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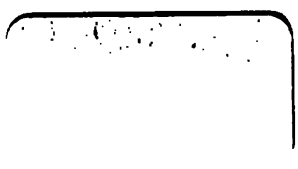

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# THE PAPAL CONCLAVES.

# THE PAPAL CONCLAVES

## AS THEY WERE AND AS THEY ARE.

By T. ADOLPHUS TROLLOPE

AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF FLORENCE," "PAUL THE POPE AND PAUL THE FRIAR," ETC., ETC.

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# PREFACE.

NEVER before, since a bishop's See was first established in Rome, whether by St. Peter or another, has the world at the period of the election of one Pope had so long a time in which to forget the election of his predecessor. St. Peter is said by tradition to have been bishop at Rome for twenty-five years. And no Pope of all the two hundred and sixty who occupied the See between his death and the election of Pius IX. ever reigned so long as Peter, the longest reign having been that of Pius VI., who died in 1799, after an incumbency of twenty-four years and eight months.

The present Pope has already reigned more than thirty years; and in the course of nature it cannot be long before the world will see yet one more Conclave. But not only will the coming Conclave be a newer thing to the world than ever was a Conclave before; it will take place under circumstances very essentially differing from those under which all former Conclaves have been held, for the Pope is no longer a temporal sovereign.

There exists no controlling cause why the Conclave which will elect the successor to Pius IX. should not

be in every external circumstance the exact counterpart of the Conclaves which have in these latter days preceded it. There is nothing, and it may safely be predicted that there will be nothing, to prevent the enactment of all the pride, pomp, circumstance of a Conclave according to the description of the institution given in the following pages. The Italian Government, unless it be changed in spirit very much more entirely than appears in any degree likely to be the case, will most scrupulously respect and protect the perfect independence of the electoral proceedings of the Sacred College, and would respect and protect all the exterior ceremonial of the occasion, if the princes of the Church should think fit to give the world the spectacle of it. But such will not be the case. And such a change of spirit as would lead them to do so is quite as improbable as such a change in the disposition of the Italian Government as was just now alluded to. The Church is undeniably under a cloud at present (to shine forth in her own opinion in undiminished splendour, when that temporary cloud shall have passed); and in her displeasure she chooses, probably more from policy than from temper, to pretend that the cloud is much heavier on her than it really is. She considers herself to be sitting in mourning and in captivity, and professes to be unable to "sing the Lord's song in so strange a land" as her own Rome has become to her. At least, she will not sing any portion of it with the wonted accompaniments of stately splendour and ceremonial pomp. Rome will not, therefore, see the old external circumstances and surroundings of a Conclave.

But the internal and essential business of the election will, there can be little doubt, be transacted strictly according to the prescribed forms. And if any difference shall be observed to exist in those respects which have any real influence on the election, it will be found in this, that the civil governments of Europe will have—to use a vulgar but expressive phrase—much less say in the matter than has heretofore been the case, and much less means of making any say which they may wish to utter, heard or attended to. The election will be, it may be predicted, an especially pure one—that is to say, it will be the real object of probably all the electors to choose the man whom they think to be the most fitted and the most capable of serving the interests of the Church as they are understood by the Romish hierarchy. That there may be great differences of opinion among men all equally desirous of serving those interests, is exceedingly probable. But if there be, as it may be with tolerable certainty conjectured that there are, two currents of opinion in the Sacred College on the great subject of the earnest desires of all its members, it is wholly impossible for the lay world—nay, it is probably impossible for their Eminences themselves—to predict which of these two currents is likely to prove the stronger in the Conclave.

It is very possible that the future may have disclosed what it has in store for us in this respect before these pages come beneath the eye of the reader. But be that as it may, and be the result of the election which gives a successor to Pius IX. what it may, the election of a Pope is still one of the most important events of con-

temporary history, and one of the most pregnant with consequences of deep moment to a very large portion of the human race. And it can hardly be, therefore, but that some sufficient account of the mode in which a Pope becomes such, must have an interest for those who witness the close of the present, in all respects, exceptional papacy.

It can hardly be necessary to tell any reader that to attempt to write, or to pretend to have written, a history of all the Conclaves which have elected Popes within the compass of such a volume as the present, or of a dozen such, would be preposterous. The present writer has made no such attempt. What he has endeavoured to do has been to give an intelligible account of the progress and growth of those abuses and encroachments, which led to the institution of the Conclave; to sketch the successive modifications which have built up Conclave law, as it now exists; to show the impotence of all those modifying regulations to attain with any reality the objects they had in view; to point out the reciprocal action of Popes and Conclaves on each other, and the influence of the general tendencies of the times on both; to indicate very generally and summarily the successive changes which have passed over the spirit of the Papacy itself; to give such a detailed account of two or three selected Conclaves as might serve as specimens of the Conclaves of the ages from which they have been taken; and, lastly, to give a brief account of the present method of proceeding in holding a Conclave.

