence is impossible when the priest is a bad man ; but he had abjured these errors, and was therefore absolved from the specified imputations, and from all ecclesiastical censures and penalties which had been incurred. He was to be received into the bosom of Holy Mother Church ; but his conduct was to be an example, especially to ecclesiastics, so that they might take care to avoid even the suspicion of evil. The abbot, therefore, was to be suspended from office for three years, and the administration of government in the monastery over which he had presided was to be entrusted to another person. The next month a layman is convicted of heresy, and is condemned to imprisonment *ad libitum inquisitorum*. Condemnation for heresy is an item appended to name after name, with the penalty annexed : solitary penance ; embargo laid

on leaving Rome ; three, five, ten years of slavery in the galleys ; and also imprisonment for life. Enumerations of false doctrine held by the accused, and on account of which sentence was pronounced, are sometimes very specific : for example, that there is no purgatory after the present life, that confession to a priest is unnecessary, that the Pope is Antichrist, and that there is no sin in eating meat on days when it is prohibited. These were doctrines evidently anti-popish, and indicated, if not the decided Protestantism, yet the Protestant tendencies of the accused ; and the number of cases in which such enumerations of doctrinal offences occur, indicate the wide extent to which the principles of the Reformation must have been at the time adopted in Italy.

But there are other indictments for heresy preserved in these records, of a much more decidedly Protestant character. A month after the poor abbot's trouble, notice is taken of a canon regular. He is accused of believing that men are justified by faith without works ; that the good works of Christians are not meritorious ; that confession to a priest is not a Divine institution ; that communion in the mass should be with both bread and wine ; that there is no purgatory after the present life ; that it is not lawful to worship images, and burn candles before them ; that the observance of the law is impossible to those who are not in a state of grace ; that indulgences are pious deceits ; that there is no sin in acting contrary to the decrees of Councils and of the Church, nor in neglecting certain common ceremonies. This delinquent professed repentance, made a recantation, and asked for pardon and mercy, on which account he was retained in "Holy Mother, the Catholic Church of Rome;" but he was formally to abjure his errors in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, and some other places, dressed in a habit bearing the sign of the cross ; and the mercy reserved for him afterwards consisted in imprisonment, connected with an observance of prescribed penances.¹

¹ All these statements are based on extracts from the Inquisition records, contributed by Dr. Benrath to the "*Rivista Cristiana*," viii. 1880.

The case of Tomaso Fabiano, in 1564, may here be added. He was accused of holding that it is not sinful to eat flesh on fast days; that images and relics ought not to be revered; that Christ is our only advocate; that there is no purgatory after death; that the Popes who do not live like Peter are not his successors; that Papal indulgences and priestly absolutions are of no value; that justification is by faith alone; that predestination and foreknowledge destroy free will; that baptism should be administered with water alone; and that the host in the sacrament is not Christ's body. Fabiano was required to recant, and to do penance, wearing the prescribed habit marked by a cross, and called the *abitello*, but in addition he was doomed to imprisonment *in un loco circondato da quattro mura*, in a place surrounded by four walls. However, Fabiano managed to escape, after which his effigy was burnt the 8th of November, 1565.¹

In the cases just enumerated, the court did not proceed to capital punishment. Instances of that kind, however, are at hand. It is to be remembered that Carnesecchi, the Florentine, who was seized when sitting at the Duke's table, was tried at Rome, and condemned and executed there in 1557. Four years before, Giovanni di Montalcino, or, as he is sometimes called, Montilcinus, or Mollius, Professor of Philosophy at Bologna, and an expositor of the New Testament, was burnt at Rome. When we reach Bologna we shall notice his labours in that city. Now attention must be confined to the proceedings against him. He was one of several prisoners brought on the 5th of September, 1553, according to custom, with torches in their hands, before six Cardinals with their episcopal assessors, who sat in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. All of them recanted except Montalcino, and a weaver of Perugia, to be noticed hereafter. The former had, on a previous occasion, been required to confess his theological opinions, "which he diligently performed, entreating of original sin, justification by

¹ "Case of a Minorite Friar," edited by the Rev. R. Gibbings.

faith, free will, purgatory, and other such like, proving the said articles by the authority of Scripture and of ancient Fathers.”¹ What exactly were his opinions on these points, we do not know; but he must have stated them in a very guarded form, for he had been allowed to return to Bologna, with an admonition not to lecture in the University on the Epistles of St. Paul; a circumstance which indicates his having imbibed the principles of what is often termed Pauline theology. On the last occasion, which was that of September, 1553, after a fourth imprisonment, he was allowed to speak in his own defence; and he certainly used great boldness of speech, if we are to accept as accurate the whole report; for he charged the Cardinals and Bishops with blind ambition, with acts of profligacy, and with setting moderation and virtue at defiance. “What,” he asked, “is your doctrine but a dream—a lie forged by hypocrites? Wherefore,” he concluded, “I appeal from your sentence, and summon you, cruel tyrants and murderers, to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ at the Last Day, where your pompous titles and gorgeous trappings will not dazzle, nor your guards and torturing apparatus terrify us.”²

If he said all this, he conducted himself very differently from what he had done before; the issue, accordingly, was anything but a dismissal with words of caution. He was condemned, together with the poor weaver who stood by his side; and it is stated that “they died in the most pious fortitude.”

Two years afterwards, another case is recorded. Pomponio Algieri was a Neapolitan, attending the University of Bologna, where he incurred the charge of heresy. He was sent to Venice, but the Seignory, as we shall see hereafter in these local memories, reluctantly meddled in such matters; at last the authorities had to deliver him up to a Roman tribunal. There “manifold persuasions and allurements were essayed, to remove this virtuous

¹ Foxe's “Acts and Monuments,” iv. 464.

² M'Crie, “History of the Reformation in Italy,” 320.

and blessed young man from his sentence ; but when no worldly persuasions could prevail against the operation of God's Spirit in him, then was he adjudged to be burnt alive, which death most constantly he sustained, to the great admiration of all that beheld him." These are the words of John Foxe ; and it may be noticed that in the Zurich collection of letters there is one from the author of "Acts and Monuments," asking Bullinger to procure information respecting Italian Protestant confessors from Peter Martyr.¹ In Foxe's table of such martyrs as suffered for the testimony of the Gospel in Italy we have, perhaps, the result of that request ; and in that table the case of Algieri occurs. He suffered martyrdom at Rome in 1555.

Bartolomeo Bartoccio, residing in the duchy of Spoleto, imbibed Protestant principles, and resisted every effort on the part of the Bishop of his diocese to bring him back to the Roman Catholic faith. He escaped from the hands of pursuers and reached Geneva, where he supported himself as a silk manufacturer. Visiting Genoa, he disclosed his real name, and was soon arrested by vigilant officers of the Inquisition. The republics of Geneva and Berne interceded for him in vain ; and after suffering imprisonment for two years, he was sentenced to die by fire. With a firm step and an unchanged countenance he walked up to the stake, and was heard to cry from amidst the flame, "Vittoria, vittoria!"²

Francesco Cellario, a Minorite Franciscan, afterwards a Protestant pastor in the Grisons, and an occasional preacher at Chiavenna and Mantua, was, after several accusations, imprisonments and deliverances, entrapped by heresy hunters. One day on the banks of the Adda he was watched, arrested, and flung into a boat, which conveyed him to Piacenza, whence he was taken to Rome,—the devouring circle into which one after another of the suspected in that age were cunningly decoyed or forcibly driven.

¹ "Zurich Letters," i. 26.

² M'Crie, "History of the Reformation in Italy," 346.

After trial and condemnation he died in May, 1568. "A native of the Grisons who was in Rome, and witnessed the execution, deposed that the martyr, on being taken from the fiery stake, refused to confess, and was again thrown into the flames."¹

Aonio Paleario came conspicuously before us at Siena. The varied fortunes through which he passed do not enter within the limits of this work, but at last in Rome he claims attention as a prisoner and a martyr. He was arrested and brought before the Inquisition about the year 1568, accused of denying the doctrine of purgatory, comparing religious orders to the priests of Mars, and attributing pardon and justification to faith in the Divine mercy through Jesus Christ. Confined within the prison of Torre di Nona, near the bridge of St. Angelo, he was there visited by members of the *Misericordia*, who, in the registers of their society, have recorded a minute, stating that he "confessed and penitently asked pardon of God, and of His glorious mother V. Maria, and of all the court of heaven, and said he wished to die as a good Christian, and that he believed all that the Holy Roman Church believes."² It has been suggested that some friendly hand wrote these words, with the hope that an exaggerated report of general professions of orthodox belief, in accordance with Church teaching—common enough at the time with people accused of heresy—might influence Paleario's judges to mitigate his sentence; such mitigation being granted in cases of orthodox confession after conviction of heresy, when the confession was not afterwards abjured. In support of this view I may mention the circumstance that he certainly was saved from being burnt alive. Hanging preceded his being consumed to ashes. At all events, the words he uttered before the Cardinal Inquisitors manifest no disposition to recant. "If your Eminences have so many credible witnesses against me, there is no need to give yourselves or me any

¹ M'Crie, "History of the Reformation in Italy," 401.

² Young's "Life and Times of Aonio Paleario," ii. 561.

further trouble. I am determined to follow the counsel of the blessed Apostle Peter, who said, 'Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow in His steps, who did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth, who, when He was reviled, reviled not again: when He suffered, He threatened not, but committed Himself to Him that judgeth righteously.' Judge, therefore, and condemn Aonio; satisfy my adversaries, and fulfil your office." In the Library of Siena there is an autograph letter written by him to his wife.¹

"MY DEAREST WIFE,—I would not have you to be sorrowful at my happiness, or to take ill my good. The hour is come in which I shall pass from this life to my Lord and Father and God. I go there as willingly as to the marriage of the Son of the Great King, which I have always intreated my Lord, in His great goodness and infinite liberality, to grant me. So, my beloved wife, console yourself in the will of God, and in my satisfaction, and devote yourself to the disconsolate family which remain, bring them up and keep them in the fear of God, and be to them both father and mother. I am already past seventy years old, and useless. My sons must strive by virtue and by work to live honourably. God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with your spirit. " Rome, 3rd July, 1570.

"Thy husband, AONIO PALEARIO."

Fra Fulgentio is another name on this death-roll, of later date. He carried about with him prohibited books. He corresponded with heretics. He wrote articles against the Holy Apostolic Church. These were the accusations; but he denied them. He did not know that any books he had were prohibited. No letters had been written by him to people declared heretical; and as to his papers, some were imperfect, and others contained notes of opinions in which he did not agree. After various cruelties had

¹ Young's "Life and Times of Aonio Paleario," ii. 562.

been inflicted on him, he was gagged and conducted to the church of San Salvatore in Lauro, built on the site of a laurel grove which grew by the porch of the Temple Europa. The church is situated in the Via Tordinona, close to where that street joins the Via dei Coronari. Next morning the man was brought to Campo di Fiore, and there "hanged and burned."¹

More than one place of execution is mentioned. The Campo di Fiore has been termed the Roman Smithfield. It is in front of the Palazzo Farnese, by the Tiber, near the Pons S. Sisto; *autos da Fé*, of Jews as well as Christians, were held on this spot of dark memories. Another place of burning is described as "outside the Castle of St. Angelo;" whether it is through a confusion of this spot with another, or whether there were two localities near St. Angelo, distinguished by these burnings, I do not know; but I may mention that, standing at the top of the pile of buildings now used for the college of the Chiesa Libera, my friend, the president, pointed down to the foot of the bridge of St. Angelo at the end of the Via Tordinona, and told me that there Protestants were burnt at the time of the Reformation. Certainly the foot of the bridge was a place of public execution. The ill-fated Beatrice Cenci perished there. In a MS. account of her death it is said: "A scaffolding was erected in the piazza or square of the bridge;" and in the register of the *Misericordia* it is stated respecting Aonio Paleario: "At the usual hour he was taken to the bridge, where he was hanged and then burned."

What a wonderful change has been wrought in Rome within the last twenty-five years! When I was there at the commencement of the period, things were very much as they were in the days of Pauls III. and IV. But now how different! Perfect religious liberty established; Bibles and Protestant books freely sold and circulated; preaching by all denominations without let or

¹ Report of the proceedings against Fulgentio Manfredi, taken from Inquisition documents, edited by Gibbings. I confine myself to the words used in those documents.

hindrance ; nine Reformed churches, some of them large and well attended ; and this last spring religious conferences, conducted by a clergyman of the Scotch Church, when as many as one thousand Italians were present !

I do not find any notice of a single Reformed congregation in Rome, however small, at the period of the Reformation ;—but this is not surprising, when we remember what a network of repression existed at the time, and how easily a Protestant gathering, even when small and undeveloped, was caught within the meshes as soon as it made an appearance. It is remarkable, however, and not so easily to be accounted for, that I cannot remember a reference to any suspected Roman *citizen* being brought before the tribunals.

Before leaving Rome I may mention a little episode, throwing light upon what went on there in the middle of the sixteenth century. Diplomatic relations between our own country and the Papal city were suspended by the death of Queen Mary and the accession of Queen Elizabeth. An English ambassador, Sir Edward Carne, represented our court when these changes occurred ; what followed can be gathered from his reports.¹

First of all, it may be stated that on the 20th of August, 1558, he made the following communication to the English court : “ His holiness, in the Holy Congregation of the Inquisition, has prohibited that no man may sell or buy any of the books of one Marco Antonio Flaminio, declaring his works to be heretical ; or sell or buy St. Jerome’s works wherein be any annotations ; or epistles of Erasmus, or any other works wherein Erasmus has written anything upon what is in it.”¹ And to this I may add that a number of letters are preserved, written by the same person, showing how he was on the watch for all sorts of political and ecclesiastical intelligence ; and in a despatch dated February 16, 1559, he relates a circumstance which shows how anxious the

¹ State Papers (Foreign, 1553–1558).

reigning Pope, Paul IV., was to guard future elections to the pontificate against any influence being exercised by Cardinals in sympathy with heretical opinions.

"The Pope," he says, "made a bull to the effect that all Cardinals inquired upon of heresy in the Inquisition, should be deprived of their votes in the election of any Pope, so as neither to give any vote for any other, nor be enabled themselves to be chosen. The bull was read in the Consistory, and the Pope subscribed it, but the Dean of the College who should next subscribe, refused, saying that the honestest man might have an enemy who might give wrong information, and therefore, unless a Cardinal were convicted, he should not be deprived of his right. Of this opinion were all the Cardinals present, and so the bull could not pass."¹ In the preceding November occurred the death of Queen Mary, and in consequence, among the proceedings of the English Privy Council, under date February 1st, 1559, there is a minute directing that a letter be written to Sir Edward Carne, signifying that the new Queen was pleased, in consideration of there being no cause why he should make any further abode in Rome, to command "that he do put himself in order to return home at such time and with such speed as he shall think most meet." But presently, March 31, there is notice of a Papal mandate by which Sir Edward Carne, "orator of the late Queen Mary," is forbidden to leave the city, and is further commanded to take charge of the English College. At the same time it appears that Sir Edward Carne wrote to Cecil, congratulating him on his appointment as Secretary to Elizabeth. The late ambassador was happy still to correspond with England "by Venice way," as he calls it, having, I suppose, sent his letters through a roundabout circuit; but the poor man complains piteously of a want of payment, and forgets not to remind the minister that "the acceptance of her ambassador at Rome was a great matter."¹ The same person also wrote to her Majesty,

¹ State Papers (Foreign, 1558-1559).

informing her that one of the Cardinals had told him he and others wished his Holiness to send a Nuncio to England, but that he could not do this until she first sent to him. We further learn from the same correspondence, that on the morrow after Easter Day, a Cardinal told Sir Edward that the Pope would not suffer him to depart, since the Queen and her realm had "revolted from his obedience;" therefore he had given commandment that Carne should stay in his English house at Rome. In fact, the man was kept a prisoner, and did not dare to go beyond the gates, which were guarded by soldiers day and night. The Cardinal of St. Matthew followed up the prohibition by threatening the penalty of excommunication, should the late representative dare to disobey, and assigned him the English Hospital for his maintenance. On the 30th of May, the Venetian ambassador in Paris asked the famous Sir Nicholas Throgmorton about Carne. "He is on his way homeward," said Throgmorton. At this the Venetian smiled, and said it was with his own will that Carne remained. The Hospital in Rome, which Cardinal Pole once held, had been given to the dismissed Englishman, and this he had "thankfully received." In October, however, Cecil tells Throgmorton, "Carne is still at Rome, and says he is still stayed there, writing piteously in words to be helped home." This complainant, who was a slippery character, turns up again insignificantly some time afterwards, and then vanishes for ever. Sir Edward Carne died at Rome about the 18th or 19th of December, 1561. "Master Carne," says another correspondent of Cecil, "after bequeathing body and soul to the Pope, is dead and buried at Rome."

Though no English minister resided there during the reign of Elizabeth, her vigilant secretary took care to have somebody on the watch, to pick up what was going on; and we find a certain John Shers acting as agent, and writing from time to time, not always mentioning his place of residence.

John Shers seems to have been a busy man, collecting what scraps of information he could ; and on the 23rd of November, 1560, he communicates the following piece of information :

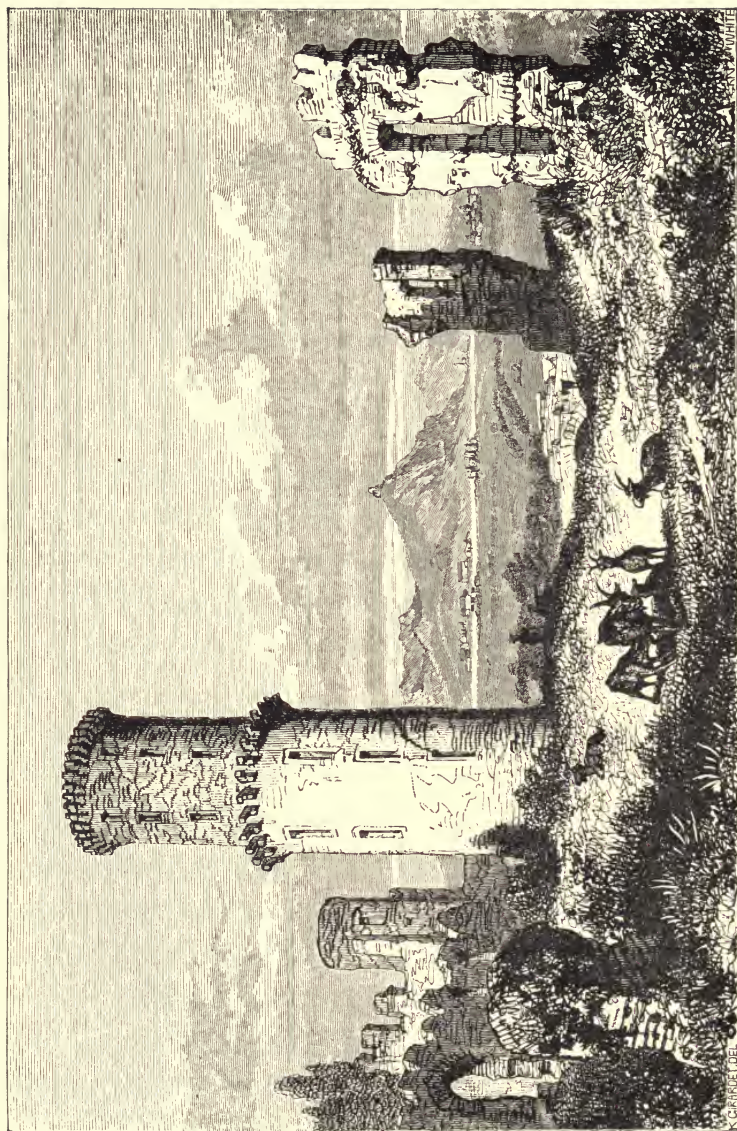
“To-morrow the Pope, the Cardinals, and all the clergy will go barefooted in procession to pray that all such as are separated from the Church may return again to the obedience of the same ; and with the same, there shall be an absolution granted, *a pœnâ et culpâ*, to all such as will. The talk for a General Council is great.”

Again, on the 8th of March, 1561, he writes :

“The Protestants have informed the Emperor that they will not appear at the Council of Trent, nor any other, unless it be free and general, and with these four conditions : 1. That the Gospel and Word of God shall be judge. 2. That all such prelates as depend on the Pope shall be absolved of their oath to the Pope. 3. That this Council be appointed by the Emperor, and that the Pope shall appear but as a part of the same, and be subject to reformation. 4. That every prince shall have a voice in the Council.”

To pursue the curious correspondence further would divert attention from the main purpose of this book ; but the waifs and strays now brought together are not irrelevant : they indicate the vigilance of Paul IV. with regard to heresy ; how determined he was not to let Carne leave Rome ; how much that matter interested other diplomatists ; how anxious some Cardinals were to continue friendly relations with England ; and how the projected Council of Trent was common talk.

It may be well to conclude these notices by saying that in 1560 Pius IV. sent over to England Abbot Parpaglia, with a conciliatory letter to Queen Elizabeth, addressing her as “dear daughter in Christ,” inviting her to return to the “bosom of the Church,” and expressing willingness to do everything needful for her soul’s health, and the stability of her throne ; but the daughter of



RUINS ON THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA.

Henry VIII. declined to receive the Nuncio, and so the breach with Rome became final and complete. Pius V., in 1569, denounced her Majesty as a heretic, and in 1570 published a bull of excommunication, releasing her subjects from their allegiance.

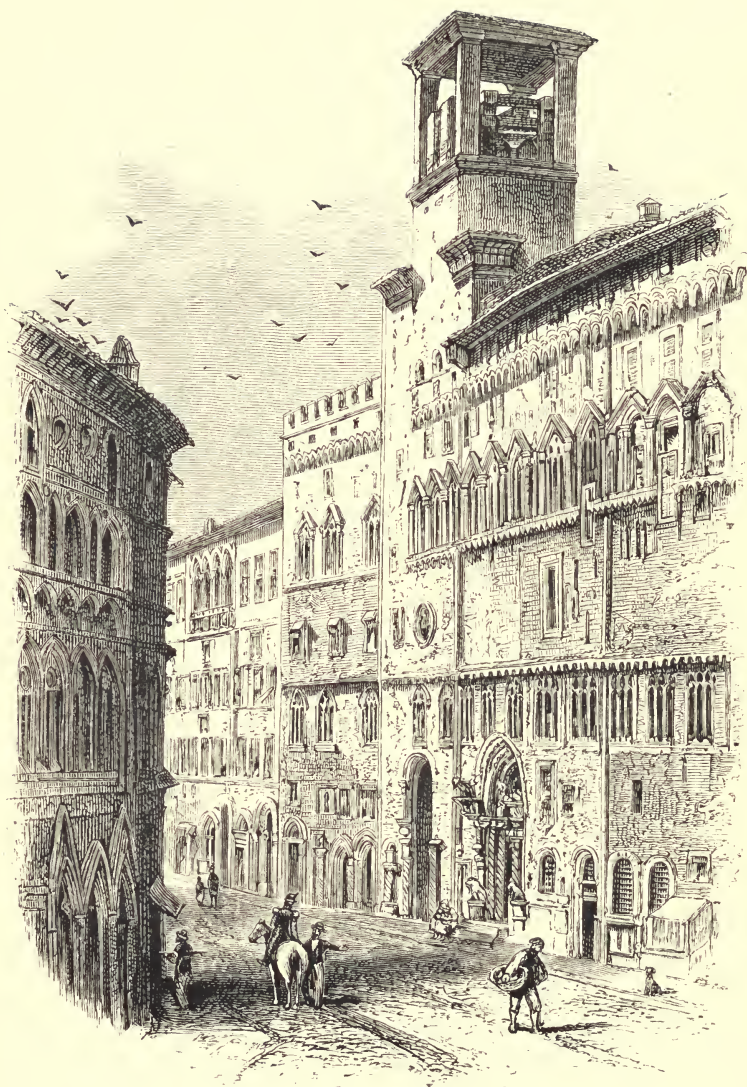
In the Campagna of Rome there is a locality worth noticing at the close of this chapter. Verulo or Veroli was the birthplace of Aonio Paleario. His parents' names were Matteo Paleari and Clara or Chiara Janarilla. There is a correction of the spelling of the former name in the Library of Siena, and there the father is called La Pagliara. In Veroli there still lives a family of the name of Pagliaroli, claiming to be descended from the Italian Reformer. "Veroli," says Mr. Hare, "is a magnificently situated city, and most picturesque externally; our horses had to scramble like cats up its semi-perpendicular street, and finally fell down on one another, which gave us time to walk out beyond the gates towards Rome, and see the last after-glow over the valley, standing beneath the crowd of strangely clustered houses and old Romanesque churches which line the natural ramparts of the town. There is a great Seminario at Veroli, and the road was crowded with ecclesiastical scholars in the different dresses of miniature priests, watched over by their professors; and following them were canons and curati, and even the Bishop of Veroli, attended by his footmen, as if he were taking a walk on the Pincio."¹ Paleario inherited some property in the place of his birth; in a letter written by him he says: "I have sent an order to my friend Pterigi, to sell my house and land, which are in the province of the Hernici: if he does not find a good purchaser he is to sell them by auction. I am willing to give up everything rather than renounce the study of philosophy. I shall get rid of my servants, furniture, house and land, and all that I possess." Pterigi did not attend to Paleario's directions, and brought down on himself the heavy displeasure of his impetuous employer. In harmony with his impulsive nature, Paleario

¹ "Days near Rome," ii. 11.

tells him, "You drive me mad. Is it thus you despise my commands? What I desire the most, you attend to the least; thus do I pay the penalty of my sins." Paleario, writing in 1531, goes on to say: "After the sack of the city, the fields ravaged by war, the inhabitants dying of hunger, the cities depopulated by the plague; what aught is there now in Latium but an open plain, air, and solitude?" The sale was afterwards effected, and Paleario tells the purchaser, "I am content with the conditions and send the agreement. I hope the purchase may turn out a good and satisfactory one for you."¹

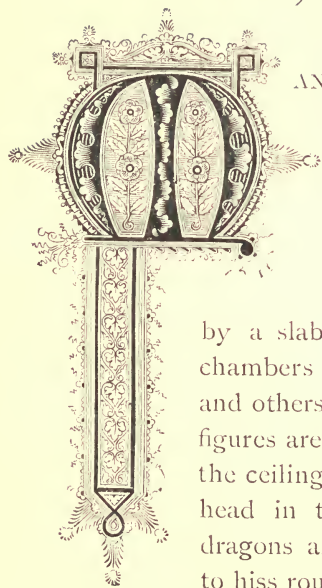
This is a solitary instance of a Reformer's footprints in the wide Campagna; nowhere in the neighbourhood of Rome, in Albano, Frascati, Tivoli, or in the charming country of the Sabine Hills, near Horace's villa, can I find any traces of Protestantism. The fact is, Roman Catholicism laid of old a strong hand on the rural districts, and its grasp was in no wise shaken by the Reformers. In large cities, not in country villages, were Protestants to be found. Legends of ancient days surrounded many a monastery and many a church with charms not to be resisted by the imaginative and excitable Italian peasant. For example, in the neighbourhood of Subiaco, where on the side of a valley matchless for beauty, there stand the twin monasteries of sister and brother—Santa Scholastica at the bottom, San Benedict at the top—how irresistible the spell on man, woman, boy and girl, who linger there at the hour of vespers, and climb, as I saw them, from floor to floor of the dim mysterious chapel, with its frescoes and traditions, where sleeps the greatest founder of monastic orders! As it is now so was it then. At present it would be hard to find Protestants in the steep, narrow, winding streets of the old town. Yet I learned that Bible distribution had begun even there.

¹ Young's "Life and Times of Aonio Paleario," i. 87.



PERUGIA.

PERUGIA.



ANIFOLD are the associations which gather round this charmingly situated city. Descending from its rocky heights, a short drive brings us to an Etruscan sepulchre hewn out of the foundation rock of the district, where entering by a doorway, at first closed

by a slab of travertine, we find a collection of chambers with urns, some of the same material, and others composed of marble. Male and female figures are sitting in this habitation of the dead ; the ceiling is divided into squares, with a gorgon's head in the centre ; whilst earthen images of dragons and serpents, with metal tongues, seem to hiss round you as you penetrate the receptacle.

The place is minutely described in Dennis's "Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria;" and it carries one back to an early period in the history of Italy. Blocks of travertine near the Porta San Ercolano, the Arco di Bornia, the Porta Colonna, and especially the famous Arch of Augustus—of enormous height, flanked by two square towers—to which may be added the Porta Marzia, in part embedded in the front

of Paul the Third's Citadel,—these remains of the Imperial period remind us of the siege of the city by Augustus, and his conversion of it into a Roman colony. Mementoes of the old feud between Perugia and Siena are recognised in the griffins of the former republic, on the Palazzo Comunale, tearing the wolf, symbolical of the latter commonwealth; and the broad marble-lined avenue leading from the cathedral to the citadel is not unworthy of a comparison with the Piazzetta of Venice. The fountain, by Nicola and Giovanni da Pisa—close to the cathedral, and at the head of the avenue, with three marble basins, and exquisite reliefs from the hands of the cunning workmen just named—takes the memory back to an early period of Italian mediæval sculpture; and then the glorious frescoes of Perugino on the walls of the Sala del Cambio, and charming pictures by the same artist; also some by Pinturicchio and Taddeo Bartolo, and several others in the Pinacoteca, lead us into the heart of the Umbrian School, when it was in the zenith of its pride. The churches of San Francesco and San Pietro add to the treasures of the place other paintings, and some carvings as well, of rare perfection; and the house of Perugino—which I sought with a good deal of trouble, and found at last in a narrow street in one of the many declivities of Perugia—crowns the memorials of its artistic age. The Piazza del Papa, with its bronze statue of Julius III., marks a memorable period in Perugian history after the republic had become absorbed in the Papal States.

These localities, with their artistic and historical associations, are familiar to tourists in general; few, however, inquire respecting mementoes of the Reformation, yet such are to be found in Perugia.

The cathedral, gaudily decked, yet marked by real magnificence, is remarkable for the superstitious preservation of an onyx ring said to have been worn by the Virgin; but with this ancient relic, demonstrating the need of a Reformation more than five centuries

ago, the building interests us more as the scene of a religious revival something like that at Florence under Savonarola. "On September 23, 1425," says Graziani, the chronicler of Perugia, "there were, as far as we could reckon, upwards of 3,000 persons in the cathedral. The sermon of Fra Bernardino da Massa was from the sacred Scripture, reproving men of every vice and sin and teaching Christian living. Then he began to rebuke the women for their paints and cosmetics, and such like wanton customs; and in like manner, the men for their cards and dice-boards, and masks and amulets and chains; insomuch that within a fortnight the women sent all their false hair and gewgaws to the Convent of St. Francis, and the men their cards, dice, and such gear, to the amount of many loads. And on October 29, Fra Bernardino collected all these devilish things in the Piazza, where he erected a kind of wooden castle between the fountain and the Bishop's palace; and in this he put the said articles, and set fire to them, and the fire was so great that none durst go near; and in the fire were burned things of the greatest value; and so great was the haste of men and women to escape the fire that many would have perished, but for the quick aid of the burghers."