Possibly the subject is one in which the English reader may be interested to such an extent; but I

hardly think that, even if all conditions of time and space had been favourable, a more lengthy *resumé* of the tons of volumes which have been written on the subject would have been acceptable to the time-pressed British public of the present day.

Rome, *June 5th*, 1876.

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# BOOK I.

## HIERARCHY IN STATE OF FLUIDITY.

# THE PAPAL CONCLAVES.

## BOOK I.

*HIERARCHY IN STATE OF FLUIDITY.*

### CHAPTER I.

**First Tentatives.**

THE system by which the Pope appoints a body of men who become the electors of a new Pope has not been invented, but has grown. Like other social systems and arrangements which have succeeded in establishing themselves in the world as durable institutions, it grew, and shaped itself as it grew, in accordance with the nature and tendencies of the body social out of which it sprung. The manner in which this system has acted for the effecting of the purposes for which it was intended has been exceedingly curious, very peculiar, and characteristic of the institution of which it became an important part; often very dramatic, always highly interesting, not only to the student of ecclesiastical history but to the observer of human nature; and not unfrequently, both in past and present times, influential in the highest degree on the contemporary history of Europe. It may

be supposed, therefore, that some brief account of the method and working of this singular and unique institution, as it has been shaped by circumstances and human passions, might be not unacceptable to many the course of whose reading lies far out of the track which would make these matters necessarily familiar to them. A brief account it must be, though the story of several of the Conclaves might be so told separately as to occupy a volume as large as this, perhaps neither unprofitably nor unamusingly. But it is much if those whose special studies do not lead them in this direction can find time to read one small volume on the entire subject. It were useless to hope for more.

It is the purpose of this volume, then, to give such a general account of the working of the system by which for more than fifteen centuries the Popes have been chosen, as may be, it is hoped, made interesting to the general reader as distinguished from the special student. To the latter the present writer makes no pretence of offering anything that he does not already well know.

As in the case of other institutions which have grown up by a process of development and endogenous growth, the beginnings of this institution were rudimentary, irregular, confused, and uncertain. Much that in the course of generations became fixed, legalised, and in process of time fossilised, was in the beginning in a fluid and plastic condition. And the uncertainty and confused nature of the development in question was all the more marked in that it was in every respect abusive. It was, in truth, as has been said, a development, an endogenous growth, and natural outcome of the

system from which it sprung. But none the less was the progress of its growth at every stage abusive, and in contradiction to the original and true principles of the body which developed it. There are organisms the most natural and most to be expected development of which is one in contradiction to the organic principles they profess. And it may probably be considered that the greatest social organism which the world has ever seen, the Catholic Church, may be one of these. It will be expedient, therefore, to trace very briefly the course of those events and arrangements which led to the definitive organisation of the Conclave, as the means by which a successor to St. Peter was to be provided. And that will be the business of this first book.

It has ever been a claim of the Catholic Church that it is the most democratic society that the world has yet seen. Logical accordance with the principles inculcated by its Founder and with the purposes for which it exists would require that it should be such. And the theory of the institution has at no time failed in accordance with those principles and purposes. Nor can it be denied that the practice of the Church has been in every age to a great extent in conformity with its theory in this respect. If, at all times—and certainly not less so in these later days than in older and less decency-loving times—the door of admission to the higher places and dignities of the Church has been more freely and more easily opened to the great and powerful ones of the earth, yet there has been no age from the earliest to the present in which its places of power, wealth, and dignity, in every grade, have not been accessible to the lowliest.

If the present Pope be the scion of a noble house, his immediate predecessor had been a peasant-born friar.

Nevertheless, although the Church has, to a great extent, preserved its characteristic democratic tendencies as regards its relations with the lay world outside the priestly pale, it is a curious and significant fact that the policy of its own internal arrangements and government has continually tended to become ever more and more aristocratic, oligarchic, and despotic. It has been the conscious policy as well as the self-acting tendency of the institution to deliver every lower grade in the hierarchy ever more and more stringently bound into the power of its immediate superior. Parochial clergy have been more and more entirely subjected to their bishops; and bishops have been effectually taught to submit, not only their conduct, but their souls, to the great central despot at Rome. And the strength of this tendency, most vigorous in that centre ganglion of the system, has singularly manifested itself there by the invention of an entirely adventitious order of ecclesisastic nobles—the Sacred College. And the scope and aim of this invention has been to turn the original Apostolic Church democracy into one of the closest oligarchies the world has ever seen, as regards the highest purposes of ecclesiastical government.

Ecclesiastical theory recognises the Bishop of Rome as the universal Metropolitan of Christendom, because he is the successor in that see of the apostle to whom Christ said, "Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam!" And the circumstance that Rome was the seat of empire and centre of the civilised world has produced coincidence between that theory and historic

fact. It has been denied by historical inquirers of polemic tendencies that St. Peter ever was Bishop of Rome, or present there at all. I think, however, that it must be admitted that the balance of evidence, though certainly not reaching to historic proof, is in favour of the truth of the facts as claimed by Rome. But in truth, the whole story of the early days of the Church at Rome, including the dim and shadowy names of the Pontiffs who are chronicled as having succeeded each other in the seat of Peter, is in the highest degree legendary. Nor have we any means of knowing by what process it was settled among the faithful that the man who became their bishop should be such. For twelve hundred years indeed after the first establishment of the see of Rome, though the chronological place and identification of the majority of the Popes is sufficiently clear and satisfactory, the succession is in many instances so obscure, and so far from being historically ascertained that the immense amount of learning that has been expended on the subject has not availed to bring the learned disputants to a common understanding on the subject, or to produce any intelligible and trustworthy line of papal succession. The main difficulty of the matter arises from the number of Antipopes, and the exceedingly obscure questions which arise as to many of these whether he is to be considered as Pope or Antipope. From all which it will be readily understood that little can be said with any degree of certainty as to the method of Papal election during those centuries. There is every reason to think that in the earliest times the bishop was chosen by the voices of all the faithful belonging to that "Church"—to the

society, that is, of the Christians who lived there. Ecclesiastical historians are anxious to maintain that from the earliest time the clergy alone had the privilege of voting on the subject, while the people were only asked for their consent to the choice thus made. Not all even of the orthodox writers on the subject insist on this; and it is far more probable that the Roman Bishop was in the earliest ages chosen by the whole body of the faithful, and that most likely by some more or less fixed and orderly process, not in perfect accordance with any regular system of votation.

We thus find Boniface I., who had reason to fear that the peace of the Church might be troubled after his death by the turbulence of an Antipope, one Eulalius, writing in 419 to the Emperor Honorius a letter, in which he enjoins on him that no one should be elected Pope by means of intrigues, but that he only should be considered the legitimate Pope who should be chosen by Divine judgment and with the consent of all.* The vague nature of this recommendation is sufficiently indicative of the uncertain and unregulated practices that prevailed in the election. The address of this letter to the Emperor, moreover, and the reply of the latter, mark the fact that the Emperors had already begun to exercise a more or less admitted and recognised influence over the pontifical elections. A few years later, in 461, St. Hilarius finds it necessary to decree that no Pope shall appoint his own successor. In 499 St. Symmachus, in a council held at Rome, and attended by seventy-two bishops, decrees that he shall be accepted as Pope who

* Labbe, Concil., tom. iii. col. 1582.

shall have united all the suffrages of the clergy, or at least of the greater part of them. In this same brief† we find the earliest promulgation of a rule which sundry later Pontiffs, notably Paul IV., in 1558, confirmed and made more stringent, and which to the present day is held as one of the fundamental and most important rules of all connected with the election of a successor to St. Peter. It provides that while the Pope lives no negotiation or conference shall take place with regard to his successor, and this under pain of excommunication and forfeiture of all offices. At the death of Symmachus, we find Odoacer publishing a law, given by Labbe under the year 502 (Concil., tom. iv. col. 1334), by which he forbids any pontifical election to be proceeded with without the participation in the deliberations of himself or a pretorian prefect on his behalf. The barbarian king, however, alleged that Symmachus had requested him to take this step; and the ecclesiastical historians admit that some such request may have been made, but assert that Odoacer availed himself of it to usurp a power which it had never been intended to confer on him. As late as 1072 we find the election of Gregory VII., the great Hildebrand, promulgated in the following terms: "We, the cardinals of the holy Roman Church, and the clergy, acolytes, subdeacons, and priests, in the presence of the bishops and abbots and many other personages ecclesiastical and lay, this day, the 21st April, 1072, in the church of St. Peter in Vincula, elect as the true Vicar of Christ the Archdeacon Hildebrand, a person of much learning," &c., &c., &c., "and we will that he

* Labbe, Concil., tom. iv. col. 1313.

should have that same authority in the Church of God which St. Peter exercised over that same Church by the will and ordinance of God."* In short, for more than a thousand years the elections of the Roman Pontiffs got themselves accomplished in all sorts of varying and irregular ways, as best might be, with now more and now less attention on the part of the electors to the real, or at least professed, objects and nature of the office, and now more and now less intervention of corruption within the Church and high-handed lay violence from without. In process of time, as the number of clergy became very much larger, and disorders in the proceedings at the papal elections became more serious, it was thought desirable before the close of the eleventh century to determine that the election of the Bishop of Rome should be entrusted to the leading priests in Rome—"preti primari"—and the bishops of the immediately neighbouring sees exclusively.