But what has Perugia to do with the footprints of Protestant Reformers? At first I thought nothing, and was on the point of excluding it from these chapters—but upon looking into Foxe's "Acts and Monuments," I found reference made to "a certain weaver of Perugia martyred at Rome, A.D. 1553," and already mentioned in this volume. No particulars are supplied except that he was executed at the same time as Mollio. "They were carried incontinent (or immediately) to the camp or field called Floriamini (or Campo Fiori), where they remained cheerful and constant. First the weaver was hanged." Thus Perugia supplies one at least of the Italian victims at the period of the Reformation; and our thoughts are on this account led to some obscure house in one of the narrow winding streets of the city, as having been tenanted by a poor

weaver, who reading a Bible, listening to some Protestant friend, or pondering words heard at a distance, passed through conflicts which led him to declare his faith in doctrines opposed to those of Rome. Nor is it likely that he would be alone in his convictions, that no other Perugian shared in his spiritual beliefs. Rather would it seem probable that Protestantism had entered the neighbourhood so as to lay hold on the sympathies of others besides the weaver; and when we connect the date given by Foxe with the date of the statue of Julius III., 1555, we think of the weaver as living and dying under that pontiff, and suffering from his intolerance about the very time when he restored to the city the privileges which had been withdrawn by Paul III. That restoration excited the gratitude expressed by the erection of the statue.

Since lighting upon this reference to Perugia in the pages of the Martyrologist, I have met with a curious record, existing in the archives of the Roman Inquisition, brought to light by Dr. Benrath, bearing upon the history of another Perugian connected with the Italian Reformation. It occurs fourteen years after the weaver's death, and shows that when he was gone opinions like his had not become extinct in the city. It appears that the person to whom the account relates was a foreigner, and only came to study or teach in the University. However that might be, it is clear that his parents were Protestants, and that he had been early educated in the doctrines of Calvin. The following entry in the proceedings of the Inquisition is so characteristic, that I give a translation of the original.¹

"Sentence against Jerome Artesius, February 8, 1567, and the following 24th publicly delivered in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

"According to the instructions of our only true Master, he who is offended by his eye, or his hand, or his foot, must first be deprived of eye, or hand, or foot, that he may arrive at eternal salvation, and

¹ It is printed in "*La Rivista Cristiana*," viii. (Feb. 1880), p. 55.

be preserved from falling into eternal death and destruction. In such parabolical language we are taught that a son born of parents enemies to God should abandon their parents ; and the scholar who has an heretical teacher should leave that teacher, and adhere to the evangelical truth in which we find salvation.

“And you, Jerome Artesius, born of parents enemies of God—heretical, and instructed by many heretical teachers, such as Calvin, Peter Martyr, and Theodore Beza—having rebelled against evangelical precepts, and persevering in the heresies of your parents and preceptors, are come to Italy, and have reached Perugia. Known to have a good acquaintance with the Latin and Greek tongues and the rudiments of Hebrew, you were received by the master of the young students in the seminary, ignorant of the fact of your being in a state of heretical pravity ; and in that seminary you found opportunity to dispense the poison in your possession, speaking many heretical things. This having become known to the Episcopal Court of Perugia, through the depositions of people worthy of credit, you have been imprisoned and examined, and have confessed some of your errors ; now being informed of all this, we have ordered that you should be brought before the Holy Office. Our officers have several times examined you, and we have seen by your spontaneous confessions that you have always been heretical, and have held and believed such errors as the following :

“That there are only two sacraments of the Church, *i.e.*, Baptism and the Lord’s Supper. That sons of baptized parents can be saved without baptism. That baptism does not cancel original sin, for it is cancelled by the blood of Christ, and baptism is the sign of that blood having been shed. That there is not in the consecrated host the real body of Christ, but only the figure. That under both kinds every one must communicate, and that it is wrong to receive in the sacrament the bread only. That the mass in the sight of God is idolatry. That the man who does not certainly

believe that he has the grace of God will certainly and truly be deprived of it. That faith is the only means of justification and salvation. That good works are inseparable from faith, and are the fruits of it ; but they are not necessary to salvation except as the accompaniments of faith. That the good works of Christians do not merit eternal life. That there is no purgatory after death. That confession of sin to a priest, and satisfaction for it, are not parts of true repentance, as if repentance were not itself sorrow for offences committed against the Divine Majesty. That the Pope has no more authority than other Bishops, and that he violently usurps it. That all such men as publicly preach the gospel are Bishops, though they have not received the sacrament of ordination. That we ought not to invoke the saints, and that the saints are not able after the present life to intercede for us, and that we ought not to revere their images. That vows are repugnant to Christian liberty and to the gospel of God. That man has free will only for sin. That indulgences are to be condemned as contrary to the Christian religion. That the Pontiff has no power to make laws which we cannot conscientiously observe. That to make a difference in food on certain days is to act like a Pharisee, and is unworthy of a Christian. That by fasting we do not please God. Moreover you observe the Supper in the Calvinistic way, and read heretical books, and are in an heretical state.

“These errors and heresies we have seen and considered by a sure process of examination ; and we are determined to despatch your case, having voted and resolved respecting it in a General Congregation.

“Because you have shown it has been your sorrow to be brought up in the belief of these doctrines, and now ask pardon and mercy, and also willingly abjuring such subtle errors and heresies, held and believed by you, returning to the bosom of the Holy Roman Church, and resolving in time to come to live as a

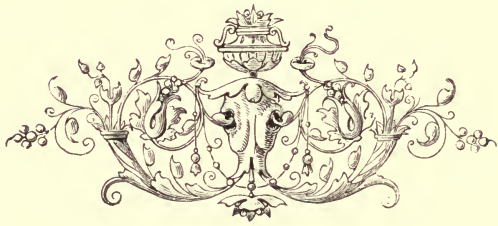
good Catholic Christian,—we are content and do ordain that you be absolved from the ecclesiastical censure you have incurred, and be admitted into the bosom of the Holy Mother the Church of Rome. But to the end that the crime committed against the Divine Master be not passed over with entire impunity, we condemn you to perpetual imprisonment in such place as may be appointed, where you may do penance for your sin, and where you may not come out again without our permission.”

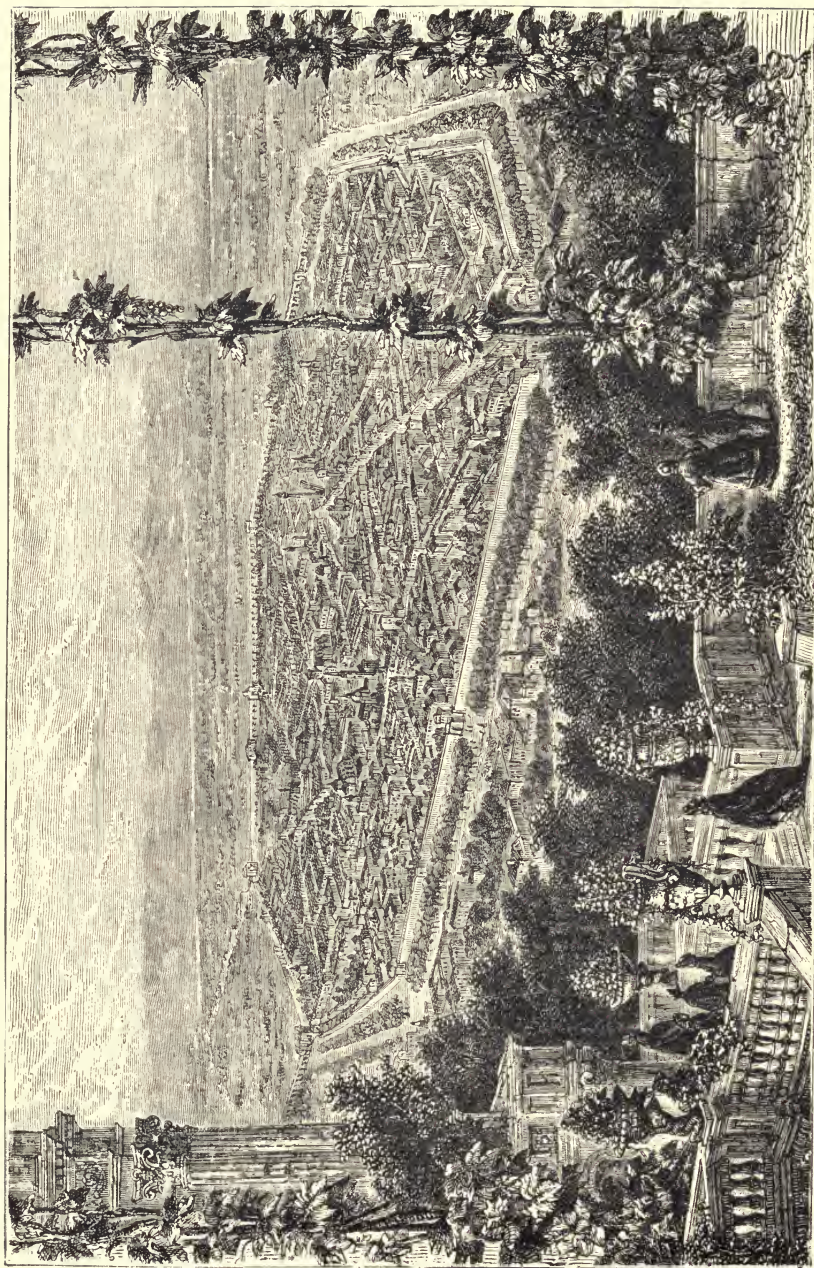
This document was signed by four Cardinals.

This extract from the records of the Inquisition shows that the man in question had entered the University of Perugia. That institution was founded in 1320, was liberally endowed by both Popes and Emperors, and still continues to exist near the Piazza del Duomo, being ranked as third in the order of Italian Universities.¹ It further appears, that amongst the students he expressed Protestant opinions, such as he had been taught at home ; from which we may infer that in the Perugian, as in other Universities, Reformed theology was discussed ; probably with much ardour on both sides. But the Bishop and his clergy were vigilant men, and soon took the young heretic to task, and brought pressure to bear, so that, like others in those days of persecution, he was induced to recant, not having the firmness and constancy evinced by the poor weaver. The long list of religious opinions given is instructive, inasmuch as it shows how decidedly antipapal and evangelical must, in some cases, have been the tenets propagated in Italy at the period of the Reformation. Moreover in this

¹ The University occupies the old convent of the Olivetans. It is famous now for its Museum of Etruscan remains, including numerous cippi, cinerary urns, Latin as well as Etruscan inscriptions, coins, bronzes, a sarcophagus, and silver and bronze plates, with remarkable bas-reliefs of mythological personages. Mr. Dennis remarks that “this museum affords proof that the Etruscan modes of burial were adhered to, after the city had become a dependency of Rome ; for several urns, truly Etruscan in every other respect, bear inscriptions in Latin letters, though a native character is still conspicuous even in some of these ” (“ Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria,” ii. 424).

case the influence of a Protestant education by Calvinistic parents comes to light, and it is seen how the labours of Genevese and other Foreign Reformers told in the cities of Italy. Such recantations as occurred in this case, no doubt were frequently formal and unreal, because extorted by pressure, and we know that they came to be revoked afterwards ; how it was in the case of Jerome Artesius I have not been able to discover.





BOLOGNA.

BOLOGNA AND MODENA.



BOLOGNA attracts the curiosity of a tourist and enchains his recollections. Its picturesque streets—especially on a gala day, when richly-coloured flags flutter in the air, and crowds of holiday folks throng the arcades—cannot but impress the imagination. Two tall gaunt towers—looking as if they had toppled against each other; the Palazzo

Podesta, with lingering traces of the Pointed style upon its façade; the noble Italian Gothic San Petronio; the cathedral of the Corinthian order, San Dominico, rich in monuments; and the indescribable labyrinth of seven churches, forming San Stefano, will recur to a visitor, years and years afterwards, when he is far, far away. The picture gallery has its own peculiar charms, for it contains the celestial *S. Cecilia* by Raphael, the *Crucifixion* by Guido, and numerous works by the

Caracci and their pupils. Nor can anybody be insensible to the romantic legends of Bologna,—for instance, the fate of the poet-soldier Enzia, who could not buy his ransom, though he promised to gird the city with a ring of gold; and the passion of the

beautiful Lucia Biadagoli, who attempted to deliver her lover by concealing him in a cask, when the secret was betrayed by a lock of his golden hair.

Bologna has other associations besides those of art and romance, for the University flourished as a world-known centre of learning at an early period. By a reaction against intellectual despotism, inquisitive minds rushed into excesses of scepticism, which the Church met, not by argument, but by persecution. Cecco d'Ascoli—professor in Bologna (1324) and a friend of Petrarch—adopted what would be called rationalistic views of religion, and seems to have held the Averroistic doctrine of the eternity of matter. This involved the denial of a Divine creation and the soul's immortality, and for such a departure from truth Cecco was condemned to burn his books, and listen Sunday after Sunday to a Dominican preacher. Afterwards he himself perished in the flames; and his portrait figures in one of Orcagna's pictures of the Inferno.

But I must hasten to incidents still more closely connected with my subject.

The basilica of San Petronio, in the Piazza Maggiore, is undoubtedly the finest ecclesiastical edifice in Bologna; and had its original design been carried out it would, like the Cathedral of Siena, have vastly exceeded its present dimensions. As it is, the spacious nave and the lofty roof have an imposing effect, and the choir, with its huge canopy, irresistibly attracts the eye of the visitor. I have no time to look round on its chapels and statuary, its pictures and frescoes, for at once I come upon an incident complicated with the political affairs of the Reformation. We have crossed the path of Clement VII. and Charles V., and seen how they perpetuated the Guelphic and Ghibelline feuds.

With the ancient strifes was mixed up at the period under review the question of a general council, wished for by Protestants in order to promote Reform, whilst Roman Catholics were

anxious to turn it to purposes on the opposite side. Clement threw difficulties in the way of a council being held, and put it off from time to time. Charles on some occasions seemed favourable to the measure, though he did not advocate it with any design such as Protestants approved. The greatest ecclesiastical and the greatest temporal personage of the day met together on the 24th of September, 1530, under the roof of San Petronio, the first to place on the head of the second, beneath the canopy just mentioned, the Lombardic iron crown. There had been a coronation performed at Rome in 1527, when the same persons appeared in the same relation. But notwithstanding his double service, the Pontiff felt no love for his rival. The schemes of the two men were far from being alike; each played a game of his own; and glimpses are caught of their diplomatic intercourse in the following communications to Francis I. The writer was Bishop of Tarbes, and the letter seems to have accompanied a despatch addressed to the French monarch. "I can tell you," says the Bishop, "the Pope tried to show him" (meaning the Emperor) "the best cheer possible, giving him the sword, and putting the first crown on his head; but I think he never in his life performed a ceremony which touched him so near the heart, out of which less good is likely to come to him; for several times, when he thought no one saw him, he heaved such sighs that, heavy as his cope was, he made it shake in good earnest. Nassau and I were together, between the chair of the Pope and that of the Emperor, resting against the latter." The writer, whose eyes and ears were open to everything within his reach, observes afterwards, "I hear such news of the Turk, and the Lutherans, that I think, as they have begun so early, and continue as they began, according to all the couriers that come from Germany, they will do something to the Emperor's disadvantage."¹ The Lutherans, it should be remembered, were then about as much dissatisfied with

¹ De Gramont, Bishop of Tarbes, Bologna, Feb. 25, 1530. State Papers (Foreign and Domestic).

the Emperor as they were with the Pope. This amusing correspondent watched what followed between his Holiness and his Majesty, and his report affords further light respecting their motives. Upon men of this sort the interests of Christendom were supposed mainly to depend ; whilst instruments of a far different order, as appears from our notices of Italian Reformers, were employed by a Power infinitely higher than theirs, for the welfare of the Church. According to our informant, " The evening before Charles's departure he begged the Pope that he would give him two cardinals' hats, besides those he had obtained, saying he was bound to many great personages, whom he could not satisfy with so small a number of hats. The Pope told him he had done what he could to please him, and that, nevertheless, he had had the consent of the cardinals as to the number obtained, as it were, by force, and that really he had been obliged by the Emperor's own men, when he was a prisoner, to make cardinals of some who were a disgrace to the college. The Emperor replied that he was aware of the insufficiency of those persons, and was very sorry for it, assuring him that it had not been done with his consent. The Pope did not answer, but says he knew very well the contrary, as he has seen it set forth in the instructions of the Cordelier Cardinal, signed by the Emperor. The Emperor still insisted, and, although the Pope told him that since being made Pope he had made no cardinal till now, except by constraint, he made no concession. At last, he almost reproached him with what he had done for him, saying besides, that before he left Trent he would do for him a thing that would deserve six hats. The Pope told him that if he had repulsed the Turks, put Hungary again to rights, and reduced all the Lutherans, he would deserve to have the two hats. At last the conversation broke up, and the Pope says he thinks he will remain satisfied. Next day I conducted them both from their chambers to the lower story, where they took leave of one another ; and all the conversation I could hear between them, while

marching at their heels, was that the one wished to lead, and the other refused it.”¹

A little way from San Petronio, along the Strada San Donato, we light upon a building on the left hand, now the public library, formerly the Antico Archiginnasio, or Old Gymnasium. The court within the open gate is bright with colours, which are found when examined to represent coats of arms belonging to University professors; and ascending a staircase on the right hand of the gateway you are conducted to an upper open colonnade, also rich in varied hues, the armorial blazonments here relating to distinguished University students. There are a number of lecture-rooms, once used by teachers of literature and science; but the building now is occupied by an enormous collection of books, of which Cardinal Mezzofanti—that almost miraculous linguist, who could converse fluently in eighteen languages, and could speak to some extent in forty-two—was once the keeper, a fact carefully brought under the visitor’s notice as he is led through the building by the polite librarian. The University in 1803 was removed to another building, but this was formerly its site.

The University of Bologna is identified with the Reformation in Italy. In the fifteenth century, the authorities condemned the destruction of Wicliffe’s books; but in the year 1533 we find among the professors Montilcinus (or Mollius), whom I have described already as one of the martyrs in Rome. It seems that he was wont in his official capacity to lecture on St. Paul’s Epistles—for obvious reasons a favourite Protestant text-book—and this rendered him exceedingly popular. “As the number of his audience daily augmented, so the eager fervency of their mind so mightily increased withal, that every man almost came with his pen and ink to write; and great diligence was bestowed how to come betimes to take up the first places where they might best hear.”

¹ State Papers (Foreign and Domestic), 27 March, 1530.

Certain positions which he advanced relating to justification by faith called forth the animadversions of Cornelio, a brother professor; and we have seen how, when the case was submitted to the Pope, Montilcinus escaped, only in the end to endure the utmost rigour of the law. Some incidents between his first and last apprehensions may here be fitly introduced. After a disputation which lasted till three o'clock in the morning, as he was descending the stairs, some men seized and carried him off, not without a show of resistance on the part of friends; a tumult ensued, and the unpopular Cornelio had to get out of the way, whilst at the same time, a Cardinal and a Bishop, who took part against Montilcinus, aroused the indignation of the surrounding students. After his citation to Rome and its favourable issue, he proceeded to Naples; and having wandered in Italy from place to place, preaching Christ wherever he came, he was invited back to Bologna "by a good Abbot, named de Grassis, A.D. 1543, where he renewed the reading of St. Paul's Epistles," in a secret way. Then he was apprehended once more, and imprisoned at Faenza for four years, where he wrote a Commentary on the Pentateuch. Delivered again, he went to Ravenna, and "taught the gospel of Christ as before, and whensoever he spake of the name of Jesus his eyes dropped tears, for he was fraught with a mighty fervency of God's Holy Spirit."¹ The final imprisonment, and how that ended, we have seen.

There was a deep and strong feeling amongst the Bolognese in favour of a Reformation, which they thought would be promoted by a general council. And a remarkable evidence of their enthusiasm in this respect exists in a document dated 1533, which they addressed to the minister of the Elector of Saxony, then on an embassy to Charles v., during his Italian visit.

Having heard that the minister had come to engage the Emperor's influence with the Pope on behalf of a council, they say: "All Christians profess themselves under the deepest obligations

¹ Foxe's "Acts and Monuments," iv. 464, 465.

to you." "We beseech and obtest you by the faith of Christ to employ every means in your power with the religious Emperor, and to leave no stone unturned to obtain this most desirable and necessary assembly, in which you can scarcely fail to succeed." "If the malice of Satan still rages to such a degree that this boon cannot be immediately obtained, liberty will surely be granted in the meantime both to clergy and laity to purchase Bibles without incurring the charge of heresy, and to quote the sayings of Christ and Paul without being branded as Lutherans. For, alas, instances of this abominable practice are common; and if this is not a mark of the reign of Antichrist, we know not what it is, when the law, and grace, and doctrine, and peace, and liberty of Christ are so openly opposed, trampled upon, and rejected."¹ This was plain speaking, of which there was full measure in many quarters; and from the tone of the letters it seems the writers felt they had fellow-citizens to back them. Therefore it is not surprising to find Martin Bucer congratulating the Italian Reformers; and in accordance with this, Baldassare Altieri wrote to an acquaintance stating that a Bolognese nobleman was ready to raise six thousand soldiers to assist in carrying on a war against the Pope. About the same time, Bologna is described as in great danger from its numerous heretical teachers, especially a certain Giovanni Battista Scoto, who enjoyed the friendship and protection of Cardinal Pole, the Marquis of Pescara, and the Bishop of the diocese. But Scoto was induced to abjure the opinions which brought him into trouble.²

In 1533 Clement and Charles again met in the same city to discuss the absorbing question of the day. The Pope did not dare altogether to refuse consent to the Emperor's request; but he loaded the calling of a council with impracticable conditions. There is an account of this conference by Pallavicini, drawn from

Quoted from Seckendorf, by M'Crie, "History of the Reformation in Italy," 112.

² "La Rivista Cristiana," iv. 134.

the Vatican archives, from which the difference between the two powers is perfectly plain.

If there must be reformation, the next Pope, Paul III., wished it to be effected in his own way ; and hence in 1537 he appointed four Cardinals and five Bishops to meet at Bologna, and to draw up a scheme for rectifying abuses. The Cardinals included Pole and Caraffa, both of them men who strangely changed their course—for having begun as members of the Oratory of Divine Love, they ended as bitter persecutors ; but at the period of this meeting at Bologna, the worst aspects of their character had not developed. Contarini, Sandolet, Giberto, Cortese, Aleander, and Fregoso, were also in the commission ; and it is interesting to recognise amongst the commissioners so many who belonged to the Oratory, and had shown a desire for religious reform. Where they met in Bologna I do not know, perhaps in the Episcopal Palace ; but we are acquainted with their proceedings ; and many will feel surprise on reading certain things which they said. They not only specified a number of ecclesiastical evils, such as were at the time commonly acknowledged—the admission of disqualified persons to the priesthood, the sale of benefices, the bequest of them by will, the union of bishoprics, and “the incompatible offices of cardinal and bishop ;” but they even acknowledged, in so many words, that the Church “laboured under a pestiferous malady, which if not cured would prove fatal.” Strange though it appears, they are said to have addressed the Pontiff in the following terms : “Some of your predecessors in the pontifical chair having itching ears have heaped to themselves teachers according to their own lusts, who instead of instructing them what they ought to do, were expert in finding out reasons to justify what they wished to do, and encouraged them in their simoniacal practices, by maintaining their right to dispose at their pleasure of all ecclesiastical property.”¹ No wonder that a

¹ *The Consilium*, as it is called, is inserted at length in “*Wolfii Sect. Memorab.*” ii. 398.

publication including censure in such a strain should be prohibited by the Papal Index, as it was in 1559; nor could the counsels expressed by the Cardinals be expected to bear much fruit. Indeed they were afterwards set at naught by the men who drew them up.

Cardinal Pole soon after appeared in England as Archbishop of Canterbury, and benefices were sold and irregularities in admission to the priesthood were continued just as before.

The Bologna *Consilium* or Advice incurred plenty of criticism and even ridicule; Luther remarking that the Cardinals lopped off a few twigs, but left the tree growing; that they strained at gnats and swallowed camels. The document, printed in German, had prefixed to it a woodcut representing the Pope on a throne and the Cardinals with brooms of fox-tails sweeping the room. Attention was called to a paragraph in which the dignitaries at Bologna prohibited the use in schools of the "Colloquies" of Erasmus, as likely to injure uninformed minds; a remark, says Sleiden, for which, after all, there was good ground; the same reason as that of Demetrius the silversmith: "Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth." Melancthon expressed his wonder that a censure on the "Colloquies" could have been signed by men standing in the world of letters so high as Aleander and Sandolet; and Luther, in his own cutting style, remarked, as Erasmus had now been dead about a year, "Would God he had been living!"

A run by rail of less than an hour brings the traveller from Bologna to Modena, in the neighbourhood of which the country is luxuriantly fruitful. In autumn, trees in the fields on either side are garlanded with vines, which make a pleasant picture; but in early spring, when I passed through the district, the scenery was bare, and only skeletons of trunks appeared, with awkward branches, which, when clothed with ample verdure and decked with rich ripe clusters, must be extremely attractive.

Modena is famous from its connection with three illustrious

Italian authors ; two of whom may claim a passing notice in these pages as historians of the Italian Reformation, under certain theological aspects, and the third as having played a conspicuous part in some of the ecclesiastical translations of the period. Tiraboschi, the Duke of Modena's librarian, a hundred years ago, in the seventh volume of his "*Storia della letteratura Italiana*," treats of the polemics of the sixteenth century ; Muratori, his predecessor in office a little earlier, did the same ; and it is remarkable that both of them have received credit for tolerance and charity with respect to such as differed from them in theological opinions ; and each of them manifested an uncommon averseness to superstition and mere ceremonial observances. Indeed, Muratori was accused of heresy ; and at the end of a story he tells of a Spanish preacher at Modena, which I shall presently quote, he exclaims, "O tempora, O mores !" The third author was Jacobo Sandoletto, born at Modena, who was made a Cardinal by Paul III. He has been named already in this volume as belonging to the Oratory of Divine Love, and as having taken part in a reformatory movement, which from its superficial nature produced little, if any beneficial results. He composed a Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, in which he says he strove "to open and illustrate the mystery of the death and cross of Jesus Christ," and promised in a new edition to enter more fully into the doctrines of grace and original sin. Sandoletto entered into friendly correspondence with Melancthon, and was, as we have just seen, one of the commissioners at Bologna who joined in censures of former Popes. In other ways Sandoletto seemed favourable to a Reformation, even upon evangelical principles, and I suppose it is in reference to that part of his history that a liberal Catholic, Mr. Eustace, speaks of his candour and mildness, and says he made it his business "to diffuse his own spirit, a spirit of charity and peace and indulgence."² But, however just may be the eulogium

¹ Quoted by Ranke, "*Popes of Rome*," i. 39.

² "*Classical Tour*," i. 161.

as to some points in this Churchman's career, it is counterbalanced by the fact that he signed a document authorizing the seizure of Martin Luther, and excommunicating those who should dare to harbour him.

We shall enter into a still more direct line of local associations by noticing the Modenese Duomo. Its west front is famous for a two-storied porch, sustained by columns which stand on the backs of enormous lions, said to symbolize the power and vigilance of the Church,—power guarding truth, and vigilance busy with heretical surroundings. The other side of the building looks down upon the Piazza Grande, where crowds of market-women keep their stalls of fruit under matted awnings; just by is an open-air pulpit, decorated with emblems of the four Evangelists.

The architecture of the building is chiefly of the eleventh century. Inside there is less to interest the traveller than in many churches; yet the red marble columns of the nave, alternating with massive piers, carrying cross arches between the joined bays, having capitals of classical design, will be noticed by archæologists; and the loftily elevated choir, reached by long flights of steps, with a deep crypt beneath, will strike everybody who enters the cathedral. On the left side stands an elaborately sculptured marble pulpit, carved by the hand of Tomaso di Campione, which well repays a careful examination. Some memorable sermons were delivered from it at the time of the Reformation. In 1530, one Francesco Filolauro recited a pretended brief from Jesus Christ, "given in the terrestrial paradise on the sixth day of the creation of the world, in the eternal year of our Pontificate, and confirmed and signed on Mount Calvary."¹ This monstrous fabrication sanctioned the rules of the Order of Franciscans, styled in Italy the Osservanti, because they strictly observed laws laid down by Francis of Assisi, and went barefoot in absolute poverty. Here also, in 1539, a certain Don Serafino held forth on the side of old superstitions, so

¹ "Muratori Annali," x. 335.

as to provoke his congregation, who daubed his pulpit with dirt, to show their contempt of his ignorance and credulity. The



THE CATHEDRAL, MODENA.

same year at Whitsuntide, Fra Antonio della Catellina adopted a different line, and won great applause; but, being accused of heresy,

he declared publicly that he was a good Catholic. Most remarkable amongst the preachers from Tomaso's marble pulpit was Ochino, who gathered such multitudes about him that they could scarcely find standing-room.

Modena and Bologna closely resemble each other in three respects: (1) in the active part taken by literary people with reference to the Reformation; (2) in the existence of controversy amongst the Reformed; and (3) in the persecutions which were carried on in both places.

As we have seen the Bolognese University take a Protestant lead, so we find at Modena an Academy somewhat after the Florentine fashion, but so carried out as to have for its centre a sort of domestic institution. The Grillenzoni family of seven brothers, five of them married, lived all together, children and parents—taking their meals in a large hall where strangers were also admitted. Lectures were delivered on Greek literature; and at supper there were gatherings for literary discussion. It is very significant that when religion was introduced some were offended; and a critic of the day lamented that the glory of the Academy “should have been clouded in consequence of having directed its attention to the study of the Holy Scriptures.”¹ The meetings seem to have been held in different places; for we are told that at an apothecary's shop belonging to one of the Grillenzoni, at the sign of the Fountain, in the egg market—which I suppose must have been on the east side of the *Duomo*, where the women now-a-days are busy selling vegetables—the Academicians were so numerous “that they left no room in the streets as they moved along, and when they dispersed they resembled a flight of swallows in their migration.”²

The members continued to discuss doctrinal points, and this alarmed the clergy. In 1537, one of the Canons preaching in the lion-guarded *Duomo*, told his congregation that Lutheranism was

Young's “Life and Times of Aonio Paleario,” ii. 16.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 17.

afloat amongst them, for he had found heretical books in the house of a noble lady. The attack roused resentment, and pasquinades on the subject were affixed to the columns of the church and the gates of the Dominican monastery. In a bookseller's shop there was a volume with this title : " The Summary of the Holy Scriptures, and the Ordinary of Christians : showing what is the true Christian Faith, by which we are justified ; and the virtue of Baptism, according to the doctrine of the Gospel and of the Apostles, with Instructions how all states ought to live according to the Gospel ;" of this work an academician was reported to be the author. One night at a marriage feast in the house of a professor, the Canon's sermon and the denunciations against the heretical book were ridiculed by " two of the masks mounted on the top of a sideboard." ¹

In the midst of this excitement two people accused of heresy were thrown into prison ; but they were soon released. Mutual recrimination ensued. Then came a famous preacher, once a monk, but he had now thrown off the cowl, and changed his name from Paolo Ricci to Lisia Fileno. Welcomed by scholars, he preached with much effect in some private house,—and " not only the learned, but also the illiterate, and even women, wherever they met in the streets, in shops, in churches, disputed about faith and the doctrine of Christ ;" thus making Modena look something like Constantinople in the days of Gregory Nazianzen, or like England during the civil wars. One Giovanni de Politiano " expounded the Scriptures in the house of his patron," and said that prayers in an unknown tongue were not pleasing to God. In the end he had to do penance for this.

Reports respecting Modena are contained in contemporary letters. " Eight days ago," Cardinal Morone wrote to the Duke of Ferrara, on the 21st November, 1541, " I came to Modena to make residence at my church, and to endeavour with the Divine

¹ Young's " Life and Times of Aonio Paleario," ii. 19.

assistance to do all in my power, consistently with charity, to remove the bad fame which this city has incurred, not only in Italy but abroad, in reference to the modern novelties of opinion." Again, on the 20th of May, 1542, he says to Contarini: "I have found things which infinitely distress me, and, while I perceive the danger, am quite at a loss as to the means by which I can extricate myself in the affairs of this flock, which, with my blood, I would willingly secure to Christ, and clear from public infamy. Wherever I go, and from all quarters, I hear that the city is become Lutheran. Your suspicions are not without foundation; for it cannot be denied that much ignorance, joined with great audacity and little charity, reigns among the monks; but against the other side there are many violent suspicions, and even some proofs, which I mean to verify, with the view of adopting the remedies to which God may direct." And, once more, on the 30th of July, the same year: "A minister" (of a certain order) "frankly told me that their preachers would no longer go to Modena, on account of the persecution to which they were exposed from the Academy, it being everywhere spread abroad that the city is Lutheran."¹

Another point of resemblance between the neighbouring cities is the occurrence of strife within the circle of Protestantism. Germany and Switzerland were divided by the eucharistic controversy; Luther on the one side teaching consubstantiation, and Zuingli on the other protesting against the idea of a change in the bread and wine. The dispute extended to Northern Italy. Bucer, the German Reformer, a friend to union, did all in his power to suppress contention, and wrote on the subject to the Bolognese and Modenese brethren. Too sanguine, the good man hoped he had united his countrymen, and he earnestly recommended the Italians to imitate the Protestants beyond the Alps. Besides the eucharistic controversy, disputes respecting

¹ M'Crie, "History of the Reformation in Italy," 101.

the doctrine of the Trinity troubled the Italian Reformers ; but these disputes proceeded chiefly from the Venetian territory, and will be noticed when we reach Vicenza.

In 1542, the members of the Academy at Modena were required to write to the Pope, declaring their faithful adherence to the Roman Catholic Church ; but this they declined to do. Another and milder proposal of the same kind was suggested, to which also the academicians demurred, saying they might as well sell their books and abandon all study, as it was impossible to think and write whilst bound with fetters. However, in time these scruples were overcome, and a modified formulary received the signatures of the whole body. Yet this did not end the matter ; everybody had become unsettled, and on the first Sunday in Advent, 1543, no preacher could be found to face the congregation, because of the strife of tongues. The clergy wanted orthodoxy, and the academicians sighed for Protestantism. When, the next year, a friar in his sermon made no mention of saint or doctor, of Lent or fasting, he was arraigned for the omission. He made some sort of excuse, and afterwards received an address from the citizens, who approved of his preaching. Another monk at Modena, the same year, was condemned for heresy. A ducal edict appeared in 1545, forbidding the circulation of suspected books and the holding of religious disputations, under penalty for the first offence of a hundred golden crowns, or, in default of payment, an infliction of the strapedo ; for the second, a fine of two thousand crowns, or banishment ; for the third, confiscation of goods, or death. In 1556, orders came from Rome for the institution of fresh inquiries into the state of opinion at Modena ; and the Provost of the Cathedral, and other important persons, besides a printer and bookseller, suspected of theological disaffection, were cited to appear before the Inquisition. The citation agitated the citizens, who remonstrated with the Duke, and protested against laymen being surrendered to a pontifical tribunal. The business, they said, was

a scandal, and the persons cited were respectable men, and highly esteemed in the city. All this was urged in vain; the Duke inclined to concession, but the spiritual power came off triumphant: the Provost made a recantation first in the Roman church of Sopra Minerva, next in his own church at Modena; the printer, eighty years of age, was kept in prison; and two other distinguished persons involved in the charge were excommunicated for contumacy. One of these was a gentleman named Ludovico Castelvetro, who, through the researches of Muratori, looms out of the darkness distinct in figure and physiognomy: "Moderate in height, square-built, dark, and nearly bald, with piercing eyes, an aquiline nose, and a long black beard."¹ He was a member of the Modenese Academy, and devoted to the study of literature. He fell into trouble through the severity of his criticisms; and unpleasant personalities were mixed up with controversies in which he became involved. He did not openly avow Protestant opinions, but he was charged with heresy, and cited to appear before the Inquisition. Armed with a safe-conduct, he journeyed to Rome, and was in the first instance courteously treated; but, fearing the dungeons of the Holy Office, he privately made his escape, and sought refuge in Ferrara. In his absence the tribunal pronounced him a heretic, and had him burnt in effigy. He desired to appear before the Council of Trent for his own justification, but all in vain; and, unrelieved from the sentence of excommunication, he met with romantic adventures in his exile. After residing at Chiavenna, he wandered into France, where, in the neighbourhood of Lyons, travelling with an escort of two halberdiers, he was robbed of his books and MSS., including an Italian version of the New Testament. He returned to Chiavenna, and died there in 1571. Castelvetro's opinions are a subject of controversy. The chief charge against him is that he translated some of Melanchthon's writings, and that he spoke of the Lord's Supper in Protestant phraseology.

¹ See his "*Vita del Castelvetro*."

In histories of the period, a number of Modenese, including the Master of the Episcopal Palace, are mentioned as heretics; and special notice is taken of the famous treatise "*Il Beneficio di Cristo*" as frequently printed, particularly at Modena, by command of Morone. Morone was Bishop of Modena, a Cardinal too, and charged with inquisitorial powers; indeed, he had much to do, but in a conciliatory temper, with proceedings against the heretics of his diocese. There can be no doubt that, like Pole and others, he felt much sympathy with the author of that theological treatise which won such a high reputation from its advocacy of justification by faith. Indeed, he was accused of heresy, and was imprisoned by Paul IV. No less than twenty-one articles were alleged against him, according to an account given by Vergerio; but he managed to escape punishment and conviction, and retained as Cardinal his eligibility for election to the pontificate.¹

Persecution in Bologna and Modena raged under Pius V. Suspected people of all ranks in the former place were subject to imprisonment and torture. Three were burnt alive; and two brothers of the Ercolani family were sent to be tried at Rome. The case of one M. Geo. Francesco, a Bolognese gentleman, appears in the archives of the Inquisition; and whilst many German students were put into confinement, others sought safety by flight.²

At a later period persecution in a thoroughly organized shape appeared amongst the Modenese; for there is an Italian manual of 1608 entitled, "*Brief Instructions as to the manner of treating Causes pertaining to the Holy Office.*" The instructions are addressed to the vicars in Modena and the neighbouring dioceses. The vicars were to encourage the faithful in the denunciation of heretics, as in a plague-stricken city everybody who can is bound to stay the contagion, not caring for reproaches. Notaries

¹ "*La Rivista Cristiana*," iv. 132. The charges against Morone are printed at length in Young's "*Life and Times of Aonio Paleario*," ii. 309.

² "*La Rivista Cristiana*," viii. 141.

were to state the evidences of heresy in such a way as that no one could find out who were the accusers. The general edict of the Holy Office was to be published three times a year, but no information was to be given to inquirers respecting the Inquisition ; all its proceedings were to be conducted with the utmost secrecy. There is appended a list of fees payable to officers of the court.

I have wandered from Bologna to Modena—I now venture for an instant in the opposite direction, as far as Faenza, a place credited for the manufacture of a particular kind of earthenware, in the French language called *faïence*. Faenza has had its artists, but they are little known. Faenza has also had Protestants, known still less. Sermons were there preached in private houses, and the Lutherans increased every day. A nobleman is mentioned as having been suspected by the Inquisitors, and put to the torture, which ended in death, under their merciless hands. This outrage exasperated the inhabitants, who attacked the Office, tore down altars and images, and in a riot some priests were trodden to death.¹

Between Bologna and Faenza lies the little town of Imola, with a cathedral noticeable for its picturesque octangular tower, and for its crypt containing the remains of a great orator of the fifth century, S. Peter Chrysologus. In that cathedral a monk one day said that heaven was to be bought with good works. A lad present cried out, "That's blasphemy ! for the Bible tells us that Christ purchased heaven by His sufferings and death, and bestows it on us freely by His mercy." This indecorous interruption led to a controversy between the preacher and the youth before the whole congregation, many of the latter taking part with the juvenile critic, who seems to have been a match for the monk. "Get you gone, you young rascal !" he exclaimed ; "you are but just come from the cradle, and will you take it upon you to judge of sacred things which the most learned cannot explain ?" "Did you never read these words," asked the other : "'Out of the

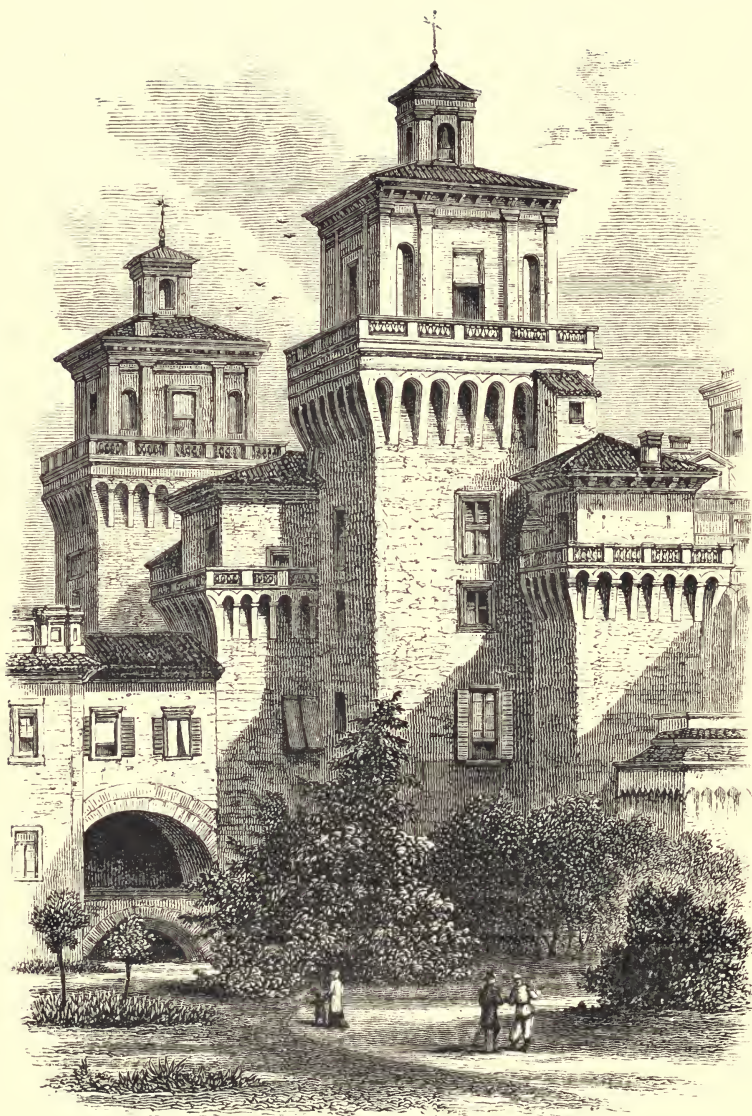
¹ McCrie, "History of the Reformation in Italy," 272.

mouth of babes and sucklings God perfects praise ?'” The boy was seized and sent to prison, “where he still lies,” says the writer of the letter containing the story.¹

There are no particular Reformation incidents which can be localized in this part of Italy, beyond those I have noticed ; but I may add that, in the duchy of Parma, persecution was carried on by virtue of a treaty with Paul IV. At Verona, too, there were converts to the Reformed faith, and Paul III. addressed a brief to the Bishop of Mantua, complaining that he heard of priest-partisans, who questioned the doctrines and rites of the Holy Catholic Church ; such persons were to be arrested, and brought before the Inquisition. Search also was to be made after heretical books.

¹ The letter is dated December 31st, 1544. M'Crie, “History of the Reformation in Italy,” 118.





THE DUCAL PALACE, FERRARA.

FERRARA.



DID not visit Ferrara under favourable circumstances. The rain began to fall soon after the albergo was reached; and rambles through wet streets were not calculated to leave a pleasant impression. A walk in one direction, through long, narrow and dirty thoroughfares, gave the idea that there was little or nothing worth seeing, except here and there a little bit of architecture; but a walk in another direction, the next morning, took me through spacious streets with handsome houses, some quite palace-like, suggestive of considerable prosperity. Even under gloomy skies there is one building which agreeably arrests attention,—the grand old cathedral, with its pink marble lions, indescribably quaint, guarding the entrance, and the scarcely less quaint figure of Alberto d'Este, in his pilgrim's dress, as, at the head of four hundred other pilgrims, he marched to Rome.

"Ferrara," says Augustus J. C. Hare, "is one of the most Italian of Italian towns, and one of the most melancholy. It seems to

have gone to sleep in the end of the sixteenth century, when it was annexed to the States of the Church, and never to have been awakened." I cannot say I thought the place was melancholy, or that the people belonged to the sleepy order ; there seemed activity and life enough about the Piazza del Duomo, and the story of grass-grown streets is a delusion ; yet in summer, during mid-day heat, I dare say the square is silent, and then the aspects which are caught must have a soporific effect. The sleep, however, produced by the scenery and the air cannot but be full of charming dreams. Imagination goes back to palmy days, when the city flourished in art and literature, and the court was a home for genius as well as an abode for luxury and refinement. In Ferrara there then lived the poet Ariosto ; and his house is now set apart, like Shakespeare's at Stratford, as a museum for memorials. Of Tasso there are relics in the public library :—his MSS., his inkstand, and the chair in which he sat and wrote ; and most people visit the prison, in the Hospital of Santa Anna, where he is said to have been confined, though critics question it. A wretched cell, lighted by a grated window, the door cut away by relic-stealers, is shown as the scene of his captivity. But I am not searching for poets or artists, only for people who helped on the Reformation ; and no city is more closely identified with that event than Ferrara.

Footprints of Savonarola in his earliest days may there be traced. His statue is near the castle. He was born and educated in the city, and is described as a sad and silent youth, "taking pleasure," says Padre Marchese, "in solitary places, in the open fields, or along the green banks of the Po, and there wandering sometimes singing, sometimes weeping." His young life was prophetic of weird imaginations and mysterious influences in riper years. Ferrara in those days blazed with mediæval splendour. Paul II. passed through, on his way to Mantua, "under a canopy of gold ;" and, returning by the river in a magnificent barge, he was met by youths dressed in white, and carrying garlands of

flowers. "There is little doubt," remarks Vellari, "that Savonarola was a spectator of this great display;" but his mind dwelt on far other things. "O Lord," he prayed, "make known to me the way in which I ought to guide my soul." He wrote an essay on "Disdain of the World," which he hid amongst the books on the window-sill of his mother's house; and it was left there as an explanation of his departure during the festa of St. George.

At the time when the Reformation was influencing more or less the whole of Europe, and penetrating in a measure the superstition of Papal Italy, Duke Hercules II. was living within the palace of Ferrara, then in its pristine magnificence. The art and civilization of the Renaissance period was beginning its reign in the courts of proud and ambitious sovereigns; that of the little duchy on the banks of the Po caught the elegant contagion in this respect, and vied as far as possible with the kingly court of Paris. Hercules patronized artists and men of letters, and gathered together a large collection of medals and other curiosities; hence an immense blaze of artistic grandeur was often witnessed in the halls and galleries of the castellated palace, when courtiers assembled in the presence of the Duke, their master. In 1528 he married Renée, daughter of Louis XII., King of France; and it is curious to notice that, only a year before this event, Cardinal Wolsey had visited that kingdom with the view of securing this lady as a bride for Henry VIII.

As the Duchess Renée is the centre of a group in this chapter, it will be proper to describe her appearance and character at once. She was not what would be called beautiful, but her brilliant eyes, her clear complexion, the bloom on her cheeks, her white teeth, and the winning smile she was wont to wear, imparted attractions far surpassing those which belong to perfectly moulded features. She is renowned in history for her talents, and these were cultivated in her childhood, under the best masters of the age, especially under the care of a governess, Madame de Soubise, who after Renée's marriage continued to be her companion and friend. "The

Duchess," says Brantome, in a tone redolent of court flattery, "was very learned, and I have heard her discourse very eruditely, fluently and gravely, of all the sciences, even of astrology, the knowledge of the stars, concerning which I saw her, one day, conversing with the Queen-mother" (Catherine de Medici), "who, on hearing her so speak, said that the greatest philosopher living could not talk better about them." Amiableness of disposition was combined with dignity of deportment, and sallies of wit and humour threw sunshine over the influence of this celebrated woman. With a pious turn of mind from early youth, she took a deep interest in religious studies; and her governess, Madame de Soubise, who had embraced the sentiments of the Reformers, took opportunities of instilling them into the mind of her pupil. The character of Pope Julius II., and his animosity to Francis I., no doubt helped to increase an aversion to the Papal court in the heart of that monarch's sister. She carried with her into her adopted country affectionate remembrances of beautiful France; and no necessitous Frenchman passed through Ferrara without sharing in the bounty of the Duchess. It is said that at a later period she saved more than ten thousand Frenchmen of the Duke of Guise's army from starvation and death. "What would you have me do?" she asked, when expostulated with for extravagant charity. "These are poor Frenchmen and countrymen; and had God given me a beard, had I been born a man, or had that iniquitous Salic law not interfered to prevent it, they might have been my subjects." Renée was a woman of strong character, and was therefore fitted to advance the interests of an Italian Reformation; and it is remarkable that an Italian author of the sixteenth century observes, "In our age we behold the admirable spectacle of women (whose sex is more addicted to vanity than learning) having their minds deeply imbued with the knowledge of heavenly doctrine. In Campania, where I now write, the most learned preacher may become more learned and holy by a single conversation with some women.

In my native country of Mantua, too, I found the same thing ; and were it not that it would lead me into a digression, I could dilate with pleasure on the many proofs which I received, to my no small edification, of an unction of spirit and fervour of devotion in the sisterhood, such as I have rarely met with in the most learned men of my profession."

Entering the castle across a bridge, and passing through a spacious courtyard, we are conducted to galleries and saloons on an upper floor, where a few remains of ducal magnificence are still preserved, though the building is shorn of the splendour witnessed in it when the Duchess Renée there held her court. We can imagine her family and household.

First of all there are her daughters. We must look at them through the eyes of Brantome, whose spectacles are doubtless coloured with partiality. "These three daughters were the most beautiful ever born in Italy; but the mother adorned them still more by the elegant education she gave them, instructing them in the sciences and in polite letters, in which they made great proficiency, putting to shame the most learned of the other sex, so that if distinguished for personal beauty, they were equally so for beauty of mind." Their tutors were Chilian and John Sinapi, two German disciples of Martin Luther, and Aonio Palcario, already mentioned, who gave them lessons in Greek. It is recorded of them also that in their girlhood they once acted, according to the custom of the age, a classic play before a Pope, when with his retinue he filled the palace of Ferrara, his Holiness, perhaps, not knowing at the time the heretical influences under which the damsels had been trained. They do not appear afterwards to have walked in the footsteps of their mother as a friend to the Reformation; but it would seem, from what was said to her husband afterwards by another Pope, that the children must have somewhat sympathized at the time with their mother. "See how the minds of your wife, children, and servants are corrupted

by pestilent heresy, and are setting a pernicious example to all your subjects. The leprosy of heresy has infected your hitherto pious family." The extent of this influence in favour of the Reformation would most likely be exaggerated in the papal expostulation.

Next to the Duchess in the Protestant group at Ferrara, stands Madame de Soubise ; her son, Jean de Parthenai, Sieur



DUCHESS RENÉE.

de Soubise, afterwards a leader amongst the French Protestants ; her daughter, Anne de Parthenai, a woman of much taste ; and Antoine de Pons, Count de Marennnes, who afterwards married this young lady, and retained a partiality for Protestantism down to the time of her death.

Fulvio Perigrino Morata is another celebrity in the palace, a

learned man, first engrossed by classical studies, then coming into communication with Celio Secundo Curio, who inspired him with a sympathy for evangelical religion. His daughter Olympia is more celebrated, and her life has been repeatedly written. The materials are drawn from her published works, and these supply the authority for my present narrative.¹ She was a native of Ferrara, and therefore from a child familiar with the exterior of the old palace; but at the age of thirteen she found a home within its walls, as companion to the Duchess's eldest daughter. Her abilities were distinguished, and her attainments were extraordinary, for she had received from her father a classical education. At a later period, Curio, writing in the extravagant strain of his country, remarks, "At Ferrara I myself have heard her declaiming in Latin, speaking in Greek, explaining the paradoxes of Cicero, and answering questions. She indeed reminded me of the most learned virgins among the ancients, with whom she might justly be compared." The writer says she composed prologues on Cicero when she was sixteen; we further learn that when very young she produced a Greek eulogium on Mutius Scævola; and we also find about this time a friendly critic complimenting her upon gathering "immortal amarantus in the garden of the Muses." She added philosophy to classical literature, and seems altogether to have been the wonder of her day. It was about 1539 that she became an inmate of the palace, and there she remained for some years, enjoying the favour of her royal mistress. But during that period she gave no signs of deep personal religion, whatever leaning she might have had to the Reformed opinions. In spite of the character of Renée, the court remained unfavourable to the culture of piety. The Duke had no sympathy with the Reformation, quite the reverse, and the influence of his wife was counteracted by those about her. It would be a great mistake to suppose that the household had come to be framed

¹ I am much indebted in this chapter to Anderson's "Ladies of the Reformation."

on anything like Puritan or Huguenot principles. The luxury and dissipation of other Italian palaces prevailed at Ferrara ; and, referring to the time when she lived there, Olympia Morata said, " Had I remained longer in the court, it might have been all over with me and my salvation ; for never whilst I was there could I relish anything exalted and Divine, nor could I read the books of the Old or New Testament." Indeed, she went so far as to declare, " Sometimes I was hurried into the error of thinking that all things happen by chance, and that God does not govern mankind. Such was the darkness that overspread my mind, when God Himself began to dispel it, causing a ray of His matchless and Divine wisdom to shine upon me." Then it was, at the very time when she was exalted to the heavens by the praises of courtiers and friends, that she discovered, to use her own language, " her destitution and ignorance of all true learning." Her conversion was deep, genuine and complete, not a mere transition from Popery to Protestantism, but a translation out of the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of God's dear Son. This happened about the time of her father's death, when mysterious troubles arose which ended in her banishment from court.

There was another lady in the Duchess Renée's court, and a great friend of Olympia Morata, who must not be passed over. This was Lavinia della Rovere, related to the Duke Urbino, who like her young companion received a classical education, and made attainments in literature and philosophy such as called forth the admiration of the intellectual circle at Ferrara. There, probably, she imbibed sentiments which attracted her towards the Reformation ; but she saw at first difficulties in the new theology.

Among the visitors at the palace were attached friends and bold advocates of evangelical religion. Such was Flaminio, and the celebrated Ochino, and Peter Martyr ; further, it seems probable that when Aonio Palcario gave Greek lessons to the young ladies he would find means to strengthen the mother's faith.

Shadows of other celebrities also come within view. Clement Marôt, the French poet, fled from his country in 1534, some say in consequence of the disturbance occasioned by affixing Protestant placards against the walls of Paris, others say in consequence of his satirical verses, which had annoyed Diana of Poitiers.

Another stranger entered Ferrara, and found a welcome within the palace. He was a thin, spare young man, about twenty-seven years of age, with a long Grecian nose, piercing eyes, open lips, suggestive of eloquence, a fine flowing beard, and a general appearance which indicated both thoughtfulness and melancholy. He had come from Paris with a friend, having, like Marôt, been driven thence through the excitement produced by the affair of the placards. They visited together the city of Strasburg with only ten crowns in their pocket, having been robbed of their baggage and a horse near Metz. At Strasburg he was received by Bucer, and then he journeyed on to Basle, where Œcolampadius had just died, and Erasmus was growing old ; and crossing the Alps, in due time the traveller reached the gates of Ferrara. The traveller called himself Charles Heppeville, and passed for a layman ; but the crown of his head had received the tonsure, and his ways and conversation betokened that he was a minister of religion. The welcome he received at Ferrara showed that, most likely, he had come by invitation, and was a man of more than common mark. Charles Heppeville was no other than John Calvin travelling incognito ; not yet the Calvin of Geneva, ecclesiastical lord of the republic on the beautiful lake ; not yet the far-famed Reformer, whose name was a watchword throughout Europe—but he had already committed to the press the first edition of his “*Institutes*,” and a copy of the work he placed in the hands of his noble hostess.

As I was being conducted over the castle the guide opened a pair of folding doors, in a handsome saloon retaining some ducal-looking furniture, and pointed to a plain altar within a recess,

saying there it was that John Calvin administered the Lord's Supper to the Duchess and her friends. Familiar with the story of his visit, I felt the deepest interest in looking at this relic, for which I was scarcely prepared; and I must confess that it surprised me to find the Italian employed as cicerone referring with apparent respect to the incident of the Reformer's visit and ministrations.

"Unhappily," says Felix Bungener, "we possess but few details about this part of his life, which, though less important, since it was to leave no trace, was certainly not uninteresting. What were Calvin's impressions at the sight of Italy, of its religion and worship, its clergy and monks, its skies, and its arts? Some have regretted, as respects the latter, that Calvin's sojourn in Italy was not longer. Italy, they say, would have given flexibility to his soul and quickened his imagination: he would no longer have been that *gloomy genius*, as Bossuet terms him, disdaining all that is not reason and doctrine, austere and rigid truth. It may be so, but would he have retained his strength? Would Calvin as a child of Italy have been still Calvin? Let us not amuse ourselves with remaking great men, by modifying on paper the elements of their greatness; the probability always will be that they were what they were to be, and that modified they would have been lesser men."¹ Those who do not concur in the biographer's remark, must admit, at any rate, that Italian intercourse, if it did not decorate, certainly did not impair the stalwart intellect of the Genevan divine.

Poor Renée was sadly used. Her husband, who had never sympathized in her religious views, was turning against her, stimulated to do so by priestly and papal influence. Rome saw with stern displeasure what was going on in the palace, and determined to check the growth of heresy. One of the chaplains, Master Francois, laid down the principle, that people with her convictions might be present at mass, without doing what was wrong. One of her maids of honour opposed this doctrine—but Renée was won

¹ "Calvin: his Life and Labours," 67.

over. Calvin heard what went on, and took up his pen to write to the Duchess. He reflects on Francois as a trimmer, always oscillating between Popery and the Reformation—a sort of character he detested. “I make no such wars,” he says, “upon any, as upon those who, under the shadow of religion, make a show of devotion towards princes, keeping them always enveloped in some cloud, without leading them straight to the goal.” How, he asked, would she persuade herself that to kneel before the host was not idolatrous? In idolatry there are no degrees. The reign of error must not be prolonged, and from God she was urged to seek the spirit of courage and perseverance. The Duke was threatened by the Pope, if he did not cleanse his house from spots of heresy. The Duchess was threatened by the Duke, if she did not renounce all connection with the Reformers; and Henry II., of France, was entreated to interfere in removing this scandal from the family. Henry employed a famous Inquisitor, named Oritz, to accomplish the object, and to say, if the Princess showed herself “headstrong and pertinacious,” persisting in accursed and damnable errors, she must be deprived of her children, and be shut up in a convent. She did persist for awhile, and she was shut up, not in a convent, but in the old Castle of Este, where her heart was torn with anguish by the loss of her beloved children, kept out of her sight.

In 1545 persecution began in Ferrara, and the Protestant residents were harassed out of their lives. “We have no means,” says Dr. Mc'Crie, “of ascertaining the number of Protestants at Ferrara, which probably varied at different times, according to the fluctuating policy of the Duke, and the measures of religious constraint or toleration which were alternately adopted by the other States of Italy. One account mentions that they had several preachers as early as the year 1528; but whether they were permitted to teach publicly, or not, we are not informed. That their labours were successful is evident from the number of distinguished persons who either imbibed the Protestant doctrine,

or were confirmed in their attachment to it at Ferrara. The most eminent of the Italians who embraced the Reformed faith, or who incurred the suspicions of the clergy by the liberality of their opinions, had resided for some time at the court of Ferrara, or were indebted, in one way or other, to the patronage of Renée."¹

In 1545, the Pope, Pius III., sent a brief to the ecclesiastical authorities of the place, commanding a strict inquisition to be made into the conduct of those inhabitants who were suspected of heresy. Julius III. followed his predecessor's example. Depositions were to be taken ; torture was to be applied ; heretics were to be brought to trial, and their cases submitted to the Papal court for judgment. Spies were scattered about in all directions, to watch the behaviour of families, to track the haunts of the suspected, to gather up information on the subject, and transmit it to the proper quarter. Many injurious and cruel expedients for the purpose were accordingly employed. Things went on from bad to worse. "I hear," says Olympia Morata in one of her letters after leaving Ferrara, "that the rage against the saints is at present so violent, that former severities were but child's play compared with those practised by the new Pope, who cannot, like his predecessor, be moved by treaties and intercessions." And again, "I learn from letters that I have lately received out of Italy, that the Christians are treated with great cruelty at Ferrara : neither high nor low are spared ; some are imprisoned, others banished, and others obliged to save their lives by flight."

The history of Faventino Fanino, or Fannio, is closely connected with Ferrara. A native of Faenza, he in early life devoted himself to the study of the Scriptures as he found them translated into Italian, saying to himself that God would reveal His mind as easily in one language as another, and that therefore the Latin vulgate could not be the exclusive channel of Divine communications. Believing that the Word of God was not bound, but that its contents

¹ "History of the Reformation in Italy," 93.

ought to be freely and fully circulated, he from time to time communicated to others what he had learned himself,—a proceeding which attracted the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities, who put a stop to his efforts by committing the young man to prison. Friends, according to a common practice, implored him, for their sakes as well as his own, to profess repentance for what he had done ; and, in compliance, he did what they wished, only thereby, however, to inflict on himself torturing accusations for what he deemed cowardice and apostasy. Having recovered his liberty, he resolved to resume his propagandism. He now made preaching tours through Romagna, and when he had gathered a few people in one place and instructed them, he travelled to another, and repeated the process. To use a figure of his own, he first fed his converts with milk, and not with meat, and then left them to enjoy more solid food in the study of Scripture ; and on the principle of progression, he encouraged himself with the idea, that whenever he brought a single person to understand the gospel he prepared an instrument for its further diffusion. As might be expected, he soon found himself under a second arrest, and being seized at Bagnacavallo he was conducted to Ferrara, and there cast into prison. He appears to have experienced different treatment at different times, sometimes having access to other prisoners, whom he instructed by his conversations, and at other times being kept in strict confinement. It is related that the impression he made by his teaching was deep ; and so exalted was the conception of his character formed by those who listened to his lessons, that they called him a saint, and he would reply, “ Brethren, I am a sinner, but through the grace of Christ I hope I am sanctified ; and you may be so too by the same Divine means.”

Fannio was a married man, and now his wife and other relatives renewed their solicitations that he would, by recanting his heresy, procure restoration to his family ; upon which he rejoined that one act of apostasy was enough, and that, as his life had not been

useless in the service of Christ, he was content to finish it now, if it were the Lord's will.

Olympia Morata and Lavinia della Rovere visited the prisoner, who received them as angels of mercy, and they, in their turn, were strengthened in faith by his earnest exhortations and his heroic example. Lavinia used all her influence with Duke Hercules to save the confessor's life, and when she left Ferrara for Rome she hoped to arrest his impending doom, through her interest with distinguished persons in the Vatican. Whilst there, such efforts were made. Olympia Morata wrote to her friend, "Your letter gave me great pleasure because, as I desired, it informed me what you were doing and where you were. I give you thanks for promising me your assistance in the cause of Fannio. Nothing, I assure you, could have given me more gratification than such a promise, for this your journey, from the great influence which I know you have at Rome, seems to me to afford some ground of hope ; besides, it strikes me, that your departure from Ferrara may in some measure conduce to his advantage, for when you are about to depart the Duke will, no doubt, promise to do you any service in his power, and you can therefore ask him, if he would confer a favour upon you, to pardon one who is guilty of no crime, and who has already suffered what would be an adequate punishment for even a grave offence."

Julius repelled all intercessions on behalf of Fannio, and intimated that Lavinia, by her sympathy with a heretic, was laying herself open to very grave suspicion, and that, but for her rank and the favour she enjoyed, she would herself be liable to the discipline of the Church. He would permit no delay in the execution of the last penalty on such an offender. A messenger of death was therefore despatched ; and on entering the victim's cell he was kindly embraced and thanked for the intelligence he brought. Reminded of his family, so soon to be bereaved, Fannio replied that he left them under the best Guardian, even

the Guardian of the whole world. "They will be well protected and preserved by Him."

When I was being conducted over the Castle of Ferrara, the guide took me down into dismal dungeons, and showed me one reached by a terrific passage, whence light was excluded, except as a few rays could penetrate a grated window at the end of a long narrow opening. In such a place, it would appear, Fannio spent the last hours of life; and there he entered into lengthened conversations on various religious subjects. Predestination, as well as justification, largely occupied his thoughts; and he not only adduced texts of Scripture and other arguments in support of his views, but repeated sonnets which he had composed on these high themes. So much joy was expressed by the martyr, that bystanders were astonished. "Why are you so glad?" they asked, "seeing that Jesus when about to die was in an agony, and sweated great drops of blood." He explained that our Lord then suffered, not on His own account, but on account of others, that He bore our sins, and that through what He endured His people are delivered from the fear of death.

Three hours before morning, on the day of execution, he was removed to a cell where people could not listen to his exhortation, and a crucifix being placed before him, he said that "a piece of wood" was not needful to remind him of the living Saviour, whom he carried in his heart. At the final moment, he cheerfully submitted himself to the executioner, being first hanged, and then burnt to ashes. He died in the year 1550, leaving behind him a number of religious tracts written in Italian.¹

Lavinia della Rovere sent particulars of this martyrdom to her friend Olympia Morata, who wrote in reply: "Your very sweet letter excited in me mingled emotions of grief and joy. I could not but be affected at the news of the death of a man of Fannio's

¹ The account I have given is based on "La Vita e la morte di Fanino martire, printed in *La Rivista Cristiana*, January, 1880.

eminent piety, although afterwards my grief was allayed by the thought of his admirable constancy."

Renée's heart must have been saddened indeed by hearing of what occurred in her husband's dominions ; and her spirit, crushed for a while by terror, gave way. "It is but too certain," writes Calvin to Farrel in 1554, "that the Duchess has succumbed, overcome by menaces and violence. What shall I say to this, if not that fortitude is a rare thing amongst the great?" He wrote in a rather different strain to the afflicted lady herself: "It is a bad sign, madam, that those who made so harassing a war against you, to turn you away from God's service, now leave you in peace. The devil has so triumphed because of it, that we have been constrained to groan, and hang down our heads without inquiring further." Calvin does not expostulate ; he does not exhort, but he adds with tenderness, "as the good Lord is always ready to receive us favourably, and when we are fallen holdeth out His hand to us, I pray you will take courage. When you reflect, madam, that God, who humbles His people, would not have them confounded always, it will revive your hope in Him, that you may bestir yourself the more in future. Call upon Him, therefore, in the confidence that He is sufficient to succour our frailties."

Duke Hercules died in 1559, and Renée prepared to return to her native country, where her son-in-law, the Duke of Guise, held in his hand the reins of government, and offered her a share in the control of affairs. Calvin suspected that mischief lurked under the friendly-looking overture, and resuming his natural stern procedure, told her that to thrust herself into such confusion would be to tempt God. "If worldly height and grandeur prevent you from coming to God, I should be a traitor to you to persuade you that black is white. If you were resolved to behave frankly and with more magnanimity than hitherto, I would pray Him to advance you very soon to a greater administration than is offered

to you; but if it is to say Amen to all that is condemned by God and man, I know not what to say, except that you take care lest a worse evil befall you. What God hath long shown you by His Word advancing age warns you to reflect that your inheritance is not here below, and Jesus Christ might well make you forget both France and Ferrara."

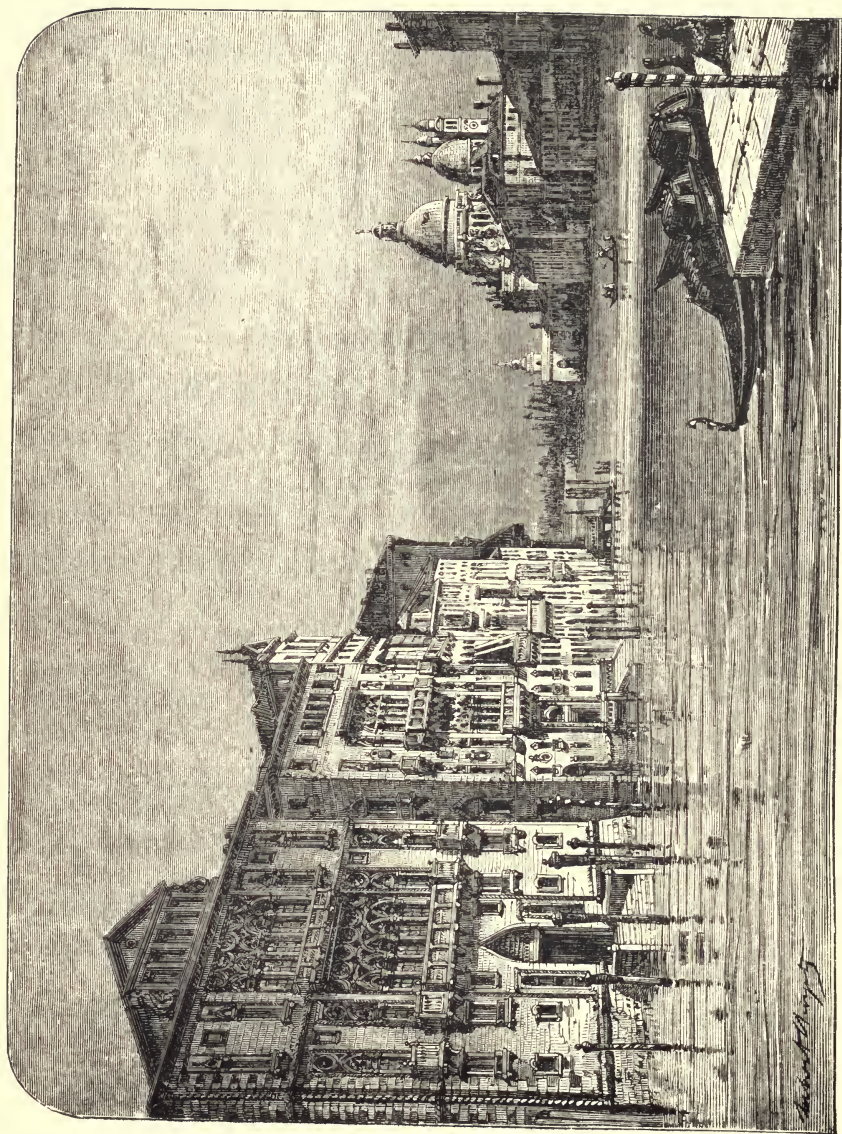
She removed to Orleans, thence to the grim old Castle of Montargis; where, according to Brantome, "she harboured with her during the civil wars, as long as she lived, a vast number of people of her own religion, who had lost their property, and had been banished from their homes; she aided, succoured, and supported them to the utmost of her ability."

Lavinia was at Ferrara just at the crisis when Duke Hercules carried on his persecuting warfare. At this juncture, however, the noble lady maintained her stedfastness, greatly strengthened, no doubt, by her correspondence with Olympia Morata. "You have," says the latter, writing from Heidelberg in August, 1554, "many companions in your afflictions. Be assured there is no one who desires to live godly in Christ who does not experience bitter grief and calamities. . . . Apply yourself diligently to the study of the Holy Scriptures, and often pray to God that you may not follow the example of the multitude of the ungodly who everywhere abound. . . . Let it be your endeavour to have greater fear of that God who is supreme over all things, who can cast body and soul together into hell, than of feeble men, whose life is, in the Scriptures, compared to a shadow, to grass, to a flower, to smoke. Be courageous and valiant. All suffering, however severe, if of short duration, ought to be endurable."

Before closing this chapter, I must allude to Ippolito D'Este brother of Hercules, and therefore brother-in-law to his wife Renée. He bore the title of Cardinal of Ferrara, and he was called upon to take part in matters connected with the French Reformation at the very time that his sister-in-law was living at the Castle of

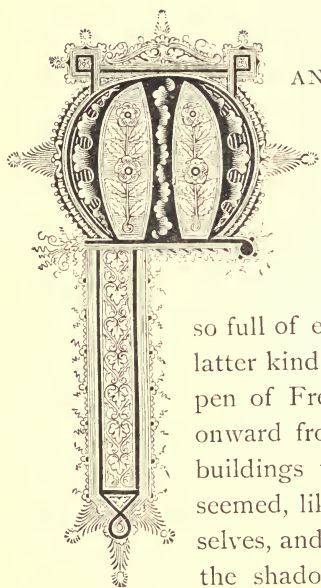
Montargis. At the famous epoch of the Colloquy of Poissy, when Catherine de Medici, from motives it would be foreign to my object to examine, was seeking to reconcile Papists and Huguenots, this cardinal received orders from his Holiness to repair to Paris as Papal Legate; and on his way he visited Ferrara, where he conferred with the French ambassador to the Doge of Venice. Intent upon helping Rome, he professed to the ambassador that his sole intention was to assist France; a specimen of the diplomatic insincerity of the age. Arrived in Paris, he insisted upon the exercise of prerogatives inconsistent with the liberties of the Gallican Church; and at the solicitation of Catherine they were at length conceded by the French Chancellor, with the significant addition to his signature of the words "*Me non consentiente.*" By successful intrigues, by going so far as to accompany some Huguenot nobles when they went to hear one of their preachers, and by dexterous methods of winning favour with Antoine King of Navarre, the Cardinal of Ferrara helped to seduce that important personage from his alliance with the Huguenots. Sometimes, however, he is seen behaving himself in a very different way, as when Throgmorton, our ambassador at Paris was told: "The Cardinal stamps and takes on like a madman, and goeth up and down here to the Queen, then to the Cardinal of Tournons, with such unquieting of himself as all the house doth marvel at it."¹ Altogether we find Italian influence employed in checking the Reformation outside of Italy; but, on the other hand, we meet with Italians who helped on the Reformation elsewhere than in their own country: notably was it so in the case of Peter Martyr.

¹ Shakerly to Throgmorton, December 16, 1561. State Papers (Foreign).



THE GRAND CANAL, VENICE.

VENICE.



ANY a painter from Canaletti downward has delighted to depict the charms of this city ; many a poet besides Byron has sung its praises ; and many a traveller, writing in prose, has risen to a pitch of unwonted eloquence when touching on a theme so full of enchantment. Amongst passages of the latter kind I often think of the following from the pen of Frederick William Faber : "As we glided onward from Fusina in our gondola, the beautiful buildings with their strange Eastern architecture seemed, like fairy ships, to totter, to steady themselves, and come to anchor one by one ; and where the shadow was, and where the palace was, you could not tell. And there was San Marco, and there was the Ducal Palace, and there the Bridge of Sighs, and the very shades of the Balbi, Foscari, Pisani, Bembi seemed to hover about the winged lion of St. Mark. And all this, all to the right and left, all was Venice ; and it needed the sharp grating of the gondola against the stairs, to bid us be sure it was not all a dream."

The history of Venice is akin to its architecture. Visions of its great men, their astute policy, their romantic adventures, blend in wonderful harmony with the shadows of churches and palaces, as they fall on the waters of the winding canals. Doges, admirals, and senators take the first place; but in the background are heart-stirring stories of love and sorrow, suffering and heroism. Few tourists, comparatively, think much of the religious history of the Republic; and yet that is, in point of interest, of a piece with its other annals. Venice has had its churchmen and its saints; and popes as well as doges have played their part on the marble pavement of San Marco. Least known of Venetian religious history, perhaps, are those particulars which relate to the fortunes of the Reformation within the circle of the Republic. Its relations with England and the correspondence carried on between the two States at the period of the Reformation, throw light on certain matters connected with that event. The question of Queen Catherine's divorce was mixed up with questions of Papal authority; and in connection with this matter we find in a communication from Henry VIII., a reference to the University of Padua, which stood within the Venetian territories, as having "come to a determination, that the things of God are not committed to the Pope, but only matters of human jurisdiction." Henry was very [anxious to get a favourable opinion from Italian theologians with regard to the divorce, and used all kinds of means for the purpose.

"The Bishop of London," we read in a letter written in August, 1530, "is a good deal discouraged by the refusal he has met with from the Seignory. By means of a Spanish canon of the Augustinian monastery of Padua, Don Pablo Torrellas has got another canon of the same house, Don Rafael de Coma, to revoke an opinion he had given against the Queen and to write in her favour. He is endeavouring also to get the Dominican prior of SS. John and Paul of Venice to revoke his opinion, on which the Bishop of London

sets great store. It is suggested that the Emperor should give him a letter of credence for him, commending his services against the Lutherans, by which Nino might take occasion to bring him over."

An opinion was obtained from the University of Padua that the Pope cannot grant a dispensation for the marriage of a man with his deceased brother's wife. The common seal was set to the document by an assembly of the doctors, and further signatures were sought; but we find it said "the General of the Black Friars forbids any member of the order to dispute the Pope's power." It is added, "the Lutherans, of whom there are no small companies both here and at Padua and Ferrara, oppose the King as much as possible."

At an earlier part of the same year, the King (Henry VIII.) was advised to write to the Venetian Senate, and to reward those who helped him. Through one person whom the writer mentions, a hundred theologians, he says, might be gained, in fact, all the divines and jurists in the Seignory, and in Milan as well.

What was done in this business the senators did not approve, and they sent orders to the professors to give no opinion, and not meddle at all in a matter so dangerous to the Holy See. The rewards offered by the King of England for an opinion favourable to his cause, the Seignory thought would be a great offence to his Holiness. But one Mica Marian di Sena excused himself "for accepting a fee, on the ground that, though he was a professor, he did not feel bound to refuse his advice to those who would pay for it."

The Republic was very chary in matters relating to the Reformation, and a correspondence is preserved in the English Record Office respecting the reception of a representative of the Protestant powers. It was directed, on the 28th of May, 1546, that the Doge was to answer the English secretary to the effect, that the Seignory valued the friendship of Protestant princes, but as the

affairs of the world were in a disturbed state, the Republic felt compelled to consider the matter, assuring such personages, however, that the State felt excellently disposed towards them. The whole Council of Ten voted in support of the motion in reference to the course to be pursued by the Doge. A few days afterwards, a secretary to the ambassador of the English monarch came into the presence of the august Ten, saying he had a letter of credence from the Protestant princes, appointing him their agent, with orders to present it without remark. The papal nuncio objected to the proceeding; but the cautious council explained that the secretary was not *admesso* (*i. e.*, not formally recognised), "neither was any place assigned him, nor had he negotiated anything;" and that the Republic had always conducted itself as a Christian power, "anxious for the advantage of Christendom." On the 5th of June a motion was carried unanimously, stating that as no particular message was to be communicated by the secretary, the council were compelled to hesitate as it regarded his residing in the city, since Venice wished to be friends with all parties; and the Doge was to assure the Protestant powers of the excellent disposition and extreme affection cherished towards them. But on November the 5th, hearing that his Holiness made inquiries on the subject, the Doge and Senate informed their ambassador at Rome that Baldissera Alchieri (*sic*) continued to perform his office as English secretary, and occasionally acquainted them with news and advices, according to the custom of other secretaries. In December an English secretary or ambassador, named Sigismund Harvel, expressed his "royal master's" wish that a Venetian representative should be sent to the court in London. It was agreed in the council for the Seigniorie "to be on good terms with his Majesty, and to exhibit towards him such marks of affection and esteem as he desires, and as become so great a king, whose repute and power have increased since the conclusion of peace; and this embassy cannot but prove to the dignity of the Republic,

and profitable to many private individuals, who frequent the country, not a little to the advantage of this entire city.”¹

He was to be liberally provided for, to keep eleven horses and as many servants, and two running footmen, and to be paid “150 golden ducats from month to month so that the Seigniorie may not lose any money by exchange on this account.” The representative of our court, Sigismund Harvel, died in Venice, January, 1550, and had a grand funeral, with a number of torches weighing six and ten pounds each, which were paid for by the Seigniorie, as duly noted in the Venetian archives. Cloaks, and other expenses for hatchments, black linen, platform and canopy, were defrayed by the ambassador’s household. He was carried to St. John’s and St. Paul’s, and an oration was delivered at the funeral. The deceased was succeeded by Peter Vannes, a Lucchese, secretary to Cardinal Wolsey at Bruges.

In the reign of Edward VI., when England ranked amongst the Protestant powers, we find the representative of this country somewhat perplexed as to the course he was to pursue in Venice under certain circumstances. He informed the Council of State at home, how he had sundry times desired to know their lordships’ pleasure as to his accompanying the other kings’ and princes’ ambassadors in attendance upon the Duke and Seigniorie, at such solemn feasts to which he was formally invited, some “five or six times a year, when the senators took the same for great honour and kindness.” “Their lordships,” he said, “were to understand that the resorting to such churches and places is not for the worshipping of idols or images, but rather for the ambassadors to confer together familiarly of divers things, and observe what may turn out to their masters’ behoof and advancement. By the English ambassador being present the King’s authority, honour, and name would be better known and advanced.”

People from the country were carefully watched by such

¹ The foregoing extracts are from State Papers (Venetian), under date.

agents as Vannes, and he failed not to inform his master of what he saw. Divers Englishmen, he said, were travelling in Italy some for learning, some otherwise, amongst them one Dudgeon, a Prebendary of Wells, "at study either in Padua or some other university, who had become a doctor in divinity there." Vannes desired to ascertain the truth of this, as whoever took such degree swore allegiance to the Bishop of Rome. Further correspondence followed on the subject, and mention is made of a soldier with "a very traitorous heart to his country, being in the habit of speaking evil of the King and Council, calling them Lutherans." Vannes, on the 18th of July, 1551, reports that he had communicated the contents of the despatch from England to the Seignior, who received them in very loving part, and said that their ambassadors in England had advertised them of his Majesty Edward VI. in such wise, as that it was plain the virtues in so young and noble a prince being far above his age and any worldly expectation, could only proceed from the infinite mercy of God, who alone was to be thanked as the Giver of all goodness.¹

The position in which the Republic placed itself towards the Holy See was exceedingly characteristic. Alone of all the Governments of Europe it excluded ecclesiastics from sharing in its authority. Whilst prelates figured in council chambers elsewhere, no mitred head was seen on the bench of the Council of Ten. The Giant's Staircase shut out the approach of any cardinal unless he came as ambassador from Rome or some other power; and even a patriarchal bishop who, in the midst of Venetian splendour, said mass under the dome of St. Mark's, could never take a seat among the senators of the adjoining palace. The priesthood were jealously excluded from influence in political affairs. No one whatever who wore the tonsure could hold a civil office; no member of the Apostolic Court could touch a ducat, in the shape

¹ State Papers (Foreign, 1547-1553), under date.

of pay, out of the ducal exchequer. Church and State were, so far, as distinct as possible in the constitution of Venice.

In harmony with this fact was an extreme jealousy of any interference on the part of Rome in the affairs of the Republic. To illustrate this point would be to transfer to these pages a large portion of Venetian history. One incident will suffice. Between Paul v. and the Republican senators a tremendous struggle occurred. There had been a quarrel over the laws enacted for restraining the multiplication of ecclesiastics, and the augmentation of revenues held by them for the use of the Church. Audiences had been held, briefs had been sent, threats had been exchanged, and interdicts loomed in the distance; but his Highness the Doge sat proudly and firmly on his ancient throne. "If I were Pope," exclaimed Cardinal Borghese, "I would excommunicate Doge and Senate!" "And if I were Doge," returned the Venetian Donato, who heard the words, "I would laugh at your excommunication." Cardinal Borghese became Paul v. Donato became Doge of Venice. Each acted out his threats. One day in February, 1605, a nuncio from Rome appeared in the Sala del Collegio, the famous presence-chamber, adorned with masterpieces from the pencil of Tintoretto and Paul Veronese. The nuncio, Orazio Mattei, beginning in courtly phrase, entreated the College to find some means of satisfying his Holiness. The Doge, with equal courtesy of manner, at the commencement, assured him that what he said would receive due consideration; but he added, "You tell me that I ought to do something to please the Holy Father on my advent to office. I frankly tell you there is nothing by which I can more signally inaugurate my reign than by preserving the freedom and glory of this Republic." A tempest suddenly burst out. "In the seventy years," he went on to say, "since the establishment of this Council, we have observed that in every misdeed there has been at the bottom a renegade priest or a worthless friar." Then the Doge accused the nuncio with shuffling,

The nuncio returned the compliment : "Your serene Highness will excuse me, but the shuffling is on your side ; it is impossible to utter greater iniquities than you have done ; and you will have to answer for it at the day of judgment. You tell me that these poor clerks may sell property left to them ; and what are they to do with the price of it, I should like to know?" "Give alms to the poor, as ecclesiastical corporations ought to do," rejoined his Ducal Highness. "This is not decent—not supportable," retorted the Papal ambassador ; "it is an intolerable attack on the liberties of the Church!" The conversation illustrates the relative position of Venice and Rome at the opening of the seventeenth century ; it arose from the traditions of the sixteenth, and the temper shown repeatedly at the era of the Reformation. It is very significant, and characteristic of Venice, equally at both periods. Yet with defiance of Rome, as attempting to encroach on the freedom of Venice, there was profound deference shown to the spiritual office of the Pontiff. For the Doge called for a candle which the Holy Father had blessed, and reverently kissed it, lifting up at the same time his ducal cap, declaring that he kept the candle in memory of the giver, and would have it lighted on the day he died. There was a mental distinction between politics and religion very clear to Donato ; and he was prepared to maintain that in resisting the papal court in its temporal capacity, he was consistently prepared to do homage to the successor of St. Peter in his spiritual office. Fifty years before, doges and senators made the same distinction.

Venetian ambassadors kept their masters well posted up in matters relating to the progress and vicissitudes of the Reformation, informing them of theological controversies : the doctrine of justification by faith is repeatedly mentioned ; so that the Ten sitting in the Ducal Palace, though they did not care for points in divinity abstractedly considered, knew what was passing in England, France, and Germany in relation to such questions.

Rumours of persecution reached the Council, sometimes vague, sometimes definite ; now, perhaps, falling below the fact, then possibly rising to a pitch of exaggeration. Andrea Navagero, according to the "Sanuto Diaries," informed the Seignior in June, 1524, that Lutheranism was raging more than ever ; other communications to the same effect reached the ducal chambers then and afterwards.

Carlo Contarini reported from Vienna, on the 18th of the following September, 1524 : "Yesterday, when there were not thirty persons in the market-place, the Lutheran merchant was at length burnt, whereupon four thousand persons came instantly to rescue him ; but he was already consumed. So it is thought his Majesty will thus render himself very odious to the people, and that, one day or other, there will be some great tumult." A window is opened in the Doge's palace, through a report made to the Senate on the 30th of March, 1527, by the same Carlo Contarini, ambassador to the Archduke of Austria. He alluded to "Martin Luther and his rites," and wished to speak about them ; but the Doge, Andrea Gritti, said, "Enough of this."¹ These few words suffice to bring the Venetian prince, in his quaint official robes and ducal cap before our eyes, surrounded by grave and reverend seigniors, ready to listen to Contarini's Austrian story ; but what exactly was signified by the curt interruption, as he rose to address the Council, does not appear.

The Venetian envoy in France did not fail to allude to Calvin's activity ; and Francis Contarini, in Germany, informs the Senators :

"I have been told by several persons that the Lutherans are in high spirits from hearing that the Pope purposes waging war in Italy ; as they hope that, with this opportunity, many Italians of their sect, who have hitherto been downcast, and lacked courage to declare themselves, will now come forward, having the support and protection of the powers thus attacked by his Holiness ; and, to use

¹ State Papers (Venetian, 1520-1525, 1527-1533).

their own words, they say that the Lutherans in Italy alone will suffice for an army to deliver them from the hands of the priests; and that not only in the cities of Italy are they in very great number, but also that so many of the sect amongst the monastic orders will declare themselves, and take part, that they will intimidate their brethren.”¹

There is a letter in St. Mark's Library from the same person, in which the following significant passage occurs :

“All the bishops and lords here are greatly surprised that the Pope and the court of Rome should hold the affairs of the faith in such small account, and make no provision whatever ; and they say openly that as his Holiness and these cardinals do nothing, they themselves shall be compelled to apply a remedy, and that should the whole of Germany unite about this matter of the faith, it is quite certain that Italy, her neighbour, will do the like ; they wish your serenity to give the Pope notice of this through your ambassadors.”

At a later date, 1568, the Venetian ambassador in France informed the seigniory, in an extravagant tone : “The principal cities of the kingdom, notwithstanding the conditions of the peace, refused to admit ‘the preachings’ to these territories, and slew many thousands of Huguenots who dared to rise and complain.”²

The Protestant Reformation, thus watched by vigilant ambassadors, penetrated the Venetian territories at an early period ; and to its progress and vicissitudes there, it is time now to turn our attention. Its first entrance seems to have been effected through the medium of the press.

Venice occupies a most honourable place in the history of printing. John de Spira was founder of that art in the great maritime city, where advantages for circulating books were united with industry and skill in producing them. The Senate granted

¹ Feb. 22, 1535. State Papers (Venetian, 1534-1554).

² “The Rise of the Huguenots,” by Baird, ii. 250.

him patent privileges in the year 1469, and his brother, Vindelin de Spira, carried on the business after John's decease. Nicolas Jenson was another Venetian typographer, maintaining "superiority over every contemporary printer on the score of brilliancy of execution;" and besides him, Dibdin, the enthusiastic bibliographer, in his "*Decameron*,"¹ enumerates five other printers of the city—Christopher Valdarfer, John de Colonia, Franciscus de Hailbrun, Adam de Ambergau, and Erhard Ratdolt—all of whom he pronounces "fine fellows in their way." They all flourished before the close of the fifteenth century; and between 1465 and 1500, according to Panzer, there issued 2,835 works from the Venetian presses. Then came the memorable family of Aldus, whose "Dolphin and Anchor" are familiar to the fraternity of bookworms, and whose typography throws bibliographical critics into raptures. The effect of printing on the Reformation in Germany is a familiar topic with literary historians. Directly and indirectly it helped on the great intellectual and religious revolution. Whilst vernacular translations of the Scripture immediately aided the work, the printing of numerous volumes, classical as well as sacred, prepared for those liberal studies which proved efficient handmaids to the criticism of Holy Writ. Popes and bishops, wedded to their own exclusive system, were astute enough to see what a formidable weapon had been forged for the overthrow of their prerogatives; and bulls were not wanting for the prohibition of publications which could not exhibit an episcopal imprimatur. The effect of printing upon the Italian Reformation was scarcely less striking. Books streamed from presses worked on the banks of the Venetian canals; and though it is true that few volumes executed by Spira and others were strictly religious, yet Italian versions of Scripture appeared at an early period. One was produced by Nicolo Malermi, a Camaldolese monk, and was printed at Venice in August, 1471. Another version of the

Bible appeared in October of the same year. Nine editions of Malermi's work were published before 1500, and twelve before 1600. An Italian version of the Evangelists appeared in a separate form in 1486, printed at Venice by Simone da Cascia; and the Apocalypse in 1519, printed at Venice also. The Italian version of the New Testament, by Antonio Brucioli, in 1530, and that of the whole Bible by him, in 1532, issued from the workshop of Luca Antonio Giunta. An improved edition followed in 1541. "So great was the success of this work, that other translations were produced within a few years; and the Roman Catholics reckoned it necessary to oppose versions of their own to those which came from Protestants or which were thought favourable to their views. This was the origin of the Italian Bible by Sante Marmochini,"¹ in 1538, which is pronounced by Le Long to be an imitation of the version by Brucioli.

Another translation of both Testaments into the Italian language, professedly made from the original Hebrew and Greek, with illustrative annotations, and a dissertation on the Apocalypse, appeared in 1562. Diodati's well-known version followed in 1607, being printed at Geneva. Five other Italian versions, published in different places, have been noticed by bibliographers.²

Religious books besides the Scriptures were printed at Venice. A translation of Philip Melanchthon's "*Loci Communes*," under the name of "Ippofilo da Terra Nigra," was committed to the Venetian press in 1526; but beyond this circumstance works by German and Swiss Protestants were consigned to merchants on the shores of the Adriatic, who transported them to various parts of Italy. Luther's writings, circulated under false names, were read by citizens of the Republic soon after their publication beyond the Alps; and the Saxon Reformer in 1528 told a friend, "You give me joy by what you write of the Venetians receiving the Word of God."

¹ M'Crie, "History of the Reformation in Italy," 75.

² There are interesting articles on the subject in "*La Rivista Cristiana*," anno vi.

James Ziegler, a learned Venetian, favourable to reform, though not a Protestant, entered into correspondence with Luther, and sent from Venice to Wittenburg his adopted brother, Theodore Veit, who acted as the Reformer's secretary, and afterwards became a Protestant minister at Nuremberg.

This activity in printing, and this circulation of books connected with the Reformation, are pleasant associations gathering along the water streets and round the landing-places for Venetian boats. Most likely it was with secrecy that those parcels were packed up and despatched; and one's imagination follows with sympathy the men who in silent vigilance conveyed the transalpine treasures from their warehouses to the book stores of Lombardy.

Before leaving this subject an entry in Venetian State Papers ("Sanuto Diaries," June 20, 1524) is worth insertion: "To-day at St. Peter's, in the Castle, after vespers, the Patriarch being present, a priest delivered a Latin sermon against Martin Luther, some of whose works were afterwards burnt." The Duomo is now the Cathedral of Venice, but it did not become so until within the present century. At the time of the Reformation, the church called San Pietro di Castello was the mother church, and there the Patriarch occupied his throne. The present edifice which bears the name was modernized in 1621. On entering you find on the right-hand side a marble chair, reported to be that which St. Peter used in the city of Antioch. The noble campanile of the church goes back to the fifteenth century, and stood there when the priest preached his famous sermon before the burning of Luther's books. The church is situated at the south-east end of the city, beyond the Arsenal, and has an open space before it bordering the Canal di Castello: on the open space would occur the conflagration noticed in the above extract. We can picture the scene, when, before a crowd of citizens, the volumes were thrown into the flames, by the water's edge, the Patriarch sanctioning the deed.

From what was effected in the Venetian dominions through

printing and the circulation of books, we now turn to other instrumentalities working in the same direction.

One Venetian, who took a prominent part in matters connected with the Reformation, requires some notice. Gasper Contarini, who has been mentioned before, was member of a family amongst the noblest in the Republic, and besides other honours he received a cardinal's hat from Paul III. One day, as he sat in the Ducal Palace, by the ballot urn, proceeding to the election of state officers, a messenger arrived from Rome, to whom admission was refused by the proud Seignior, engaged on important business of their own. The secretary stepped out to receive the despatch which had been brought. It was to announce that Contarini had been made a cardinal. "A cardinal!" exclaimed the subject of this honour, with great surprise. "No; I am a Councillor of Venice." He could do nothing inconsistent with that high position, and thought not for an instant of accepting any dignity, unless with the perfect approval of his fellow-citizens. That approval was expressed the next moment. The Doge, the senators, the people, concurred in congratulating the man whom they regarded as a chief ornament of their city; only lamenting the loss which they would experience through his ecclesiastical preferment, for, according to what I said before, he could no longer remain a senator. "These priests," exclaimed old Liugi Mocenigo, as he sat in his chair, crippled with gout, "have robbed the city of the best gentleman of whom it has to boast." Escorted by a fleet of gondolas to his own palace, he there consulted with his friends as to what he should do, and they advised him to accept the proffered dignity. Not yet a priest, he immediately submitted to receive the tonsure; and in due time arrived the hat, after which he paid a ceremonial visit to the Doge and the Senate, in one of the magnificent chambers of the palace.

Contarini has been mentioned already as one of a class who longed for reform upon papal principles, and who consorted with other intellectual and religious men, with a view to mutual

improvement. He joined with other Venetians in giving welcome to such visitors, who found in Venice free scope for intercourse. "At the house of Bembo, in Padua, which was open to all comers, the conversation fell chiefly on philological subjects, such as Ciceronian Latin. But the questions discussed at the house of the learned and sagacious Gregorio Cortese, the Abbot of San Giorgio Maggiore at Venice, were of a deeper nature. Brucioli lays the scene of some of his dialogues in the groves and thickets of San Giorgio."¹ Thus that famous palladian church, though not built at the time, becomes associated with meetings held in the old monastery, and with the groves and thickets around it. It adds to the associations of the spot, when the keel of a gondola touches the landing-place, to recur to such men who there conversed on the subject of reform. With special interest should it be remembered how far Contarini went in the advocacy of the doctrine of justification by faith. "You have brought to light," said Pole, "the jewel which the Church kept half concealed;"² and he congratulates him on being among the first to promulgate this happy, fruitful, indispensable truth.³

There was another Venetian, Marino Guistiniano, employed as an ambassador of the Republic, who, whether or not he sympathized in Contarini's view of justification—probably as a layman he did not enter into that question—was in favour of ecclesiastical reforms. He believed that the Pope ought not to be considered as Christ's vicegerent in temporal things; that men of irreproachable character should take the place of immoral priests; that the sale of masses pluralities of livings, and other abuses should be tolerated no longer; and that communion in two kinds, together with the marriage of the clergy, should be conceded at once.

¹ Ranke's "Popes of Rome," i. 137.

² Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," viii. 154.

³ His famous tract on Justification will be found in its genuine form, not in the Venice edition of his works, 1589, but in the Paris edition, 1571.

But neither Contarini nor Guistiniano can be represented as Protestants, in the proper sense of the word. One Venetian, however, who deserves the appellation, appeared at an early period—Giralamo Galateo, who is slightly mentioned by M'Crie as enduring a rigorous confinement, without his assigning to that event any specific date. Much additional information respecting this person is now within reach. He was a Franciscan friar living in Padua, and in a book which he wrote, entitled "*Apologia*," and dedicated to the Illustrious Senate of Venice, he expresses views in harmony with those of Martin Luther. His standpoint is the same, and he loves to dwell on the Divine words, "the just shall live by faith," exhibiting good works as the fruit, and faith as the living stem deeply rooted in the soul, not by man's own hand, but by the gracious Spirit of God. Galateo believed that penance and confession could not bring peace to the soul, but that it comes from the love of God, through believing in Christ. Nor did he acknowledge a purgatory beyond the grave; his purgatory was the blood of the Crucified, and washed in it, he regarded the believer as prepared for paradise. The intercession of saints pertains to this life, not the next; the eucharist is a feast of commemoration celebrating Christ's sacrifice; free indulgences are not to be bought, but are freely given through Christ to them that believe. These were the convictions of Galateo.

He was accused of Lutheranism so early as the year 1530. On the 18th and 19th of January he was brought into the chamber of the Council of Ten, when, "after deliberation and much dispute," he was condemned to be degraded. Seven years of captivity, not ten, as mentioned by M'Crie, followed the degradation.¹

To the Republic this confessor, in his "*Apologia*," made an impassioned appeal, saying, "O Venetian senators, to whom the Lord God has given so great an empire on land and sea, for no

¹ "*La Rivista Cristiana*," anno i. p. 18, *et seq.* The article contains extracts from "Sanuto's Diaries."

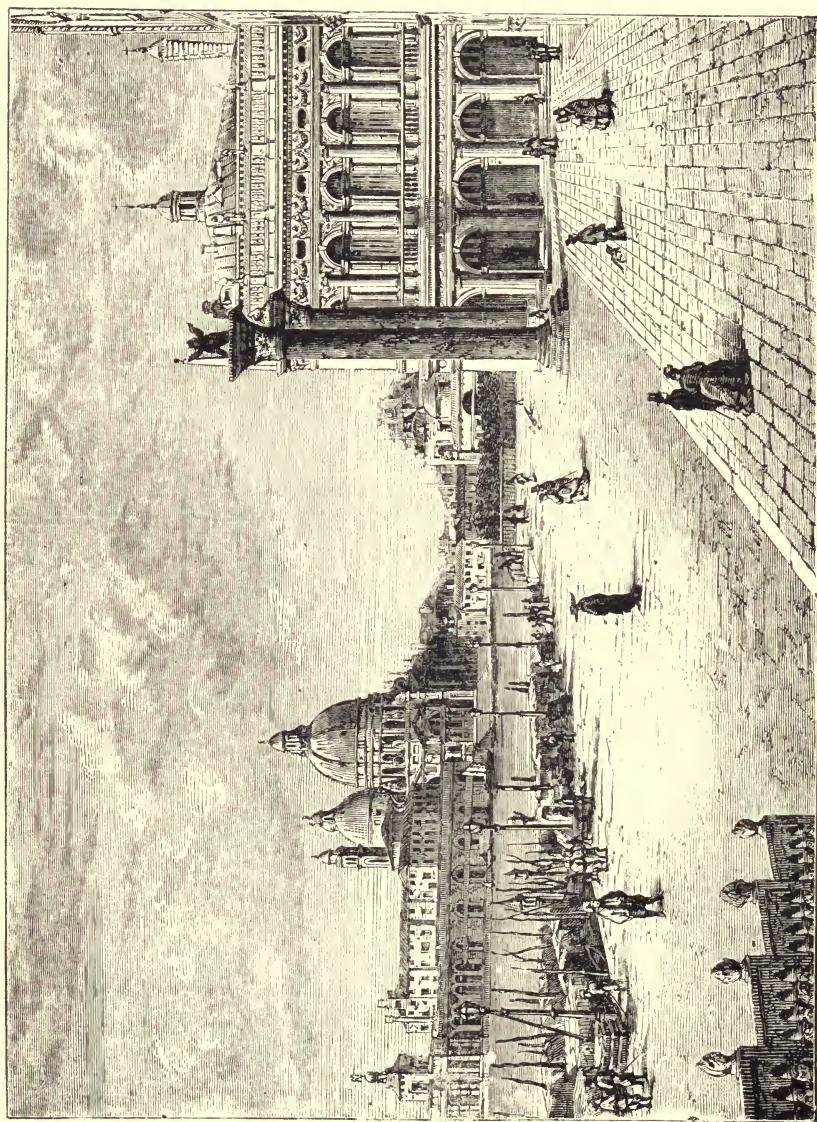
other reason than that His word may have speedy and happy course, it is for you to defend the cause of your crucified Christ, His Gospel, and His Word."

The same year in which Galateo received his sentence, Lucio Paolo Rosselli, a Venetian, addressed a letter to Philip Melanchthon, acknowledging the benefit he had derived from the Reformer's writings, and exhorting him to persevere in the course he had commenced—an exhortation which seems to have arisen from a false report that he was likely to submit to the authority of the Pontiff. "In this cause," continues he, "you ought to regard neither Emperor nor Pope, nor any other mortal, but the immortal God only. If there be any truth in what the Papists circulate about you, the worst consequences must accrue to the gospel, and to those who have been led to embrace it through your instrumentality and that of Luther. Be assured that all Venice waits with anxiety for the result of your assembly at Augsburg. Whatever is determined by it will be embraced by Christians in other countries, through the authority of the Emperor. It behoves you and others who are there for the purpose of defending the gospel to be firm, and not to suffer yourselves to be either frightened from the standard of Christ by threats, or drawn from it by entreaties and promises. I implore and obtest you, as the head and leader of the whole evangelical army, to regard the salvation of every individual. Though you should be called to suffer death for the glory of Christ, fear not, I beseech you; it is better to die with honour, than to live in disgrace. You shall secure a glorious triumph from Jesus Christ, if you defend His righteous cause; and in doing this you may depend on the aid of the prayers and supplications of many, who day and night entreat Almighty God to prosper the cause of the gospel, and to preserve you and its other champions, through the blood of His Son. Farewell, and desert not the cause of Christ."

In 1538, eight years after Rosselli's letter, some one called

Bracchioli, and also Braccietus, went from Italy to Wittenburg, to confer with Melanchthon on the affairs of religion ; and the following year he paid a second visit, charged with a message from those in Venice who sympathized with German Protestants. A letter appears in the epistles of Melanchthon, dated soon afterwards, in which, after reference to the cautious spirit maintained by the Saxon Reformers, the writer proceeds : "Such slavery ought not to be established as that we should be obliged for peace sake to approve of all the errors of those who govern the Church ; and learned men especially ought to be protected in the liberty of expressing their opinions. As your city is the only one in the world which enjoys a genuine aristocracy, preserved during many ages, and always hostile to tyranny, it becomes it to protect good men in freedom of thinking, and to discourage that unjust cruelty which is exercised in other places. Wherefore I cannot refrain from exhorting you to employ your care and authority for advancing the Divine glory, a service which is most acceptable to God." This letter was printed under the title of "*Epistola Philippi Melanchthonis ad Senatum Venetum*," and a copy of it exists, with the autograph of Prince Albert the Elder on the title-page, "Accepi d. 17. Julii, a. 1538." It is regarded by M'Crie¹ as addressed by Melanchthon to the Venetian Senate; but the critic Schellhorn regards this as improbable, and in his doubts I largely share. Whatever jealousy of Rome the Senate might manifest, there is nothing to warrant the supposition that, as a body, it manifested any sympathy with Reformers ; the Venetian caution in dealing with Protestant princes, and their known character as professors of Catholic orthodoxy, indicate their leaning in another way. The document occurs in the "*Selectæ Declamationes*" of Melanchthon, under the title of an address, "*Ad Venetorum quosdam Evangelii studiosos*," a far more likely inscription, as we know there were Venetian citizens who were favourable to evangelical opinions.

¹ "History of the Reformation in Italy," 125.



PIAZZETTA AT VENICE.

In 1539, the celebrated Bernardino Ochino visited Venice. He was then Vicar-General of the Capuchins, and was the first to found a convent of the order in the great maritime city. The Senate accorded permission for its establishment; it bore the name of Santa Maria degli Angeli. Bembo wrote in 1538 to Vittoria Colonna, requesting her to induce Ochino to come in the Lent of the following year, to preach at the Apostles' Church. "All the citizens desire to hear him." Afterwards the same distinguished person writes, "Our Fra Bernardino is literally adored here. There is no one who does not praise him to the skies."

Nine sermons by Ochino at that time were published; and the portrait prefixed brings before us the very man. His head is bent down, but his eyes are looking upwards, under his shaven crown they are represented as sunk beneath his brows. His cheeks are furrowed, his nose is aquiline, and his mouth is half opened. A long beard covers the preacher's breast. His discourses afford specimens of his oratory. They relate to self-knowledge, the incarnation of Christ, the necessity of His death, the Last Supper, law and obedience, the two disciples journeying to Emmaus, Mary Magdalene, and the scholastic studies of the period. The sermons exhibit a large amount of evangelical truth, apart from the Church theology of the age; but the doctrines of transubstantiation and purgatory, with a recognition of the duty of confession, fasting, and submission to papal authority, also make their appearance. The abuses of these things, not the things themselves, are condemned. In one of Ochino's discourses he says: "But thou, Venice, my city, I speak not of myself, but of so many other preachers in this city, who do not as formerly preach philosophy and fable, but rather the word of God, the living and true Christ, salvation and amendment, yet thou still remainest as thou wast; yet I still hope to see good and sincere Christians, I firmly believe that you will revive to a better life of goodness and sincerity. But if you

will not reform, I tell you this beforehand, and declare it, that on the day of the last judgment I will be the one to testify to Christ against you." Again, he says : "It grieves me, my city, that thou wilt not quit thy evil ways. I implore Christ for thee with tears, because I love thee from my heart. But I see myself forced to tell thee this, that if thou dost not mend, I do not truly know what is to come of it. I must depart after Easter, perhaps on the last day of Easter week, and if evil befall thee it will grieve my heart. For it seems to me thou art a model for all Italy. If I look about me I see no town, no city in Italy not engulfed in confusion and strife. Your city alone stands upright, and therefore it would grieve me deeply if it should go ill with you. It seems to me as if thou, Venice, representest my native city, ay, all Italy."

These passages bear witness on three important points. First, the improvement of public preaching in Venice, the substitution of gospel truth to some extent for "philosophy and fables," a fact to be noticed again presently ; second, to the freedom of the maritime Republic from the political convulsions which rocked to their foundations other Italian States ; and thirdly, the immoralities of the aristocratic and general population of those Adriatic Isles. To this state of things quaint testimony is borne, some years later, in a letter of Sir John Cheke, written July 22, 1554 : "He is here in a country," says a description of the document in the Calendar of State Papers—"a country much esteemed in opinion, of which yet, being somewhat unskilled, he cannot judge certainly without rashness, else at first sight he would say that neither for private order, nor yet common behaviour, is it anything to be compared to their own supposed barbarous country (England). Courtesans in honour ; haunting of evil houses noble ; breaking of marriage a sport ; murder, in a gentleman, magnanimity ; robbery, finesse if it be clean conveyed, for the spying is judged the fault, and not the stealing ; religion, to be best that best agreeth with Aristotle *de Anima* ; the common tenant, though not in kind of tenancy,

marvellously kept bare, the gentleman, nevertheless, yet bare that keepeth him so ; in speech cautious, in deed scarce more liking in asking than in giving.”¹

Ochino's sermons, it is said by opponents, “were of that kind that they were filled with double meanings and hidden heresy, to the great hurt and offence of his listeners, even of the simplest, and instilled doubts and scruples on the power of the Pope, and concerning faith and purgatory and other important doctrines.” But in the “Seven Dialogues,” published soon after the sermons, may be traced some advance in the direction of Protestantism ; it is, however, slow and guarded. He has much to say of the spiritual affections of the soul, and that in a tone of mysticism, inculcating the doctrine of disinterested love—so favourite an idea with the French Jansenists. He explicitly asserts, “To love God above everything, above ourselves, sincere and pure love only for the sake of His honour and glory—this is certainly repugnant to our carnal minds, but this is what our reason requires as perfect love.” Then comes a flash of sanctified genius in the following passage of the fourth dialogue : “The thief looked upon Christ, he saw Him endure everything without a murmur, and that He even shed His blood with a joyful countenance. He saw the hot tears fall to the ground, and heard the glowing sighs rise to heaven. He heard His words, and saw His wonderful patience, His all-embracing love ; it was all this that kindled in him the belief that Christ was in truth the Son of God.” It is true that the doctrine of justification by faith, in the Protestant sense, is traceable in Ochino's dialogues. But it does not come out in Lutheran distinctness. He speaks throughout as a man knowing and feeling more than he expressed. But he attacks the monastic system, though still wearing a Capuchin hood, and he pronounces the vows of the order as not binding, because immoral. He regards no one profession as holier than another, and puts merchant, priest and monk

¹ State Papers (Foreign, 1553-1558)

on a level before God. What he admitted led to consequences which he was for a time unwilling to allow; but he made a clean breast at last, and has recorded the following extraordinary avowal:

"Although I had many other thoughts in my mind, there seemed to me at that time no other—no mode of life in which I could serve God better than under the mask of a cowl, and in the holiness of walk which could be beheld by others. Thus I began to preach that we are saved by Christ. I saw that the eyes of Italy were so weak that I should have hurt them grievously, if I had let them look full on the great light of Christ, as it had been revealed to me. The Scribes and Pharisees, who govern in Italy, would have killed me. I arranged my expressions for their dull eyes. I preached that we are saved through grace, and through Christ, that He has done enough for us, and has won us paradise. In doing so I avoided, naturally, revealing the wickedness which prevails in the dominion of Antichrist. I did not say there is no other merit and indulgence except the merits of Christ, nor any purgatory. But I left these inferences to those who through God's grace felt a lively sense of Christ's great merits."¹

About eight years later than Ochino's visit and preaching, *i.e.*, in 1547, a letter was written from Venice by an English bookseller named Thomas Knight, to Henry Bullinger, in which he says: "The Gospel is daily preached here with greater purity than in other places in Italy; and it is ordained by a decree of the Senate, that a sermon shall be preached every day on the Palazzo Maggiore, during the approaching Lent, a thing that has never been seen since the foundation of the city." This of course could not mean that Protestantism was to be proclaimed in the Ducal Palace, but it must mean that the writer had heard reports of an arrangement for special Lenten sermons that year, indicating more than usual religious earnestness on the part of the Doge and his counsellors, and confirming Ochino's statement as to Venetian preaching

¹ These extracts are taken from "Bernardino Ochino," by Karl Benrath, 53-73. 90.

Further, in reference to the Reformation itself, the writer remarks : "The number of the faithful is daily increasing more and more. Your commentaries are daily becoming more esteemed by the Italians, and were they not so bulky and expensive, no books would meet with a better sale. It will be therefore an act of kindness on your part to continue writing, and to bring forth out of the treasures of your abundance those rare spiritual gifts for that little flock, hungering and thirsting as it is."¹

Before this time, the Congregation of the Holy Office, as noticed already, had been founded in Rome ; and the papal court was striving to establish its authority throughout the peninsula. But "the greatest resistance was made to it in Venice. After long negotiations, the Inquisitors were authorized to try causes of heresy within that State, on the condition that a certain number of magistrates and lawyers should always be present at the examination of witnesses, to protect the citizens from prosecution undertaken on frivolous grounds, or from mercenary views, and that the definitive sentence should not, at least in the case of laics, be pronounced before it was submitted to the Senate." With this restriction, which perhaps has been made the most of by some historians, Venetian Protestants were cruelly treated in the year 1549. In that year Altieri writes : "The persecution here increases every day. Many are seized, of whom some have been sent to the galleys, others condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and some, alas, have been induced, by fear of punishment, to recant. Many have been banished, along with their wives and children, whilst a still greater number have fled for their lives. Matters are brought to that pass that I begin to fear for myself, for though I have frequently been able to protect others in this storm, there is reason to apprehend that the same hard terms will be proposed to me ; but it is the will of God that His people should be tried by such afflictions."²

¹ Original Letters, Parker Society, i. 357.

² Quoted by M'Crie, "History of the Reformation in Italy," 256.

In this free city, we are told, during the pontificate of Paul IV. (1555-1560), by one who rejoiced in the acts of the Holy Office, that perverse dogmas were easily circulated; and mention is made by him of Guglielmo Postello, as a leading heresiarch imprisoned at Rome. The very Cathedral of Venice is said to have been an arsenal of error, and Soranzo, Bishop of Bergamo, and Liugi Priuli, Patriarch of Aquileia, with his friends and followers, are included in the general accusation.¹

In 1555 a Venetian Protestant, Pomponius Algieri, was martyred at Rome, and before his martyrdom he was imprisoned in Venice; from his cell he wrote a long letter, transcribed by John Foxe in his "Acts and Monuments." In a moment of ecstasy he exclaims:

"Let the miserable worldling say and confess if there be any plot, pasture, or meadow so delightful to the mind of man, as here. Here I see kings, princes, cities, and people; here I see wars, where some be overthrown, some be victors, some thrust down, some lifted up. Here is the Mount Zion; here I am already in heaven itself; here standeth first Christ Jesus in the front. About Him stand the old fathers, prophets, evangelists, apostles, and all the servants of God, of whom some do embrace and cherish me, some exhort me, some open the sacraments unto me, some comfort me, others are singing about me. And how then shall I be thought to be alone among so many, and such as these be? the beholding of whom to me is both solace and example; for here I see some crucified, some slain, some stoned, some cut asunder and quartered, some roasted, some broiled, some put in hot cauldrons, some having their eyes bored through, some their tongues cut out, some their skin plucked over their heads, some their hands and feet chopped off, some put in kilns and furnaces, some cast down headlong, and given to the beasts and fowls of the air to feed upon; it would ask a long time if I should recite all."

In what kind of place this letter was written, it is impossible to

¹ "La Rivista Cristiana," iv. 129.



BRIDGE OF SIGHTS, VENICE.

say, but it is sufficiently well known that the prison of Venice is close to the Ducal Palace, and that from the one to the other you can pass by the Bridge of Sighs. When I was there last I listened to the usual tale of enormities related by the cicerone as he conducted us into horrid dungeons, and I could not help contrasting them with the gorgeous chambers we had just left.

It seems probable that persons accused of heresy were committed to this dreary prison ; but a letter of such length as that of Algeri could not have been written in places of the description shown to tourists ; no doubt the Republic made different provisions for captives, according to their alleged crimes. Indeed, it is a mistake to suppose that every one kept by it under lock and key was treated in the way suggested by the sight of the narrowest and most fearful-looking cells. It is likely that religious offences, under the rule of the senators, entailed less severe confinements than such as were political.

Up to 1555—the time when this letter was written—no executions for heresy had taken place in Venice.

“The news from Italy,” says Vergerio, in 1551, who will be described hereafter, “is that the Senate of Venice have made a decree that no papal legate, nor bishop, nor inquisitor, shall proceed against any subject except in the presence of a civil magistrate ; and that the Pope, enraged at this, has fulminated a Bull, interdicting, under the heaviest pains, any secular prince from interposing the least hindrance to trials for heresy. It remains to be seen whether the Venetians will obey.” But the court of Rome, by its perseverance and intrigues, ultimately triumphed over patrician jealousy. Even foreigners who visited the Republic in the course of trade were seized and detained by the Inquisition. Frederic de Salice, who had been sent to Venice from the Republic of the Grisons, to demand the release of some of its subjects, gives the following account of the state of matters in the year 1557 : “In this commonwealth, and in general throughout Italy, where

the Pope possesses what they call spiritual jurisdiction, the faithful are subjected to the severest inquisition. Ample authority is given to the Inquisitions, on the smallest information, to seize any at their pleasure, to put him to the torture, and (what is worse than death) to send him to Rome ; which was not wont to be the case until the time of the reigning Pontiff. I am detained here longer than I could wish, and know not when I shall be able to extricate myself from this labyrinth.”¹ Yet in the year 1558, a suffragan bishop, in the diocese of Padua, wrote to Cardinal Pisano, lamenting that the Church there could not obtain from the Venetian Senate permission to inflict capital punishment on the Lutherans, and to destroy them by fire, the gibbet, or the sword, as the practice was in other places.

In the year 1560 the Protestants in Venice met together privately for Divine worship, and sent for a minister to form them into a Church ; but such a step their enemies would not tolerate, and those of their number who could not succeed in escaping from the city were committed to prison. Mention is made of a party of twenty-three who fled to Istria, and were about to sail to a safer region, when, under pretence of a debt due from three of them, they were detained. Afterwards, being accused of heresy, “they were conveyed to Venice and lodged in the same prison with their brethren.”²

The first Protestant put to death in Venice, according to Dr. M'Crie, was Julio Guirlanda, a native of the Trevisa. Drowning, not burning, was the process adopted ; and this protomartyr of the Republic in 1562, when placed on the plank which was to plunge him into the canal, “cheerfully bade the captain farewell, and sank into the deep calling on the Lord Jesus.”

In the Venetian martyrology the name of Antonio Ricetto, of Vicenza, occurs ; and the particulars of his execution are thus

¹ M'Crie, “History of the Reformation in Italy,” 264.

² M'Crie, *ibid.*, 265.

detailed : " Antonio Ricetto was conveyed to Venice and placed in the dungeons of the Inquisition. During his imprisonment his son, a boy twelve years of age, came to him, and with tears in his eyes implored him to be reconciled to the Church and save his life. Ricetto, with great firmness, replied that the true Christian was bound to give up his goods, his children, and even his life for the honour and glory of God, and that he was therefore resolved to part with his mortal existence to maintain them. The Senate, after this, offered to release him, and put him in possession of his paternal property, if he would only recant ; but he turned a deaf ear to every proposal to abandon his principles. Being condemned by the Inquisition, he was, on the 15th of February, 1565-6, in the usual manner conducted to the place of execution. When they had arrived near the two castles, the captain of the guard made fast his hands. The night being cold, Ricetto begged to have his cloak, which had been removed, restored to him. One of the company then said, " What ! dost thou fear a little cold ? What wilt thou do in the bosom of the sea ? Why dost thou not endeavour to save thy life ? Dost thou not know that the meanest insect flies from death ? " Ricetto replied, " I flee from eternal death. " Being come to the place of execution, and the captain having bound him with the chain and weight, he lifted up his eyes and exclaimed, " Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do ! " Whilst drawing the stone after him on the plank, the boats retired, and the pious sufferer slept in the Lord. " ¹

The scene of execution is here described as " near the two castles. " Our reference to the book-burning on June 20, 1524, at San Pietro di Castello, has already brought us into that neighbourhood. It can easily be reached in a gondola, and somewhere thereabouts, at the time of the Reformation, two castles existed, close to which occurred the martyrdom of Antonio Ricetto. One castle faced another, and the method of execution seems to have been, to

¹ " Hist. des Martyrs, " p. 753.

employ two boats, with a plank between them, on which was placed the condemned confessor, and then by moving the boats apart, to plunge him into the waters of the canal. The castles stood just outside the Arsenal, and therefore the tragedy described, and many another like it, was enacted in the immediate vicinity of the establishment which armed the fleets of the Republic. The picturesque gate, and the curiosities within the museum, to which it leads, are familiar to many an English tourist, who little thinks of the intolerance and the heroism which three centuries ago were exemplified within a few paces of the floor on which he stands.

Another Venetian martyr is thus described by his nephew : "The reverend Baldus Lupetinus, sprung from a noble and ancient family, was a learned monk and provincial of the order to which he belonged. After having long preached the word of God in both the vulgar languages (Italian and Slavonian) in many cities, and defended it by public disputation in several places of celebrity with great applause, he was at last thrown into close prison at Venice, by the Inquisitor and papal legate. In this condition he continued, during nearly twenty years, to bear an undaunted testimony to the gospel of Christ, so that his bonds and doctrines were made known, not only to that city, but to the whole of Italy, and even to Europe at large, by which means evangelical truth was more widely spread. Two things, among many others, may be mentioned as marks of the singular providence of God towards this person during his imprisonment. In the first place, the princes of Germany often interceded for his liberation, but without success. And secondly, on the other hand, the papal legate, the Inquisitor, and even the Pope himself, laboured with all their might, and by repeated applications, to have him, from the very first, committed to the flames, as a noted heresiarch. This was refused by the Doge and Senate, who when he was at last condemned, freed him from the punishment of the fire by an express decree. It was the will of God that he should bear his testimony

to the truth for so long a time ; and that, like a person affixed to a cross, he should, as from an eminence, proclaim to all the world the restoration of Christianity, and the revelation of Antichrist. At last, this pious and excellent man, whom neither threatenings nor promises could move, sealed his doctrine by an undaunted martyrdom, and exchanged the filth and protracted tortures of a prison for a watery grave.”¹

Giordano Bruno, of Nola, figures in the history of the Inquisition at the close of the sixteenth century, and is brought, through the recent researches of Professor Domenico Berti, into connection with the Italian Reformation, and the resistance made to it in Venice. Bruno is often represented as suffering for philosophical opinions ; it is now pretty certain that he was condemned as a heretic. He was born in 1548, and studied at Naples ; having entered the Dominican order, he involved himself in trouble by throwing away images, and discouraging the perusal of “the Seven Joys ;” then he abandoned monachism, travelling from place to place as a teacher of grammar. But he resumed his old garb by the advice of friends, soon to cast it off again, for presently we find him at Geneva, member of a Protestant Church, “wearing a hat, a cape, and a sword.” He led a wandering life, taking up his abode in Paris and London ; and at the latter place he attended the court of Elizabeth in a courtier’s costume. After a residence in Germany he meets us in Venice, and there he was denounced to the Inquisition by Giovanni Mocenigo, in whose house he was acting as a tutor. This gentleman, under pressure from his father confessor, and urged, he said, “by his own conscience,” reported Bruno’s words to the Inquisitors. Documents relative to his arrest and trial have been found by Professor Berti, in the Venetian archives where, he is described as “about forty years of age, small and thin, with a black beard.” Inquiries were made of him as to what he did in the course of his travels ; and the story of his apprehension

¹ Quoted by M’Crie, “History of the Reformation in Italy,” 270.

is given by himself. He was about to return to Frankfort, whence he had been invited by Mocenigo, when the latter entered his room, and made him a prisoner, promising to liberate him if he would continue in the house as a philosophical instructor. What exactly passed between Bruno and his host is by no means clear ; but it ended in his being consigned to the Inquisition at Venice, before which he underwent a theological examination. He said he believed in miracles, in the doctrine of transubstantiation, and in the Divinity of Christ ; but he expressed doubts as to the manner in which the Divine and human natures were united. He repudiated what was heretical, said he believed what the Church believed, and asked pardon for all his faults. These professions did not prevent his being transferred from Venice to Rome ; the records of the Inquisition stating positively that his crimes *in regard to heresy* were very serious, but that in other respects he was possessed of great learning and was a man of eminent ability. Papers connected with his trial and six years' imprisonment in the papal city, were copied by a friend of Professor Berti in 1849, but they are incomplete, and leave many points not cleared up. An account, however, written two days after his death, has been discovered and preserved : " Saturday, 19th February, 1600. Thursday morning, in Campo di Fiori, was burned alive that wicked Dominican friar, of Nola, an obstinate heretic, who, at his own caprice, had invented various dogmas contrary to our faith. These were derogatory to the Holy Virgin and the saints, and for these opinions he resolved to die. He professed himself a willing martyr, sure that his soul would ascend in the flames to paradise." " Now," adds the chronicler, " he knows whether he was right." ¹ The particular dogmas on account of which Bruno suffered are not specified ; but probably they were the opinions which he expressed in his "*Della Causa, Principio ed Uno*," where he expounds a notion about what he calls the soul of the universe, living in both organic

¹ An outline of the story is given in " Evangelical Christendom " for 1880.

and inorganic things, and being the constituent principle of all existence. Whatever Bruno intended by his speculations, they are interpreted by critics as wearing a pantheistic appearance.¹

Before quitting the subject of Inquisitorial proceedings in Venice, I cannot forbear noticing an absurd piece of interference, on the part of the tribunal, with no less a person than the famous artist, Paul Veronese. He was no Protestant, but he painted a picture of the Last Supper, which much displeased the holy fathers. He had introduced into his painting, what they thought was derogatory to the sacred subject,—such as two halberdiers, one eating and another drinking, a person also being represented using his fork as a toothpick. The artist defended himself against these and other charges, on the ground that men of his profession, like poets, were allowed to take liberties with what they described; but the reverend judges insisted that “if he would avoid a greater penalty, he must correct his picture in three months according to their directions.”²

Notice is taken of this incident in the “Cicerone.” “How the master had to answer for himself, for his secular conception of biblical subjects, before the tribunal of the Holy Office, which took objection to ‘fools, drunken Germans, dwarfs, and other follies,’ and how he excused himself, is delightful to read.”³

Old Venetian dependencies enter within the circle of our history,—Padua, Vicenza, and Capo d'Istria.

Literature, Art, and Religion contribute interest to every one visiting the City of Padua. Reputed to have been born within its

¹ Bayle's “*Bio. and Hist. Dict.*,” art. “Bruno,” and Hallam's “*Introduction*,” ii. 148.

² The proceedings are printed in “*La Rivista Cristiana*,” anno iii. p. 97. In the same volume there is a list of persons in the Venetian territory arraigned before the tribunal, so numerous that their names, with the accusations of Lutheranism, apostasy, and the like, ranging within the years 1548 and 1592, cover no less than five pages, pp. 29–34. In the number for May, 1880 (anno viii.), there is a long extract from the records of the Inquisition respecting Julius Maresium, of Belluno, a town in Venetia.

³ “Cicerone,” translated from Bueckhardt, by Mrs. Clough, p. 210.

ancient territory, Titus Livius, the historian, has his monument in the Palazza della Ragione, with its strange barrelled roof. The frescoes of Giotto in the Chapel of Santa Maria della Arena will be sure to leave a lasting impression on the memory of every traveller ; and the ecclesiastical mosque-like domes, rising above the roofs of the city dwellings, will be remembered as imparting an Oriental appearance to the picturesque locality. St. Antony, the patron saint of Padua—sometimes confounded with a much earlier Saint Antony, the Egyptian hermit—has been honoured with a magnificent church dedicated to his name, and a costly shrine of resplendent gold and marble ; and he more fittingly may be mentioned in these pages from his having been connected with one of those waves of religious revival which swept over Italy in the Middle Ages. Ludicrously remembered by the story of his preaching to the fishes, of which I remember there is a grotesque picture at Padua, he was really remarkable for the impressiveness and effect of his sermons in the churches of Padua. Buildings were thronged from daybreak by people waiting for the eloquent monk, and sometimes when he arrived he would gather them in the open air, walls being insufficient to contain the multitudes. Like Savonarola at a later date, he wrought a wonderful change in the conduct of his auditors ; not that he induced them to make a bonfire of their luxuries, but, what was far better, he induced the revengeful Italian to lay aside his stiletto, the votaress of fashion to sell her jewels for the benefit of the poor, and the obdurate sinner to confess his transgressions. Antony has left behind him a good many discourses, full of ingenious textual arrangements, quaint metaphors, far-fetched allusions and mystical reveries, but containing no doctrines such as pointed to any fundamental reform in Christendom. But there was in the fourteenth century a resident in Padua named Marsilio, who evidently anticipated much of the teaching of the Protestant Reformers two hundred years afterwards. A work of his, little

known, entitled, "Defensor Pacis,"—amidst a great deal of speculation upon the constitution of society and the rights of individuals, which attracted the attention of Rousseau, as noticed in his "Contrat Social"—brings to view positions of the following order: That no bishop, presbyter, or ecclesiastical minister whatever is intitled to any coercive jurisdiction—and in this respect he speaks four centuries beforehand, after the manner of eighteenth century philosophers; that we are bound to receive no writings as absolutely true, and to believe them as necessary to salvation, except those of canonical Scripture; that Christ having laid down the law of eternal life, it would be in vain, if not open and manifest to those who inquire into its meaning; that the Church consists of devout believers in Christ, who are all of them true priests; that if the whole Church should teach anything contrary to the Gospel it would not be true; that in authority all apostles were, and all priests are, equal; that no bishop or presbyter is to be subject to any other bishop or presbyter; that when Christ says to Peter: "Upon this rock I will build My Church," He alludes to the confession Peter had made that Christ is the only Head of the Church; that when He said, "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," He did not bestow on Peter more authority than He did on other apostles; that whilst it is plain from Scripture that Paul was in Rome, concerning Peter it is impossible to prove from Scripture that he ever was Bishop of Rome, and, what is more, that he ever was in Rome at all; and that if it be asked who of bishops and priests ought to be called a successor of the apostles, the answer is, he who most imitates them by his life and works. The author stigmatises as heretical the definition of John XXII. respecting evangelical poverty, and as false the pretensions of the bull of Boniface VIII. *unam sanctam*. Moreover, referring to the book of Daniel, he asks what could the king with a terrible countenance denote, but the Roman Pontiff and his court? In short, it is remarked by the editor of Marsilio's

work, that his Protestantism is scarcely surpassed by that of John Calvin.¹

Before leaving Padua I may notice that Mr. Ruskin has brought Giotto's Chapel into connection with the general subject of this work. He tells us that an order was instituted in the beginning of the thirteenth century to defend the dignity of the Madonna against the heretics, by whom it was beginning to be assailed ; that they were called Cavaliers of St. Mary, and that the Arena Chapel was employed in the ceremonies of the order. " The chapel itself may not unwarrantably be considered as one of the first efforts of Popery in resistance of the Reformation. For the Reformation, though not victorious till the sixteenth, began in reality in the thirteenth century. The remonstrances of such bishops as our own Grossteste, 'the martyrdom of the Albigenses in the Dominican crusades, and the murmurs of those heretics against whose aspersion of the majesty of the Virgin this chivalrous order of the Cavalieri Godente was instituted, were as truly the signs of the approach of a new era in the religion, as the opponent work of Giotto on the walls of the Arena was the sign of the approach of a new era in art.' "²

Not far from Padua, under the green slopes of the Euganean hills, lies Arquà, where Petrarch spent much time during the last four years of his life, dividing his solitude between that picturesque retreat and the neighbouring city. If Dante was a pioneer of the Reformation in some of its results, the same may be said, perhaps more emphatically, of him who was born in 1304, fifteen years before the other died ; for Petrarch still more boldly denounced "the impious Babylon which has lost all shame and all truth ;" and still more distinctly attacked the scholastic philosophy of religion, whilst he strenuously laboured to promote in his own country a revival of ancient literature ; but I must hasten on to another city.

¹ "La Rivista," anno viii. 129-137.

² "Giotto, and his works in Padua," by J. Ruskin, p. 10. Publication of the Arundel Society.

Vicenza, where the Palladian architecture interested me very little, after being subject to Padua and Verona, was subdued by the Republic of Venice in 1404. It is often mentioned in accounts given of Lutheranism in the Venetian dominions. The Vicar-General of Vicenza, in 1535, is noticed as having apprehended Sigismund, a German, for his activity in promoting the interest of the Reformation in Italy; an instance among many others of the strong Saxon influence then at work in Lombardy. A letter was addressed to Luther in 1542 by "the brethren of the Church of Venice, Vicenza, and Treviso," acknowledging their obligations to him as a person by whom they had been instructed in the way of salvation. They looked for the sympathy and assistance of German Protestants, at whose call they had espoused the cause of the Reformation; and they begged the Saxon Reformers to intercede with the evangelical princes to address the Venetian Senate on their behalf. The letter was written by Baldassare Altieri, and has been preserved by Seckendorf.¹ Yet ten years afterwards, Pope Paul III., who had commended the zeal of the Vicar-General, lamented the inroads which heresy was still making in the city, and rebuked the indisposition of the magistrates to suppress it with becoming rigour. Judging from the tone of his appeal, we should infer that Protestantism was then and there decidedly on the advance, and that it threatened to make way in neighbouring towns. However remiss might be the municipal authorities, Cardinal Rodolfo, who administered the bishopric of Vicenza, was sufficiently on the alert; and both he and the Pope did what they could to spur the Lords of the Sovereign Republic to a course of more vigorous action for the purification of their dependencies from the taint of heresy; the Podesta and Capitano of Vicenza coming in for special blame because of their indifference and neglect. The Venetian Senate thus stimulated brought pressure to bear on the subject

¹ Lib. iii. 401.

city, and the result seems to have been very disastrous to the reformed faith.¹

The Vicenza Academy, as a literary society there is called, discussed religious as well as other topics. Lælius Socinus is said to have been a member of it. He does not seem to have pronounced such advanced views in denying the Trinity as were maintained by his nephew Faustus. He thought that the Reformers did not go sufficiently far in their denial of popular beliefs, and he shrunk from accepting the orthodox view of the Trinity ; his habit being to start objections and difficulties in the form of questions, rather than to assert any opinions of his own. Doubts have been thrown upon the statement that he was a member of the society at Vicenza ; but be that as it may, no one can show satisfactorily what were the definite theological beliefs current amongst the members ; and those of Lælius Socinus in particular can be ascertained with confidence only on their negative side. His writings have never been published, but only used by Faustus Socinus, to what extent no one can determine. That the idea that Christ was a *real*, but not a *mere* man, having been begotten by the power of the Holy Ghost, obtained currency among the northern Italians, is very probable. The tenets of Faustus Socinus are well known, being clearly explained in his works ; and from them we learn that whilst denying the proper Deity of the Saviour, he asserted that Jesus is the Son of God in a peculiar sense ; and is not to be lowered to any human or angelic rank. He conceded the claim of the Redeemer to the worship of mankind, and says in so many words, that Christ “ expiates our sins, as He frees us from the punishment of them.”² But it is too much to conclude that in the definite system of Socinianism, as set forth in the Racovian Catechism, we have a copy of what was taught by Lælius ; and it is going still further

¹ M'Crie, “ History of the Reformation in Italy,” 254, 255.

See Appendix to “ Life of Socinus,” by Toulmin.

in the paths of conjecture to identify it with any prevalent speculations in the Vicenzan Academy. The utmost which can be safely affirmed is, as Melanchthon says, that Italian theology abounded in Platonic theories; and it was no easy thing to bring it down from love of science to truth and simplicity of explanation; that a book by Servetus reviving the error of Samosata had been introduced amongst the Venetians; and that Melanchthon received "disgraceful narratives from Venice which admonished the brethren there to preserve discipline."¹

Capo d'Istria, not far from Trieste, is a small town on a circular island close to the shore of the mainland, and connected with it by a stone causeway. It is said still to retain a Venetian appearance, and it has a *Duomo* which recalls to mind a famous bishop who held the see in the middle of the sixteenth century, and who largely figures in the history of the Italian Reformation. Pierpaolo Vergerio was born in the little island now named, and was employed by Clement VII. and Paul III. as German nuncio. He is said to have conferred with some of the Protestant princes, and even with Luther himself at Wittenburg, in reference to some sort of reconciliation; but the accounts given of this matter are contradictory. At all events two things are certain, that Vergerio, under special pontifical patronage, rose to eminence in the Church, and also that he became suspected of a leaning to Lutheranism, probably from his evangelical views, and from his disposition to conciliate opponents. Imputations on his orthodoxy induced him to set to work on a controversial treatise against Protestantism—which ended, as some other similar undertakings have done, in his adopting the very views he had resolved to disprove. He had a brother, Bishop of Pola, who was brought to sympathize with him in his convictions, and they both avowed themselves advocates of reform. Before his open confession of a change of opinions the celebrated Cardinal Bembo wrote in 1541: "I hear some things of

¹ "Melanchthon's Epistles" Col. 150; 835, 852.

that bishop which if true are very bad—that he not only has portraits of Lutherans in his house, but also that in the causes which come before him he is eager to favour in every way the one party, whether right or wrong, and to bear down the other.” Soon afterwards, no doubt could remain as to the course he adopted. Yet it would appear that for a while neither he nor his brother gave themselves to public controversy, but rather preferred quietly to work in their respective dioceses for the welfare of their flocks, taking care to insist on evangelical principles, and to withdraw their people from dependence on rites and ceremonies. In the year 1546, a large number of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood had embraced the faith of the Reformers.

The Inquisition speedily afterwards is seen actively employed in Capo d'Istria and Pola. Annibale Grisone acquired an unenviable notoriety in this miserable enterprise. He searched houses for suspected books, excommunicated those accused of Lutheranism, persuaded some to recant, and threatened with death those who continued obdurate. He denounced the reading of the vernacular Scriptures as a crime. Terror sprung up throughout the dioceses, and families were divided by differences of opinion, the Roman Catholic being encouraged to betray the Protestant; wives bore witness against husbands, and children against their parents. A man's foes were those of his own household, the slightest signs of deviation from the Church standard were constrained into proofs of guilt. The Inquisitor celebrated Mass in the Duomo of Capo d'Istria, and then ascending the pulpit told the people, “Of late you have lain under calamities; your olive trees, your corn-fields, your vineyards have been smitten with barrenness, your cattle have suffered from distemper. And all this follows as the consequence of heresies adopted by the Bishop and others. Do not expect any relief until you have suppressed these evils. Fall upon the heretics then and stone them.” A passage from Tertullian has been appropriately cited as furnishing a parallel to

the Inquisitor's denunciations. "If the Tiber overflows," said heathen persecutors, "or the Nile does not water the fields, if the heavens give not rain, if pestilence or earthquake happens, then at once the cry is, *Christianos ad leonem*—the Christians to the lion."

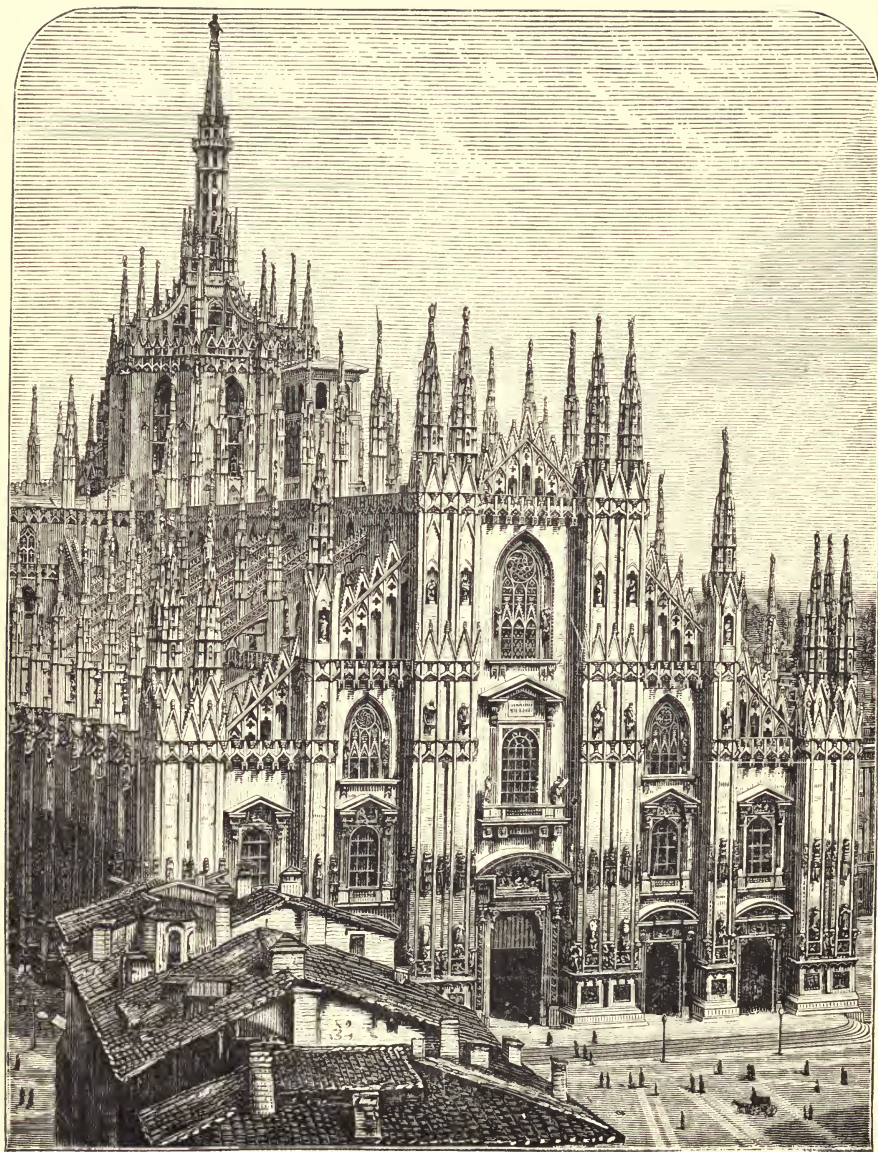
Vergerio could not remain in his diocese whilst the Inquisitor thus inflamed the passions of the people, and he is reported to have visited the city of Trent, where the council was sitting at the time, in order to purge himself from the accusations which stained his name; but over this and other parts of his story there rests much confusion. However, it is certain he did not appear before the council—it was not likely he would be permitted to do so; and the next we hear of him is at Venice, where he was advised to carry his case to Rome—counsel he was too wise to adopt. Then we find him at Padua, in great distress from the terrible end of the apostate Spira, who died in agonies of despair. The history of that unhappy man was much talked of in those days. He had abjured Protestantism, through fear of the Inquisition, and Vergerio saw him on his death-bed. "To tell the truth," says the Bishop, "I felt such a flame in my breast, that I could scarcely refrain myself at times from going to the chamber door of the legate of Venice, and crying out, 'Here I am; where are your prisons and your fires? Satisfy your utmost desires upon me; burn me for the cause of Christ, I beseech you, since I have had an opportunity of comforting the miserable Spira, and of publishing what it was the will of God should be published.'" Vergerio wrote a life of Spira, assisted by contemporary correspondence; and it may be concluded from the above passage in the book how excitable a person the author must have been. His honesty I see no cause to doubt; and he subsequently became an earnest preacher of Protestantism in the Grisons, of which I shall hereafter give an illustration; but the character of the man, and the merits of his authorship, have raised considerable controversy.

Bayle, in a copious and characteristic article on the subject, mentions certain works ascribed to him, published anonymously or under fictitious names, all of them antagonistic to Popery. Into this field it is impossible to follow the acute but rambling critic; and I shall only remark that Vergerio so indulged in irony and satire that sometimes his burlesques have been regarded as written in sober earnest on the opposite side.

Finally, in connection with Venice, I notice Rovigo, on the marshy banks of the Adige. We find among the archives of the Holy Office notices of there being in that small city six heretics, five Lutherans and one Anabaptist.¹

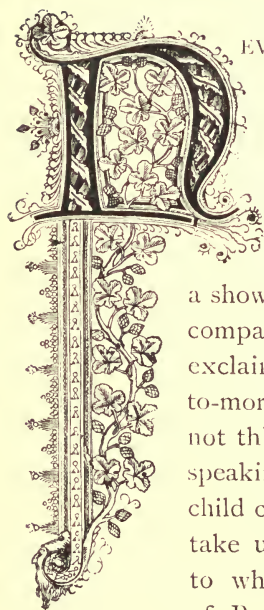
¹ "La Rivista Cristiana," anno iv.





MILAN CATHEDRAL.

MILAN AND THE LAKES.



EVER can any one who has read the story of Augustine's conversion forget it when walking about the city of Milan. The sight of pleasant gardens there has brought it to my mind many a time. For in a garden he and Alypius sat apart in silence and sorrow, and then with "a load of misery," a shower of tears, Augustine broke away from his companion and casting himself under a fig tree exclaimed: "Thou, O Lord, how long, how long? to-morrow and to-morrow; why not now? Why is not this the hour of my deliverance?" "So I was speaking," he says, "when I heard a voice as of a child chanting and saying, 'Tolle lege, tolle lege,' take up and read, take up and read. I returned to where Alypius sat, and opening the Epistle of Paul which I had left there, I read, 'Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying, but put ye on the Lord Jesus, and make no provision for the flesh.'" Augustine needed a power to master his mind and subdue his corruptions; he saw it here,

saw it at once; putting on the Lord Jesus was the secret of victory and peace. He closed the book, another man. The influence of Ambrose and Augustine in Milan continued throughout the Middle Ages, and helped to keep alive that tone of evangelical sentiment which may be traced in Northern Italy during that long period; and Augustine's theology was that with which the Italian Reformers were most in sympathy. But the Duomo attracts the chief attention of Milan visitors. Years on years of patient toil were spent on that eighth wonder of the world. Windows and doors, pilasters and pinnacles, niches and statues, bands full of ornaments and varieties of elaborate sculpture, flying buttresses and statues on the summit, as if winged angels had alighted there—what a history of Art do all these reveal! The building slowly advanced during the period of the Reformation, and its completion during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may be regarded as a monument of the mediæval Church's triumph over Italian Protestants.

The city of Ambrose and Augustine presents some peculiarities of worship which mark it off from the Romish ritual. The *Rito* or *Culto Ambrogiano*, is longer than that of Rome, and is less musical and ornate, whilst the Scriptures are read not in the Vulgate, but in the *Italica*, a version made before that of Jerome. It is remarkable how tenacious of their rites the Milanese have been, and how firmly they resisted the attempts of Rome to supersede them. A measure of independence respecting the Papacy may be recognised throughout the history of Milan. Nevertheless, religion in the diocese, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, showed the need of reformation.

Paul III., in a brief addressed to the Bishop of Modena, under date 1536, makes mention of conventicles in Milan, consisting of noble persons, men and women, who followed Friar Batista de Crema, a teacher of doctrines condemned by the Church. I cannot

ascertain who this friar was, beyond the fact that he had come to see the errors and evils of the existing system. The particular heresies he taught are not mentioned, but most likely they were opinions akin to those of Luther or Zwingli. In a condensed contemporary account of Italian heresies, mention is made of many heretical priests, friars and laymen; one Celso, a canon regular, a powerful preacher and a favourite with the nobility, is particularly mentioned as amongst the number, also a great friend of his, who, to escape the Holy Office, fled to Geneva.¹

Celio Secundo Curione, described in connection with Turin, of which city he was a native, is noticed as having come to live among the Milanese, where he married a lady belonging to a noble family. His popularity as a professor of polite literature earned him a high repute, and it may be inferred that he did not neglect to help on the work of reformation in the duchy; but ravages accompanying the invasion of Spanish troops compelled him to quit the country. Pius IV. had his attention called to the state of things in that district, and consequently resolved to establish the Inquisition there. But, regarding with jealousy the encroachments of the Holy See, in accordance with old traditions, the Archbishop and Bishops objected to the institution of a Roman tribunal in that part of Italy. They did not approve of what was done in Spain, and appealed to the Pope against like proceedings in Lombardy. Whereupon he assured them he knew the extreme rigour of the Spanish Inquisitors, and would see that no such severity was practised in Milan. Rome would be tender and merciful; her decrees respecting the mode of process, he said, "were very mild, and reserved to the accused the most entire liberty of defending themselves."² It will be remembered that a like representation was made in reply to Neapolitan objections; but, whatever might have been the management of the Inquisition in Milan, left

¹ "La Rivista Cristiana," iv. 130.

² M'Crie, "History of the Reformation in Italy," 232

entirely to the agents of Pius IV., the Milanese Protestants had to endure terrible treatment when the capital fell under the sway of Philip II. of Spain. The Inquisition was then worked in Spanish fashion. We read of Galleazzo Trezio, a nobleman of Lodi, who belonged to the University of Pavia, being brought up for heresy, and condemned to be burned. In 1558 two persons on the same account were committed to the flames. Scarcely a week in the following year failed to witness some one suffering for heresy; and in 1563, eleven citizens of rank were imprisoned. De Porta describes the execution of a young priest in 1569 dragged to the gibbet at the tail of a horse. Half strangled, he was cut down, and because he would not recant he was roasted to death, and his remains thrown to the dogs.

The famous Archbishop Borromeo zealously opposed the Reformation. In the course of a visitation he excited the displeasure of one of the Swiss cantons bordering on Lombardy. An envoy was despatched by its authority to request that the Governor of Milan would recall the Archbishop. The Inquisitor seized the envoy and committed him to prison. The Governor ordered his release, and treated him with respect. The Swiss Government, when it heard of such an outrage on an ambassador, sent word that if an assurance of his enlargement did not instantly arrive, reprisals would be taken on the Cardinal himself, and his eminence would be detained as a hostage. Upon hearing this, he "retired from the Swiss territories with less ceremony than he had entered them."¹

In the archives of the Holy Office, between 1541 and 1586, in connection with Milan there are recorded processes against twenty persons, all expressly named :—seventeen are charged with Lutheranism, one with heretical teaching, one with being an Anabaptist, and one with offences against the clergy.² And if I may leave

¹ M'Crie's "History of the Reformation in Italy," 403.

² Extracts are given in "La Rivista Cristiana," anno iv. 178.

Milan for a moment and proceed as far as Bergamo, it may be added here that, in the same archives, between 1547 and 1591, fifteen names are recorded as accused of heresy, chiefly under the form of Lutheranism, and one as treating with contempt religion in general.¹ Mention is made in a document of the period—one which I have already employed—of Vittorio Soranzo, Bishop of Bergamo, and also a provost and a minor canon, who were charged with heresy. The Bishop could not, with all his power, protect himself from the proceedings of the Holy Office, but was committed to the prison of St. Angelo, convicted of heresy and deprived of his episcopate. He died in distress.²

In connection with Cremona, the Holy Office registers exhibit five cases of false opinion which incurred ecclesiastical condemnation, together with two accusations of Lutheran error; there are two charges of heresy in general terms, and one definite specification in these strange words: "Denial of the Divinity of the Virgin" (*nega la divinità di Maria*).³

From these cities, I turn to the Lake of Como, of which the green banks, the long cascades, the white houses, the tall churches, and mountains in the background, present a series of charming and diversified pictures, familiar to many of my readers.

"It is now fourteen years," writes an Augustinian monk, one Egidio di Porta, from these beautiful shores, "since I, under the impulse of a certain pious feeling, but not according to knowledge, withdrew from my parents and assumed the black cowl. If I did not become learned and devout, I at least appeared to be so, and for seven years discharged the office of a preacher of God's Word, alas, in deep ignorance. I savoured not the things of Christ; I ascribed nothing to faith, all to works. But God would not permit His servant to perish for ever. He brought me to the dust. I was made to cry out, Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do? At length

¹ "La Rivista Cristiana," anno iv. 14.

² Ibid., anno iv. 131.

³ Ibid., anno iv. 57.

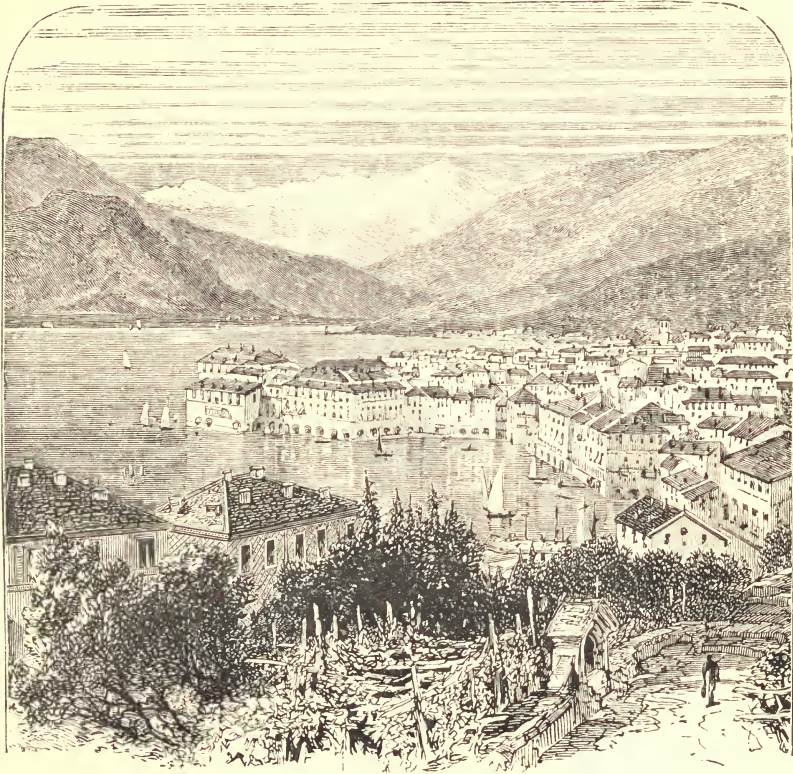
my heart heard the delightful voice, Go to Ulric Zwingle, and he will tell thee what thou shouldest do. Oh, ravishing sound ! my soul found ineffable peace in that sound. Do not think that I mock you ; for you, nay, not you, but God by your means, rescued me from the snare of the fowler. But why do I say *me* ? for I trust you have saved others as well as me." These glowing words were addressed to Zwingle, and gratitude may be pleaded as some excuse for an extravagant style of expression. Again the writer takes up his pen, and addresses the Swiss divine with a request that he would write an epistle to be shown to brethren of the Augustinian order. " But let it be cautious," he says, " for they are full of pride and self-conceit. Place some passages of Scripture before them, by which they may perceive how much God is pleased to have His Word preached purely and without mixture, and how highly He is offended with those who adulterate it, and bring forward their own opinions as Divine."¹

A native of Como, one Francesco Gamba, appears in the list of Italian Protestant martyrs. He visited Geneva, where so many Lucchese emigrants lived, and, perhaps convinced by their arguments and appeals, united with them in the communion of the Lord's Supper, according to the reformed rite. Tidings of this incident reached Como before his arrival, and in a boat on the lake he was seized and cast into prison. Condemned to the flames, he excited the commiseration of friends amongst the Milanese nobility, who, however, could accomplish nothing more in his behalf than a respite from execution for a few days. Entreaty to recant took no effect, and when his doom was inevitable, he declined the services of the priesthood, expressing at the same time his forgiveness of the judge who had condemned him to die. A gentleman of Como, who witnessed his sufferings, relates that his tongue was perforated, to prevent his addressing the people around the stake, and that after kneeling down he rose and waved

¹ M'Crie's " History of the Reformation in Italy," 56.

his hand as a sign of his spiritual confidence and peace. He was strangled and then burnt to ashes.¹

Crossing a beautiful part of the country from Menaggio to Porlezza, rich in wood, maize, and mulberries, we reach the Lake



LAKE MAGGIORE.

of Lugano, and proceed to Luino on the Lake Maggiore. Here we come on Protestant footprints again.

Locarno, at the head of the lake, makes a considerable figure in the history of the Italian Reformation. Here lived Baltasare

¹ Foxe's "Acts and Monuments," iv. 466.

Fontana, a Carmelite monk, who proclaims his Protestantism in a letter to the Churches of Switzerland, dated 1525: "Hail, faithful in Christ! Think, oh think of Lazarus in the Gospels, and of the lowly woman of Canaan who was willing to be satisfied with the crumbs which fell from the table of the Lord. As David came to the priest in a servile dress and unarmed, so do I fly to you, for the shewbread and the armour laid up in the sanctuary. Parched with thirst, I seek the fountains of living water; sitting like the blind man by the wayside, I cry to Him that gives sight. With tears and sighs we, who sit here in darkness, humbly intreat you who are acquainted with the titles and authors of the books of knowledge (for to you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God), to send us the writings of such elect teachers as you possess, and particularly the works of the divine Zwingli, the far-famed Luther, the acute Melancthon, the accurate Ecolampadius."¹ This Fontana was an apostle to the Locarnese, and worked amongst them assiduously, but at first with small success. "There are but three of us here," he says to Zwingli, "who have enlisted and confederated in the cause of propagating the truth. But Midian was not vanquished by the multitudes of brave men who flocked to the standard of Gideon, but by a few selected for that purpose by God. Who knows but He may kindle a great fire out of this inconsiderable smoke? It is our duty to sow and plant: the Lord must give the increase."²

About twenty years afterwards, Benedetto, surnamed Locarno—from its being his birthplace—a preacher of great renown, who had laboured in Palermo, returned to his native place, and aided by Giovanni Beccaria, also known as the Apostle of Locarno, carried on the work commenced by Baltasare Fontana in a "day of small things." Four Locarnese presently appear—Varnerio Castiglione, Ludovico Runcho, Taddeo de Dunis and Martino de Muralto;

¹ M'Crie's "History of the Reformation in Italy," 57.

² M'Crie, *ibid*, 161.

and then we read that the Protestants of Locarno increased to a numerous Church, which was regularly organized, and had the sacraments administered to it by a pastor whom they called from the Church of Chiavenna. The daily accessions which it received to its numbers excited the envy and chagrin of the clergy, who were warmly supported by the Prefect appointed in the year 1549 by the Popish canton of Underwald.¹ A neighbouring priest also, who came and preached against the Protestants, challenged their pastor to a public disputation. It ended in the committal of Beccaria to prison, who was soon liberated through a popular demonstration in his favour.

Beccaria, by the advice of friends, left Locarno to avoid further persecution; and then the burden of Protestant work in the neighbourhood appears to have fallen on the shoulders of Taddeo de Dunis. But being a physician of considerable fame, to facilitate his practice he removed to Milan; there, beyond Swiss protection, the enemies of the Reformation accused him as a ringleader of heretics; then ensues a not uncommon story of retreat to the mountains. This is followed by an account of his return to Milan, his voluntary appearance before the Inquisition, the merciful treatment of him, perhaps owing to his medical reputation, and finally his exile from the city, to live once more amongst his countrymen the Locarnese. Not long after this, the Locarnese, in addition to other wearisome persecutions, were troubled by a plot as ingenious as it was wicked. The town clerk of the Popish canton of Uri forged a document dated back some years, to the effect that the people of Locarno had bound themselves by oath, that they would submit to the Pope until a general council could be held. This document he sent to the assembly of the Swiss cantons in 1554; and the assembly, without inquiring into the genuineness of the paper, decreed that those who had given the bond should enter at once into

¹ M'Crie, "History of the Reformation in Italy," 162:

communion with Rome, and submit to its ceremonies. Of course the victims of this forgery appealed against it, urging its falsehood, and pointing out what wretchedness it would bring upon two hundred innocent families. The Protestant cantons interfered in favour of their co-religionists, when the Roman Catholics accused the latter of having adopted the opinions of Servetus. The accused met the accusation with a prompt denial, sending in an orthodox confession as to the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, and Justification by faith. The fabricated bond could not stand examination, and was set aside; but the Papists resolved to persevere in their policy of repression. Roman Catholic intrigues and Protestant jealousies prevailed so as to bring about a judgment from certain arbitrators chosen for the purpose, to the effect, that the Protestant inhabitants of Locarno should either profess Roman Catholicism, or quit the country, but that any of them chargeable with Anabaptism or dishonour done to the Holy Virgin should be punished for their offence. . . . The Zurich deputies protested against the injustice; but they could not arrest the course of their antagonists. Some of the Locarnese Protestants recanted, others were firm. Two and two, followed by their wives carrying infants in their arms, they walked to the Council-room, when one addressed the deputies in the name of the rest. They insisted upon their orthodoxy, they disclaimed the novel opinions laid at their door, they declared their political allegiance, and supplicated the Lords of the Cantons to take pity on the women and children.

"We are not come here," replied those Lords, "to listen to your faith. The Lords of the Seven Cantons have by the deed now made known to you declared what their religion is; and they will not suffer it to be called in question or disputed. Say, in one word are you ready to quit your faith, or are you not?"

"We will live in it, we will die in it." "We will never renounce it." "It is the only true faith." "It is the one holy faith." "It

is the only saving faith," cried the band of confessors, as they stood in the court-house of Locarno. This scene occurred in that little town under tree-clad cliffs in which stands the church of the Madonna del Sesso.

The Papal nuncio made his appearance at Locarno, and, not satisfied with this severity, requested that the assembly should insist on the Grisons delivering up the fugitive Beccaria, and that the emigrants about to leave Locarno should take with them neither their property nor their children, but hand over both to the Church,—the first to be confiscated for ecclesiastical uses, the second to be educated in the Catholic faith. The request seems incredible; and whilst the assembled deputies consented to seek the surrender of Beccaria, they would not listen to the prayer for robbing the poor people of their goods and their offspring. The nuncio did all he could to convict them, but his efforts they regarded only as so much annoyance and trouble.¹

Thwarted and worried in many ways, the exiles started in March, 1555, and, precluded from taking the shortest road, set sail across the lake, passing through Bellinzona to reach Rogoreto in the Grisons, to which canton their steps were bound. They took up their quarters for a while at the foot of the snow-covered Alps, and when the thaw came they scaled the barrier and reached friends who were waiting to welcome them on the other side. Half settled amongst the Grisons; half went on to Zurich.

Chiavenna also could boast of a Reformed Church at an early stage of the Italian Reformation. Thither it is said to have been brought by the Grison people, who looked with deep religious interest upon their Italian neighbours. Strange means were adopted to stem the tide of conversion; and amongst others, a poor girl was persuaded to believe that the Holy Virgin had appeared, and given her a commission to reprove the townspeople of

M'Crie, "History of the Reformation in Italy," 274-284. This author is unusually copious in his history of the Church at Locarno.

Chiavenna for the favour they had shown towards heresy and heretics; processions, as was the wont, marched through the streets, to excite the enthusiasm of the children of the Church, whilst seeking by their prayers and lustrations to cleanse the district from the prevalent contagion. The detection of this imposture as to a vision of the Virgin turned the tables and silenced the priests.

There lived in Chiavenna a man of noble descent, Hercules de Salice, who had won a high reputation for soldierly courage and ability, and he entertained a preacher named Agostino Mainardi, a Piedmontese monk, who had adopted Protestant opinions. This displeased the Romanists; and when it was proposed that the Reformed worship should be established in the town, they contended that it was impossible without permission from a majority of inhabitants. De Salice, Governor of the Grisons, who sympathised with the Protestants, brought the matter before the Diet, when it was determined to allow those in the Valteline, and other places under the Grison dominion, who had adopted evangelical views, to entertain in their houses any teachers and schoolmasters they chose, and also to permit exiles from other countries to adopt Reformed worship, on condition of subscribing the orthodox Protestant confession. Bringing the case, I suppose, under the latter law, the authorities of Chiavenna sanctioned the settlement of Mainardi in the town as a Protestant pastor; when De Salice devoted to his use a chapel, which he endowed with a house, a garden and a salary.

Ludovico Castelvetro,—described as “an acute and ingenious critic, and extensively acquainted with Italian and Provençal poetry, as well as with the classics of Greece and Rome, to which he added the knowledge of Hebrew”—we have met with already. He finally returned to Chiavenna, and after many wanderings and persecutions, there died in peace.

Jerome Zanchi, belonging to the Bergamese territory, a

learned man, whom Peter Martyr had drawn to Lucca, succeeded Mainardi in the pastorate. He had for a colleague Simone Florillo, a Neapolitan; and after them the succession was continued by Scipione Lentulo, of Naples, and Ottaviano Meio, of Lucca; a list of names indicating the stability and permanence of the Protestant Church at Chiavenna. Zanchi, it may be observed, engaged with the Lutherans in keen controversy touching the ubiquity of Christ's human nature—a doctrine which he denied. Hence he met with opposition in Germany, both at Heidelberg and Strasburg, and at last died amongst friends in the former of those university towns. He achieved a vast theological reputation whilst living, and after his death his Commentaries and Treatises, in eight volumes folio, continued to be studied; but, as M'Crie remarks, "they are too ponderous for the arms of a modern divine."¹

Heterodox opinions made their way amongst the Protestants at Chiavenna. They were introduced by Camillo Renato, and are said to have included the sleep of the soul till the resurrection; the non-resurrection of the same body; the natural mortality of man; the uselessness of the Decalogue to believers; the possibility of sin in the humanity of Christ; and the needlessness of sacraments for the confirmation of justifying faith. No denial of the Trinity appears amongst these tenets, but they were suspected of preparing the way for it. The influence of Camillo Renato was prejudicial to the ministry of Mainardi.

Disputes at Chiavenna created scandal, and ministers from the Grisons came to investigate it. They found Camillo open to charges brought against him, and concluded that Mainardi was worthy of confidence. But the people were anxious to free themselves from suspicion. "Our Churches in the Valteline," says Julio de Milano to Bullinger, "which are planted at Puschiavo, Tirano Toglio, and Sondrio, continue harmonious in their adherence to the

¹ M'Crie, "History of the Reformation in Italy," 386; 444-446.

ancient and simple doctrine transmitted from the times of the apostles, and at this day taught without controversy in your Churches of Switzerland, and ours of the Grisons."¹

Following for an instant the Locarnese to Zurich, we find them there securing from the Senate a place of worship, with liberty to use in it their own language. First they had as pastor their friend and fellow-townsmen Beccaria, but he did not remain with them long. Then followed Bernardino Ochino, whom we meet with now for the last time, and therefore I take this opportunity of saying what is needful to the winding up of his history. On leaving Italy he went to Geneva, then to Bâle, then to Augsburg, then to Strasburg, then to England, where he occupied a professor's chair at Oxford. Thence he proceeded to Bâle, where he was invited, in 1555, by the Locarnese at Zurich to become their pastor.

Ochino in some way commended himself to the good opinion of Queen Elizabeth. "His authority, I know," says Thomas Sampson to Peter Martyr, 1560, "has very great weight with the Queen. If anything is written in these languages, Italian, Latin, Greek, either by yourself or Master Bernardine, I am quite of opinion that you will not only afford much gratification to Her Majesty, but perform a most useful service to the Church of England."² In reply, says Peter Martyr, "I have communicated your letter, as you wished me, to Master Bernardine. He is in a weak state of health, both through old age and the diseases incident to that time of life, yet he did not decline the office of writing to the Queen, but promises to do so as soon as he is able."³ A letter from Bernardino Ochino, preserved amongst papers in the Record Office, dated August 25, 1561, and addressed to Secretary Cecil, "begs that he will assist him in recovering the prebend which was given to him in Edward VI.'s time (which he wishes to enjoy although

¹ M'Crie, "History of the Reformation in Italy," 413.

² "Zurich Letters," i. 64. By Bernardine is meant Bernardino Ochino.

³ "Ibid., ii. 48.

non-resident), and also his goods, which he left behind him, on his departure, in the house of Richard Morrison, the use of which had been granted to him. Has five little children, and his wife is near her confinement. Has commissioned Robert Clerke and James Concio, an Italian, to act for him."

The opinions of Ochino have recently undergone a careful investigation by the learned Karl Benrath, who has traced his career from beginning to end in a singularly interesting memoir. He throws much more light on the nature of his theological and ethical opinions than Bayle, M'Crie, and M. Young had been able to do, and shows very clearly how Ochino repeats again and again, "You may say what you will, polygamy is immoral;" and how he also admits the principle that in this and in all other cases "the final decision lies on the conscience of the individual enlightened by the prayer of faith."¹

With regard to the Trinity, Benrath considers that Ochino discourses in a spirit of doubt, always ready at hand with objections, but yet "himself represents the traditional doctrine adopted by the Reformers." There is, to say the least, a haziness resting over Ochino's treatment of the doctrine, and there can be no doubt that in forms of expression and even in the substance of his sentiments he departed, to what extent it is difficult to say, from the teaching of most Protestant as well as all Roman Catholic divines. Finally, he went to Poland, where he died, and, as his sympathetic biographer observes, "when at the close of his life he looked back with tears upon his long path of sorrows, he was still able to say for the consolation of his friends, 'I have had to suffer many things; but that is spared to none of Christ's disciples and apostles. But that I have been enabled to endure all things shows forth the might of the Lord.'"²

¹ "Bernardino Ochino of Siena," translated from the German, with a preface by William Arthur, 1876.

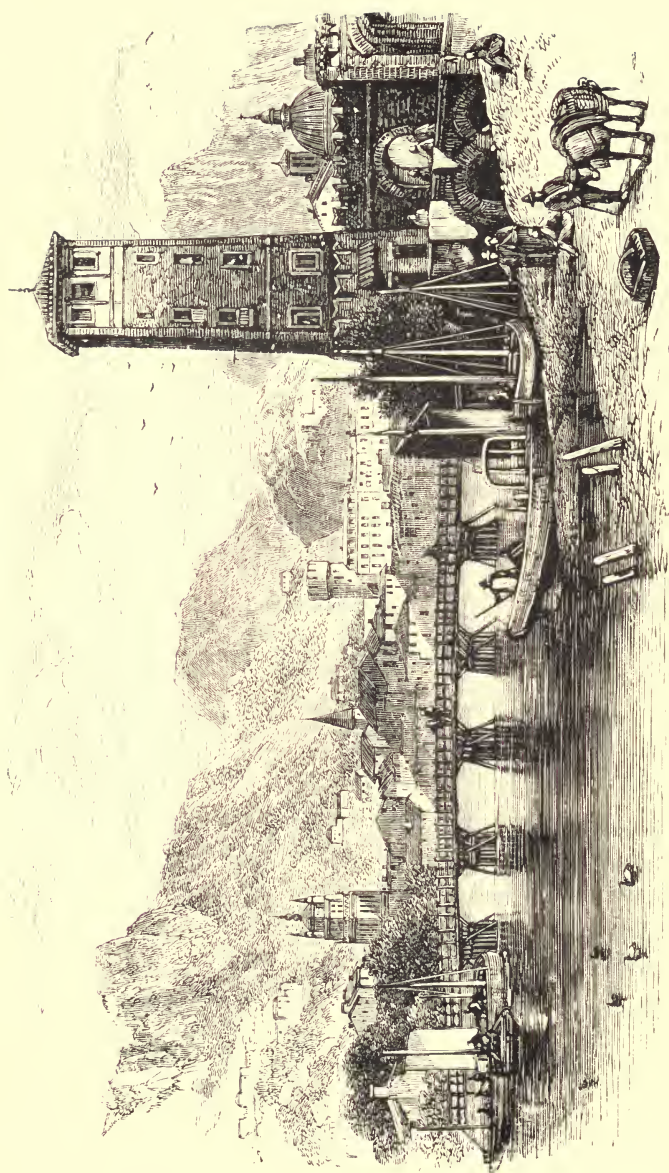
² Benrath, "Bernardo Ochino," 298.

Shortly after Ochino settled as pastor in Zurich, Peter Martyr was chosen Professor of Hebrew and Theology in the University of that place. He died there in November, 1562. "Bullinger, who loved him as a brother, closed his eyes, and Conrad Gesner spread the cloth over his face, while the pastor and elders of the Locarnian Church wept around his bed."¹

To conclude this chapter: when I was at Pontresina, in the Engadine, more than ten years ago, I remember well a picturesque bridge, not far from the rural inn of the Krone, now superseded I believe by a pretentious modern hotel. That bridge in the Roseg valley, and within sight of the Piz Languard and other sublime scenes, is connected with an interesting incident.

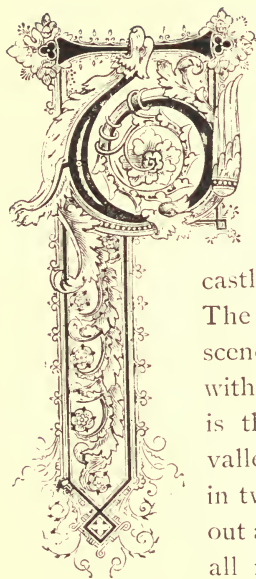
The celebrated Vergerio, Bishop of Capo d'Istria, already noticed, visited the Valteline, and penetrated into the mountain vales of the Grison canton. He spent a night at Pontresina. The parish priest had died that very day, and the inhabitants of the village were talking in the hostelry about a successor. The Bishop proposed to preach a sermon, which, after some demur was accepted. In the parish church he proclaimed to his hearers the doctrines of the Reformation in such a manner as to fire their enthusiasm, and it ended in their resolving, there and then, to abolish the mass, and to declare themselves Protestants. The local tradition relates that they pulled down the sacred images, dragged them to the bridge, and plunged them into the sweeping waters. The people of Samaden are said to have followed their neighbours' example.

¹ M'Crie, "History of the Reformation in Italy," 424.



TRENT.

TRENT.



THE drive from Riva, on the Lago di Garda, to the ancient city of Trent, is most charming. Leaving the inn with its garden on the shores of the lake, you pass through scenes of rare beauty, which culminate about half-way in picturesque views of a rock-built castle on the margin of a broad reach of water. The rest of the journey is through mountain scenery, bold and bare, but clothed at the bottom with luxuriant vegetation. At the end the way is through a narrow gorge, then there opens a valley sprinkled over with trees and houses, cut in twain by a river, on the banks of which spread out a range of buildings, overlooked by mountains all round, and by a huge rock standing in the midst, well covered with dense foliage. The name by which it is known to the Italians is *Dos Trento*. The river winding through the vale is the Adige; those buildings form the city of Trent. The city is completely encircled by chains of mountains, green, brown, and slate-coloured, presenting a pleasant harmony of tints; and in the month of May, when I was there, one of the everlasting hills was covered with wide drifts of snow

Having crossed the bridge, the traveller finds himself in the midst of wide and stately streets, ancient palaces, sculpture of all kinds, balconies without number, carved medallions let into the walls here and there, huge paintings in front of the house, oriel windows, and all sorts of architectural *bits*, pleasant to the artist and the antiquary. Some streets are narrow, and full of shops, rather Italian-looking, and well stored with goods; and if you enter to make purchases, it is amusing to hear from the tradespeople an odd intermingling of northern gutturals with the liquid vocables of the south. Strange too it is to notice the contrast between antique houses and ladies dressed in Parisian fashion.

One idea predominates over others in reference to this city of quaint thoroughfares. Here at intervals, between 1545 and 1563, were held those famous ecclesiastical assemblies which came as a sequel to the reformatory agitations of the age. In these pages already frequent notices have occurred of desires and discussions in Italy, respecting a general council for the settlement of disputes which agitated the whole of Europe. Many Papists and Protestants concurred with each other so far as to wish for a settlement of differences; but this wish on the one side led to stipulations inconsistent with those contended for on the other. Liberty of individual judgment lay at the basis of Protestant demands; a determination to deny it is found at the bottom of the Romanistic policy. Incompatible requirements appeared in the two cases; and in addition to this, whilst there were some Protestants who saw no hope of any improvement in the Church as the result of a council, there were some Papists who endeavoured to keep things as they were by a series of skilful manœuvres. When finally it was settled that a meeting should be held, delays arose on the question where it should take place. Pope Paul III. in 1536 appointed the city of Mantua. The Duke of Mantua interposed to prevent the execution of the Papal order. Vicenza was next selected, and the year 1538 was fixed for the gathering. But not a single dignitary would

obey this summons. A prorogation, as it was called, then followed, and not until 1542 could the difficulty as to the place of meeting be settled, when Pope Paul and the Emperor Charles v. agreed to fix upon Trent, the former convoking the bishops there on the 1st of November in that year. Fresh difficulties arose, and not till December, 1545, did the proceedings open.

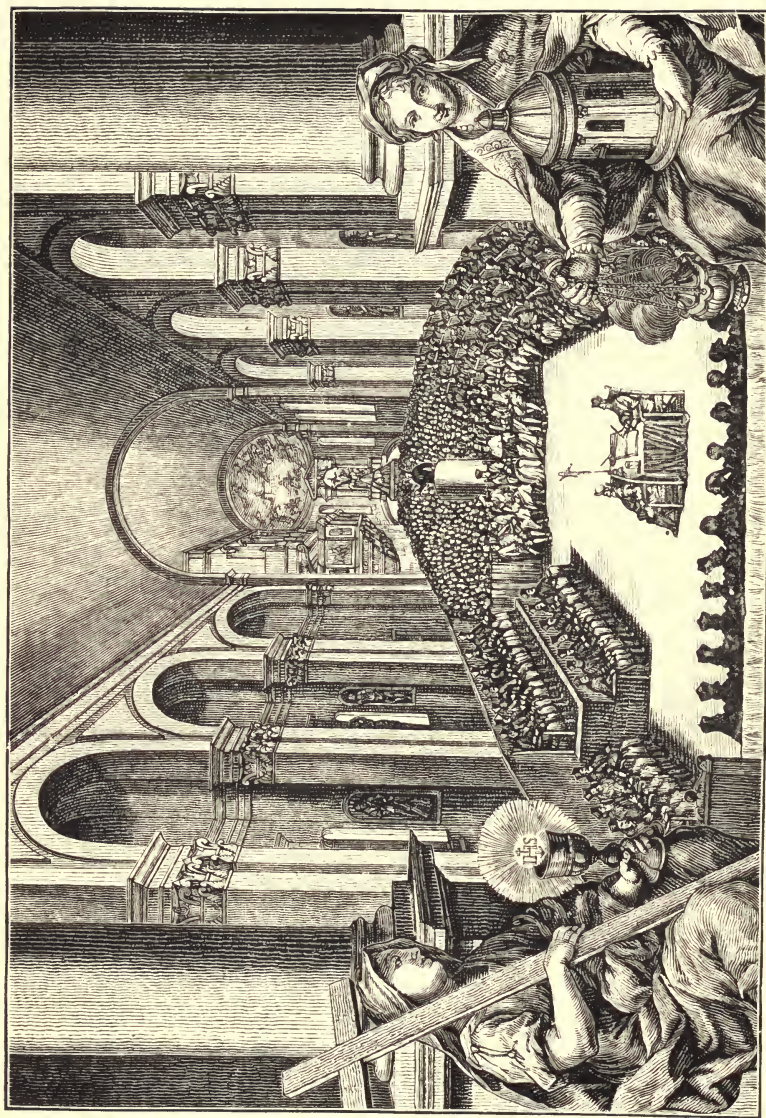
At the first session, on the 13th of that winter month, three cardinal legates from Rome presented themselves, together with four archbishops, twenty-two bishops, and a large number of clergy and laymen.

It requires no very inventive imagination to picture what the citizens beheld at the opening of the council. Up through the road from Italy, down from the cities of the north, came ecclesiastical dignitaries in all the pomp and pride of priestly splendour. On richly caparisoned horses and mules, with crowds of attendants carrying symbols of rank and office, they would slowly trot down the hills or emerge from the winding valleys. Imperial representatives, displaying the utmost civil state or the most imposing military splendour, would mingle with other processions, and be followed by all sorts of folk, who in those days hung on the skirts of great men as they travelled from place to place. What crowds would await the coming of these visitors! How their names would pass from lip to lip! How the ladies would look down from the balconies, and the parish priests and the monastic orders rally in full force to do homage to much-talked of dignitaries?

Though the temper and spirit of the fathers who assembled were manifestly one-sided and exclusive, it soon appeared that on several points a divergence of sentiments obtained amongst them. They were of different lands, of different theological schools, of different individual idiosyncrasies. They resembled the mediæval divines in this respect, that whilst acknowledging the supremacy of the Pope, and the infallibility of the Church, many of them put their

own interpretation upon the teaching of Catholic antiquity. Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus had held very different theological views, and some of the Trentine fathers rallied round separate standards in an antagonistic attitude. Augustine was treated by all with reverence, but what exactly was meant in certain portions of his works remained an open question.

In the midst of the city stands a cathedral of weather-stained marble, white, brown, and black, finished early in the fifteenth century; joined to a castle-like structure having forked battlements; connected with an episcopal palace at a right angle; and flanked by an old square tower, perhaps as old as the cathedral itself. The cathedral has a cupola over the end of the choir, and a red pepper-box sort of top to the tower at the termination of the nave. In front of the principal side there is a large gushing fountain, ornamented by figures life size, and surmounted by a statue of Neptune with his trident, whilst at the back of the fountain is an ancient house, frescoed all over with coloured figures. A curious marble porch resting on lions of an old conventional form, each holding a nondescript animal in his paws, leads into the sacred edifice; and there were leaning against the door, as I entered, two dusty umbrellas and a large bundle belonging to two humble worshippers within the nave—a touching sign of the way in which Tyrolese peasants unite religious acts with their daily life and work. The interior of the edifice is lofty and imposing, with disproportionately tall columns supporting a roof hideously modernized both within and without. There are two curiously-contrived marble stairways with short columns let into each side of the nave, and there is in the same portion of the building an external pillared gallery running along the wall with a pleasant effect. There are a few monuments, one by the door with a sculptured figure, and a long inscription bearing date about the time of the council. There are slabs on the old marble floor, once carved in bold relief, but now worn away by the footsteps of many generations; beneath



COUNCIL OF TRENT.

the pavement is buried Sanseverino, the Venetian general, who was slain in battle by the citizens of Trent, in 1487.

The fathers who assembled at the council must have celebrated mass again and again within these time-honoured walls; and a crucifix, before which the decrees were pronounced, is preserved in the sacristy; but the deliberations of the assembly were carried on in the church of S. Maria Maggiore, not far off. That church has been altered a good deal; indeed, I should conclude from its appearance, rebuilt, since the time of the council; but the guide-book says it was erected in 1520. Externally and internally it is very plain, and of smaller dimensions than could conveniently accommodate so many ecclesiastics; certainly it has nothing to recommend it architecturally; yet there is in it an exceedingly superb marble gallery, now supporting an organ, and it is carved and adorned in the Renaissance style of the sixteenth century. Of about the same date is a handsome doorway, not in harmony with the rest of the structure, and which I suppose must have belonged to an earlier edifice. Two representations of the council are preserved on the walls, one differing considerably from the other. That which hangs by the side of the altar is an old oil painting, poorly executed, and in it the church appears quite unlike what it is now, showing, instead of a narrow nave without aisles, as is its present construction, columns and arches in perspective forming a wide and imposing edifice. There are circular seats indicated, by the side and in front of the altar, six rows deep, crowded with the fathers—scarlet-robed personages on a raised platform—sitting face to face with the rest, the papal legates being intended by these prominent dignitaries. There is a lofty pulpit in the midst of the congregated divines, occupied by some one who is haranguing the audience. On the left-hand wall of the present church, near the altar, is a marble slab, bearing an inscription, addressed to the Madonna, declaring her Immaculate Conception, and the homage paid to her within that temple, imploring her to

protect it, and praying that the light which shone from heaven through her might be made more and more effulgent to the inhabitants of Trent.

Sermons were customary at the opening of councils, and one was preached on the occasion at Trent by the Bishop of Bitonto. He compared, oddly enough, the council which he addressed to the Trojan horse, telling the bishops to regard themselves as enclosed within its sides. A more complimentary allusion succeeded, when the preacher compared the commencement of proceedings that day to an unfolding of the gates of paradise, for the outflow of living waters to the ends of the earth. By another infelicitous reference, he exhorted his hearers to open the bowl of their bosoms for the reception of Divine knowledge, threatening them that if they did not, their mouths would be forcibly opened by the Spirit of the Lord, compelling them to speak like Balaam's ass, or to utter a prophesy, like Caiaphas, which they did not understand, but which would condemn themselves. He called upon the mountains round about Trent, and the forests which clothed them, to re-echo what was spoken at the council, that men might know the day of their visitation ; and he then profanely applied to the Pope words used in Scripture by our Lord respecting Himself, "Light (*Papæ lux*) is come into the world, but men loved darkness rather than light." He begged the Saviour to be present through the intercession of St. Vigilius, the patron saint of the city and the valley. to whom the Cathedral is dedicated.

When the council had been sitting in Trent from December 4, 1545, to March 11, 1547, it was decreed that the sessions should be removed to Bologna ; and accordingly in June the fathers assembled in that city ; but the Pope and the Emperor not being agreed as to the matter, a further postponement occurred. At length, after another gathering at Trent, came a suspension of the council, which lasted for ten years.

At the expiration of that period, the council was renewed, and

the Pope sent nuncios to the different courts of Europe. A nuncio was despatched to England, but Queen Elizabeth forbade him to cross the sea. However, we find her communicating on the subject with the ambassador of Spain in the following terms, on the 5th of May, 1561 :

“She is very glad to hear of a general council, and will speedily cause it to be understood whether this council is like to be celebrated, in such sort and with such conditions as are requisite for a general and free council. If it may so appear, she fully purposes, as one of the principal monarchs of Christendom, to send thither certain learned persons. But if it be otherwise, as the last council at Trent was, then she will be very sorry, and will spare no good means to help that there may be such a general and free council obtained for all estates of Christendom, so that better hope may be conceived of concord and unity.”

Negotiations with regard to an English representative in the council came to nothing, but stray notices of what went on at Trent reached England, sometimes in a roundabout manner, of which indications remain in the State Papers (Foreign, 1561–1562).

A man named Shakerley wrote to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Elizabeth's ambassador at Paris, and the letter was immediately forwarded to England. It bears date December 12, 1561, and was written just as the new meeting opened. “Among the cardinals there is great straitness of lodgings, whereupon it comes that the plague is spied in different places there. The holy churchmen say that this is an augury that God is ill displeased with so late making this council, that so often has been determined of so holy popes and great wise clerks ; whereunto is answered of the other side, that it is a sign of the just chastisement that has to come on the Roman Church. In Trent there is one who prophesies that this is the last Pope. He is a Franciscan, an Italian, born beside Perugia sixty-two years ago ; he has left his religion and cast away his weeds, and put on an old covering of hair like a hermit, and cries out

daily of the Pope; unto whom is little said, for the cardinals and others say that he is mad."

In January, 1562, notice arrived in England that at the first session were present five cardinals, three patriarchs, eleven archbishops, and ninety bishops, and that on intelligence being received in Trent that a victory was gained over the Huguenots in France, thanksgiving was offered by the fathers. A mass was said for the souls of the Catholics slain in battle.

Besides these waifs and strays of intelligence, the State Papers (Foreign) include a communication from Guido Giannetti to Queen Elizabeth, dated April 25, 1562.

"Nothing has occurred worth writing about. The proceedings of the Council of Trent have been unsatisfactory. Some have affirmed that the Pope ought to be subordinate to a council, not a council to the Pope. The council will afford no remedy to the troubles which prevail in Germany, France, Flanders and elsewhere. The Emperor will not call a council, and the Protestants will not attend at Trent. The sessions have been on 8th January and 26th February, and another is fixed for the 14th of May. There are at present in Trent about 150 bishops under five cardinals president, legates from the Pope. The Pope has sent the blessed sword to the Duke of Florence, who is very devoted to the Papal cause. At the earnest entreaty of his Holiness, the Venetians have sent two ambassadors to Trent, who, however, will be only spectators."

At the close of the following year there turns up this fragment, dated December 20, 1563: "This morning there came a gentleman from the Council of Trent, who brings the conclusions of the said council, and says certainly that sentence is given against England as schismatical."

There were two distinguished men taking part in the proceedings at Trent who require, at least for a moment, some particular notice. Cardinal Morone and Cardinal Pole were Papal legates on the occasion. They have been noticed, especially

the latter, repeatedly in the course of these Italian memories ; and it is remarkable how both of them showed a strong sympathy with Protestants in reference to justification by faith. Cardinal Morone, Bishop of Modena, though, like other prelates, zealous in opposing Lutheranism, and anxious to root out the seeds of heresy from his diocese, had his eyes open to the corruptions of Christendom, and confessed, as we have seen, the audacity and the uncharitableness of the monkish orders ; in addition to all this, he believed that it is by faith in Christ, and not by works of righteousness, that sinners are restored to Divine favour. No speeches of his on the subject, when it came into discussion before the council, are noticed in the history by Father Paul ; but it is to be inferred from his known opinions, that Morone concurred with those who, whilst condemning Lutheranism by name, approached very near to the Saxon Reformer in that one particular. Cardinal Pole, who perhaps went still further than Cardinal Morone, was not present at Trent when justification came under debate. He had retired from the sittings under the plea of ill health, and on the draft decree touching the doctrine being sent to him, he expressed himself with much caution. These are his words : “ I have received a copy of the decree concerning justification, on which your Lordships are pleased to ask my opinion. To speak the truth, I do not see that I can say anything on the subject. It contains many things on which I should desire an explanation, which being absent I cannot have. Besides, I am too much out of order to think, much less to write on a subject of such importance.” At that very time it would seem he was accused of Lutheranism, and in self-vindication he asserts that the doctrine he held had been derived not from the writings of the Reformer, but from the Holy Scriptures. This no doubt was the case, but his statement was far from a disproof, or even a denial that he had drawn from Holy Writ a belief which, in some points at least, resembled the teaching of the famous Saxon monk. Pole thought that Lutherans so expressed the doctrine of

St. Paul as to make it inconsistent with the doctrine of St. James ; whereas he himself endeavoured to reconcile the two, and wished to interpret the former apostle so as to exhibit him in perfect harmony with the latter. A Lutheran, in the sense of adopting Luther's doctrine on his authority, or in consequence of his arguments, Pole was not ; but it would be hard to prove that Pole was not a Lutheran in the sense of adopting St. Paul's doctrine very much in the same way as Luther himself did. "Before the decree on justification was passed, when he was presiding at the congregation accustomed to assemble at his residence, he ordered the prelates to read the works of their adversaries, and not to suppose that by stigmatizing a doctrine as Lutheran, the doctrine must by that fact be condemned. They might, peradventure, find themselves, if they so acted, in the predicament of Pelagius, and in their answer to Luther become Pelagians." The author, who states this on the authority of Pallavicini, remarks : "But when the council dogmatized the Church spoke, and Pole was then silent ; the Church was wiser than he."¹ This is the habit of Roman Catholic divines, illustrated at Trent, illustrated also at the last council in Rome. Individual prelates reach their own conclusions, and then repudiate them when a majority has decided in an opposite way. Strange that a man's faith in other people's convictions should be stronger than faith in his own. Nor should it be overlooked that, whilst holding the doctrine of justification in the way I have described, such men as Pole and Morone, by adopting the dogmas of Trent with regard to confession, purgatory, and transubstantiation, and by upholding the sacerdotal system of Rome—which introduces the mediation of man, so as to throw into the background the mediation of Christ—could not but impair the force, if they did not utterly neutralize the effect, of that evangelical doctrine which, to a considerable extent, they held in theory.

It is curious and instructive to study the debates and decrees

¹ Hook, "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," 189. New Series, III.

of the council, the former illustrating the remarks I have already made as to the theological divergences of the fathers; and any one who will read Father Paul's history will find, perhaps, to his surprise, how many points of doctrine very familiar to modern disputants came under review. Indeed, not a few of the questions then earnestly mooted are anything but uninteresting at the present time. The rule of faith lay at the bottom of the main dispute, and one bishop went so far as to affirm, that it was impious to put tradition on a level with the Scriptures, a remark which Pallavicini, who wrote in opposition to Father Paul, declares was received with "surprise and horror." How did sin enter the world, how is it transmitted, does it come through a material or an immaterial channel?—these were problems knotty and obscure, yet having a strange fascination for certain metaphysical minds, and they abundantly exercised the dialectic powers of the assembled controversialists. The question of future punishment, now a theme of so much interest, occupied a large share of attention; and none of the fathers denied the position of St. Augustine, that perdition was a necessary consequence of moral evil; but a distinction was made between the privation of blessedness, and the infliction of torments; and it was thought the former only, as the result of original sin, had to be endured by little children. Grace and free will, of course, came under discussion, the Franciscans, following Duns Scotus, manifesting a Pelagian bias; the Dominicans, in the wake of Aquinas, exhibiting strong Augustinian tendencies, and assigning the first place in personal salvation to the grace of God; indeed, some went so far in that direction as to maintain what differs little, if at all, from the teaching of Luther. Here it may be noticed as remarkable, that as to predestination not the doctrine itself, but the rash confidence of predestination, was pronounced worthy of censure; while as to doctrines of justification by faith, a key to the controversy of the day, opinions, I repeat, were broached like those of the Saxon

Reformer. The Archbishop of Siena ascribed all merit to Christ, and none to man, and spoke of righteousness as obtained by faith only. The Bishop of Cava followed on the same side, contending that hope and love are the companions of faith, and not the causes of justification; whilst Catarinus maintained that good works are not the foundation, but the evidence of righteousness.

The decisions of the council, too numerous to specify, were intended to reform abuses and settle the faith of the Church; and they certainly laid a professedly immutable society open to the charge of addition and change, for the Trentine decrees, under pretence of development, advanced on many points beyond the conclusions of mediæval divines. The fathers conceded no liberty whatever to private judgment, which they deemed the parent of heresy and schism, yet, as in the Middle Ages, so in post-Reformation times, active minds within the pale of Romish Christendom found room for vigorous and even fierce controversy without breaking bounds. The Trentine decisions, however, took hold on the common thought and faith of Roman Catholics throughout the world, by means of the creed of Pius IV., which formulated and condensed the newly edited doctrines of the council.

The morning after I had revived these recollections of the council I took another walk through the city, which deepened my impressions of its magnitude, picturesqueness, and prosperity. Street after street presents something or other which interests the tourist; and in the spring, the sharp crisp air from the neighbouring mountains has an invigorating and delightful effect, most acceptable to those who, on former occasions, may have experienced lassitude produced by summer heat in the Tyrol. May is the best month for visiting that beautiful region, and I would recommend this as a desirable route for those who are returning from Italy at that season. In the course of my morning ramble I re-entered the cathedral, and found in it a goodly number of people

engaged in their devotions ; then proceeding to Santa Maria Maggiore, close by, I found priests saying mass at three different altars, and a large number of men and women on their knees. Returning to the hotel, I passed another church, where a long procession of boys filed up to the door and disappeared. This induced me to enter, and there I discovered a large building completely filled with a juvenile congregation, consisting of many hundreds, who were singing with well-modulated voices what, as I



BOTZEN.

learned from the books in their hands, was a litany to the Virgin. On the evening of the same day, having reached Botzen, in the neighbourhood of the Dolomite Mountains—of which a good view is obtained both at the railway station and on the old wooden bridge—I went into the parish church, the bright parti-coloured roof of which forms a conspicuous figure in the varied and charming landscape. There I saw another crowded congregation, including a number of children, who, in a low, murmuring voice,

were repeating a litany in German, like that at Trent in honour of the Virgin ; for it was the month of May, and to her that month is specially consecrated. Therefore the numbers present on this occasion offered no fair specimen of the numbers attending at other times. Certainly Roman Catholic worship in that and some other countries has a hold on rustic, as well as on town populations, to which Protestant worship in England affords no parallel. The fact should be laid to heart, and the causes of it ought to be gravely pondered by English ministers and Churches. We profess that our faith is purer, more scriptural, more Divine, than that of our brethren abroad ; should we not then regard it as a solemn duty to inquire into the question, and to seek to bring evangelical Protestantism to bear upon the lower classes so as to win their hearts ? The Church of England and Nonconformist communities must have been remiss, or the state of the case amongst us would not be what it is.

The Italian Reformation did not touch the Southern Tyrolese ; and to the new Trentine code of Roman Catholic doctrine and law, the bishops, the clergy, and the people of the beautiful mountains and valleys readily submitted. At the same time, or soon afterwards, the top stone having been put on the counter-Reformation by the decrees of the council, the Roman Catholic Church resumed its undivided and almost undisputed sway over the cities, towns and villages of the fair Italian peninsula.

CONCLUSION.

BESIDES the cities and other places to which I have particularly called attention, Genoa, Verona, Citadella, Cremona, Parma, Brescia and Civita di Friuli are mentioned by Dr. M'Crie as having been to some extent touched by Reformatory influences. A work, only just published, by Dr. J. B. G. Galiffe, entitled, "*Le Refuge Italien de Genève*," throws new light on some of these spots, by disclosing the names and circumstances of many persons who removed from them to the City of Refuge on the shores of Lake Lemman, that they might escape the persecutions to which they were exposed at home. It appears that from Verona several refugees were added to the expatriated colonists who found a home at Geneva. The same may be said of Genoa, Parma and Brescia. The number was increased by outcasts from the duchy of Milan, from the Valteline, the Grisons, and the neighbouring valleys; from the Venetian territories, from the duchies on the River Po; from the Tuscan States, from the Pontifical domains, from the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and from other countries. The north-east of Italy supplied about 350 out of the whole number, the duchy of Milan sent more than 120. Lucca, for its size, perhaps made the largest contribution of any. It was represented by a compact colony of sixty families. The estates of the Holy See stand low in the list.

The number of Italian sources which contributed to swell the streams of emigration flowing towards Geneva is truly wonderful; and they indicate at how many points the principles which mainly occasioned the emigration must have come in contact with Italian

society. And one remarkable peculiarity, amongst others, is pointed out by Dr. Galiffe, namely, the high position of the Genevese Italian refugees. They included members of aristocratic houses, such as the Blandrate, de Thiènes, Martinengo, Pepoli, and the Caraccioli, who furnished Doges to Venice and Genoa. They were mostly fathers and mothers of families; and the inferior classes of the Italian community in Geneva were chiefly composed of domestic servants—men and women—who had faithfully followed their superiors into exile.

Wide, then, especially in the higher circles of society, must the influence of the Reformation have spread in Italy; yet no doubt many important places remained unaffected by the great movement. I do not remember having noticed Loretto, Ravenna, Piacenza, Pistoja, Pavia or Monza,¹ amongst cities mentioned as having contributed victims to the Inquisition, or refugees to Geneva; they may have escaped my attention, but if unknown at present to have been tinctured with Protestantism, future researches may discover that they were not totally unaffected by the widespread excitement.

But, however extensive might be the range of the Italian Reformation, its failure, at least for a season, was most lamentable. That failure may, to a considerable extent, be explained.

The political condition of the country, broken up as it was, into a number of more or less independent states, might at first be supposed favourable to the progress of free religious thought and action. But a closer examination of the fact alters its primary impression. The kingdom of Naples, the duchies of Florence and Milan, the republic of Venice and certain minor powers were at liberty, politically speaking, to pursue their own course in ecclesiastical affairs, uncontrolled by imperial or other influence; for by that time the idea of Ghibelline supremacy had nearly faded

¹ Since writing the above I find Dr. Galiffe says that the cities of Pisa, Pistoja, Arezzo, Certona, and Volterra contributed no refugees to the city of Geneva.

away. So far the Italian dominions might seem to be more favourably circumstanced in reference to internal reforms than even those of Germany. But, if there was no Emperor to coerce, or by persuasion to sway their destinies, there was another authority of still higher pretensions which, without adequate check from any other source, lorded it over their consciences in a manner most despotic. If another government had existed in Italy, capable of checking the policy of Rome, and that government had enlisted itself on the side of ecclesiastical reform, the issue might, and probably would, have been very different. The republic of Venice alone had sufficient courage to resist, with anything like decision and effect, the imperious interference of the Papacy in internal affairs, religious or civil; but that proud mistress of the Adriatic soon succumbed before the dreaded threats of the Papal court, backed by the terrors of the Inquisitionary tribunal. The Papacy had its own way from the River Po to the Sicilian Isle, and carried all before it. The Holy Office, equipped with extraordinary powers by successive popes, proved a tremendous engine of persecution, and before it one individual after another quailed. Some, indeed, as we have seen, bravely stood the fire; but large numbers recanted, and others, warned or discouraged by their example, feared to enlist in the ranks of confessorship. Persecution in Italy, as in Spain, carried out with relentless fury, did its work with frightful success. Nowhere, as in the two peninsulas, was there such a system of comprehensive and compact coercion—comprehensive, for it covered the whole country from shore to shore, compact, because its operations were inspired by the Romish priesthood, drilled into a state of unparalleled obedience, and moving, with the utmost precision, according to mandates issued from head-quarters. The unity of purpose and effort in the proceedings of the Holy Inquisition throughout Italy was a chief factor in the repression of Italian Reform.

Further, peculiarities of character must be taken into account

if we would properly inquire into the causes which checked the ecclesiastical reform of Italy. Aonio Paleario, Bernardino Ochino, Peter Martyr, and Juan de Valdés, seem all to have possessed, in different degrees, the gift of eloquence. Three of them were pulpit orators, and could sway congregations by their felicitous diction and the musical tones of their mother tongue ; the fourth, by birth a Spaniard, through familiarity with the language of his adopted country, could also charm a select number of hearers by the sweetness of his conversational expositions and appeals. All these could write as well as speak, and produce works which were widely circulated ; but it would seem that in both respects they touched only the upper classes of society, they chiefly interested the learned and intellectual, and had not, like Luther, Latimer, and Knox, the power of influencing the uncultured multitude, the masses of the people. Paleario and Ochino were marked by defects already pointed out—the one impulsive, irritable, and vain, the other, for awhile at least, given to the concealment of his theological convictions, and often uttering little more than half what he believed. Neither of them were born to be leaders of men. They had not the attributes which secure intellectual and moral kingship. Peter Martyr, too, though his work at Lucca is a pleasant episode, had manifest infirmities, and was lacking in constancy to his proper life-work, the reformation of his own native land. And though Paleario was constant unto death and Carnesecchi sealed his faith by a sacrifice of life, though both were men in good position, enriched with wisdom and learning, and therefore, by their martyrdom, bore a testimony which powerfully told on those who so far resembled themselves,—the decided majority of Italian confessors were of a humble class, whose example obtained any influence which it might possess entirely through the sincerity of their profession. Moreover, as we have had to notice, there were not a few who failed in the terrible night hour of fiery trial.

As to the courage of leading Italian Reformers in general, we can have no reasonable doubt. They were children of a noble country, from ancient times famous for bravery and endurance; they had a soil where heroism grew, fruitful as their own green vineyards, and on their natural temperament was engrafted many a grace derived from the Gospel they received into their hearts; but their virtues derived little support from union of effort, from concert of plans, and from combination of forces, upon which, in every cause, and in every enterprise, so much depends. Courage is not the only thing essential either to victory in the field or to reform in the Church. There must be system, cohesion, and some sort of organic arrangement. Religious reform, to be thorough and permanent, must include ecclesiastical reform. Government and discipline after some definite type is necessary. But this idea does not seem to have been reached by the Italian Reformers; and valid excuses may be made for them, inasmuch as circumstances rendered a practical attempt in this direction extremely difficult. Individualism in excess appears throughout our historical notices, and whether it arose from choice, or from the position in which the men found themselves placed, that makes no difference as to the actual result. There was from beginning to end an obvious want of mutual understanding and social consolidation. Each soul "was like a star, and dwelt apart"; they did not form one united constellation. Had there been full sympathy and wise correspondence with the Waldensian Church, and also progress along its lines of government and discipline, the consequences might have been most beneficial.

There were causes at work amongst the Reformers themselves which contributed to their failure. The disunion which existed, the controversies which arose, the disputes between Lutherans and Zwinglians which penetrated into Lombardy, and, worse still, the anti-evangelical speculations which became rife in some divisions of the Protestant camp; these produced disastrous effects—impairing

Protestant strength, and giving occasion for Roman Catholic reproaches. Moreover, the flight of certain standard-bearers is to be added to the causes of defeat. The abandonment of Italy by the two native Protestants, Ochino and Peter Martyr, has been often deplored. "If Ochino's departure," remarks Benrath, "was for him the only means of attaining inner peace and calmness of soul, it was an irreparable loss for the evangelical movement in Italy. Only a short time before a cardinal had said at Rome, 'Lutheranism would be at an end in Italy, if Ochino would declare against it, but he will not;' so great was his reputation in the circles pervaded by Reformatory ideas." No doubt, in the existing state of Italian opinion, opposition to reform would have been more effective on one side, than any measure of support, however able and zealous, on the other; still, had Ochino remained in his own country, he might have done immense good to a cause that had to struggle with enormous difficulties; and the moral effect of such a man's heroism might have told more than that of less illustrious confessors. Peter Martyr's flight was in some respects more lamentable. His Church had been held up as a model of constancy: for him to desert it was a fatal blow. He weighed the advantages and disadvantages of opposite courses in the scales of prudence, and though his hopes of usefulness elsewhere might be plausible, it was impossible to prevent his conduct from being ascribed to fear; and that was most discouraging to his Italian brethren.

The Evangelical Reformation of the sixteenth century nearly died out in Italy within the next hundred years; but a revival has occurred in our own time. Italy now is different from Italy twenty-five years ago. Many towns and cities remain much as they were; mediæval piazzas, palaces, and fountains look as they did when proud, wilful, warlike republics and duchies quarrelled with one another. But Venice and Milan, Florence and Rome show symptoms of material change, and picturesque streets are giving place to modern architecture. The Via Nazionale, in "the

Eternal City," is typical of revolution elsewhere, and of another kind. The political events of the last few years are marvellous. Italy now enjoys political freedom. It has a constitutional sovereign, and a popularly elected parliament. There is a free press, and it teems with expressions of sentiments in the utmost variety. Education, once in the hands of priests, is now widely extended, and largely based on lay principles. The object is to keep the training of youthful minds as much as possible free from sacerdotal despotism, no doubt an effect of the maxim that "a burnt child dreads the fire." Not that Catholicism, though repressed, is crushed by the energies of the secular powers. Where scepticism does not prevail, the people are intensely attached to the faith of their fathers. They still regard with deep reverence their old ritual, with its prominent worship of "the Holy Virgin." Of this circumstance, as might be expected, advantage is taken by the Papal party, and everything practicable is done by priests, in opposition to the efforts of Protestant propagandism. Even the present Pope, in a letter to the Cardinal-Vicar, under date March 25, 1879, asserts in effect, "that he understands the liberty and dignity of the Roman Pontiff, to signify removing from Rome the means of practising and propagating whatever, in the opinion of the Roman Church, is heretical; that, if he possessed the liberty he claims, *he would employ it to close all Protestant schools and places of worship in Rome*; and that his gradually increasing insistence on the restoration of the temporal power, is prompted by the equally increasing conviction, that until the Roman Pontiff regains earthly sway in the city it will be impossible for him to prohibit liberty of worship and instruction." The antagonism of Church and State in Italy is unmistakable, but, as to the legal existence of religious liberty, the latter is in the ascendant; and in this respect the contrast between the nineteenth and the sixteenth centuries is complete and perfect.

Protestants avail themselves of the liberty afforded. The

ancient Church of the Vaudois, animated by their cherished traditions, has regarded itself as the vanguard of the evangelical army. The head-quarters of a peaceful crusade is established at Florence, where young men are educated for the Christian ministry, under the superintendence of Professor Comba. In 1880, Waldensian Missionary Reports record about forty constituted Churches, thirty-two stations, and about eighty localities visited for evangelistic efforts. One hundred and eight pastors, evangelists, and other agents, are employed in instructing above 20,000 people, regular and occasional attendants; communicants being reckoned in 1879 as 2,813. In the month of April this year, 1881, the Roman Catholic church of San Giovanni in Conca, in Milan, was reopened after being adapted for Divine worship, conducted by the Waldensian community; and Signor Turino reports: "If we are meeting with opposition from the priests and infidels, we are happy to tell our friends that everywhere we are finding some souls who listen eagerly to the Gospel." The Chiesa Libera, or Free Italian Church, combines a number of congregations, acting upon Independent principles, whilst something of a Presbyterian element constitutes them one comprehensive organization. This body, which is of recent origin, has eighteen hundred communicants, and above two thousand pupils in day and Sunday schools. On the heights of Albano, and in the streets of Brescia and Milan, Genoa and Venice, it is spreading the simple gospel of Jesus Christ, with small means and amidst great difficulties. They have a college in Rome at the foot of the bridge of S. Angelo, where I met with fifteen students under the care of the Rev. Mr. Henderson, a clergyman of the Scotch Church. At Florence, the Chiesa Libera is very active, aided by the influence of the Rev. John McDougal, who has for so many years laboured in that city as pastor of the Scotch Church with honour and success; during my visit there last year, I was present when the agents brought in encouraging reports of their mission work. Another band of labourers, called

the Chiesa dei Fratelli, or the Free Church of the Brethren, commenced operations in 1848, under the auspices of Count Guicciardini, and this community has small congregations in several Italian cities. The Wesleyan Methodist Connexion, under the superintendence of an eloquent preacher, the Rev. Mr. Pigott, has fourteen ordained ministers in Italy, besides other agents, and their church in Rome is a very handsome edifice. The Chiesa Battista, in communion with the American Baptists, under the Rev. Dr. Taylor; and the Chiesa Cristina Apostolica, an open communion Baptist Church, with the Rev. James Wall for pastor, are both at work in Rome, the latter having sister communities in Turin, Leghorn, and Naples;¹ and to the labours of the minister must be added those of Mrs. Wall, who is actively employed in holding meetings of the Roman poor, and supporting a small Protestant hospital. There are others engaged in Italian evangelical efforts; and during the spring of 1880, the Rev. Dr. Somerville, a Scotch clergyman, visited Florence, Rome, and Naples, gathering together very large congregations, to hear English addresses, which were translated sentence by sentence. I attended on more than one occasion, when I was surprised as well as interested, to hear Italian hymns sung to Sankey's tunes, reminding one strongly of the movement in England a few years ago, conducted by the American revivalists. When I was visiting Rome last year, a congregation of between two and three hundred Protestant citizens attended a meeting of different denominations, held in the Waldensian church, where I had the privilege of addressing them through the medium of Mr. Pigott, who acted as interpreter. During the same visit I met at my friend's house a number of ministers engaged in the city and neighbourhood, all of whom appeared to be in sympathy with the spirit and purpose of the Evangelical Alliance.

¹ Most of this account is taken from *Annuario Evangelico anno 2° di pubblicazione*. Anno 1880.

In some respects, work of this kind now going on in Italy resembles Reformatory efforts of the sixteenth century. A strong foreign element is infused into home operations. As then, so at present, a few native Italians appear prominently as leaders of their brethren. Peter Martyr Vermiglio and Bernardino Ochino may be said to have successors, to some extent, in Signor Prochet, the president of the Waldensian missions, and Signor Gavazzi, who has identified himself with the Chiesa Libera. Both of them being men of eloquence, can command the attention of their fellow-countrymen; and if the latter Reformer, whose name is so well known throughout Europe, has played a conspicuous part in Italian politics, he has also the reputation of being an effective preacher of the gospel. The cause of civil liberty in Lucca of old, as we have seen, became connected with spiritual Protestantism; and most likely modern Italian Protestants hold what are called liberal opinions as to civil affairs; but politics are not predominant factors in the interests of their cause, any more than they were in the case of their predecessors three hundred years ago.

Another point of resemblance between past and present occurs, when we turn to the operations of the British and Foreign Bible Society. What was being done amidst extreme difficulties by Brucioli and others is now more advantageously accomplished through the agency of that noble Institution. The circulation of the Scriptures promoted the Italian Reformation I have described; and the same method of usefulness is a mainstay and a chief motive power in the instrumentalities which have revived the evangelical excitement of earlier days. Some who still adhere to the Romish Church secretly and quietly read the vernacular Scriptures. This is the case even in Rome; it is so also in certain small towns and remote villages, as appears from reports of the Bible Society. But the foreign element now differs in its influence from that which existed at the former period. Movements are largely controlled and money is largely contributed

by English and American Societies, whereas the impulses from without at the era of the Reformation were chiefly derived from the writings of Luther and Melancthon. It is moreover to be observed, that though indeed Valdes was not an Italian, but a Spaniard, yet most persons engaged in spreading Protestant opinions were natives of the country ; on the other hand, some leading evangelists of Italy now are Anglo-Saxon missionaries, and the native Churches are largely supported by friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and the United States. Further, it is to be remembered that these agents belong to distinct denominations, and adopt distinct modes of action, the nature of which is not obvious to persons connected with the Roman Catholic Church. I have heard that when a Protestant deputation was presented some time ago to the King of Italy, he told them each party would be at liberty to work in its own way, but he did not clearly understand the difference between the colours they carried. To many who take a deep interest in Italian missions, the extreme division of labour is matter for regret on several grounds, especially this, that it presents a broken surface to the eyes of Italians, a fact which they urge to the disadvantage of Protestantism. It encourages them to employ arguments against the cause akin to those plied long ago by the rhetorical Bossuet.



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