The variations of practice during the five hundred years previous to this date, 1072, are chronicled by Moroni,† who counts up eighteen different methods used during this period in the process of election. It will hardly be deemed necessary that the points of difference which characterize these eighteen modes of election should be registered here. It will be sufficient to say that the general tendency of them all was to place the power of election in the hands of a small clerical oligarchy, and to exclude the lay element, especially as represented by crowned heads, from any participation in

* Baronius, ad an. 1074. Labbe, tom. x. col. 6.

† Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-ecclesiastica, vol. xxi. p. 199.

it. It cannot be denied that this restriction, and the practice and claim which grew out of it, were justified, and it may almost be said necessitated, by the circumstances of the time and the nature of the case. It is no doubt a monstrous thing that a handful of Roman priests should possess the privilege and right of nominating an individual to exercise such a power in Christendom as that of the Popes grew to be. And though the more modern practice of selecting the members of the Sacred College from a much larger field, while adhering nominally to the ancient practice by virtue of the titles still assumed by the cardinals, may be held to have greatly modified the crude excess of the pretension as it was originally put forth, it is still an outrageous claim that the creature of such a body as the Sacred College should exercise such authority as is attributed to the Pope over the entire body of the Church, which claims to be *de jure* co-extensive with the world. But it may be safely assumed that neither the better nor the worser men of the curiously heterogeneous band of admirable saints and turbulent self-seeking sinners which constituted the Roman clergy of that time had any clear notion of the greatness of the thing they were arrogating to themselves. And it is at the same time very difficult, whether from the standpoint of the fifth or that of the fifteenth century, to imagine any scheme by which the end to be attained could have been on the whole more advantageously reached. It may be admitted further, that (though the circumstances which determined and finally fixed the pontifical election in the method which it has followed for more than a thousand years will

doubtless be eventually found to operate, like the canker at the root of a widely-branching tree, to the ultimate destruction of the institution) the amount of success which has been achieved by an arrangement so little promising in its appearance is one of the most interesting and curious problems which the history of the world offers to the statesman and sociologist.

## CHAPTER II.

Lateran Council of 1059.—Order of Cardinals.—Meaning of the Term.—First Traces of a Collegiate Body of Cardinals.—Number of the Cardinals.—Variations in this respect under different Popes.—"Titles" of the Cardinals.—Three Orders of Cardinals.—Numbers of Cardinals created by different Popes.—Motives for keeping up the Number in the Sacred College.—Cardinals *in petto*.—Anecdote of Alexander VIII.

THE first step towards arriving at a fixed oligarchical method of election had, however, been taken somewhat before that election of the great Hildebrand as Gregory VII. in 1073. In the year 1059 Pope Nicholas II. had been raised to the throne in fact by the influence of Hildebrand, whose commanding figure stands forth during all this period as the real and effective ruler of the Church. This Nicholas had in the previous year held a council at the Lateran, by a decree of which he expressly deprived the general body of the clergy and the Roman people of any share in the pontifical elections for the future.* "The right of electing the Pontiff," so runs the decree, "shall belong in the first place to the cardinal bishops, then to the cardinal priests and deacons. Thereupon the clergy and the people shall give their consent; in such sort that the cardinals shall be the promoters, and the clergy and the people the followers." In the same decree Pope Nicholas orders,

* Labbe, Concil., tom. ix. col. 1013.

that the future Pontiffs shall be chosen "from the bosom of the Roman Church" (which means, say the ecclesiastical writers, "from among the cardinals"), if a fitting person shall be found among them; and if not, from the clergy of any other church. He further orders that, "if it should happen that the election cannot by reason of some impediment be made in Rome, it may be performed elsewhere by the cardinals, even though there should be but few of them."

Here we arrive at some degree of fixity in the attribution to the cardinals of the exclusive right to elect the Pope. We do not quite yet emerge from the fluid state of the hierarchical institution; for further decrees were necessary and further vicissitudes had to be undergone before the solid condition of the institution is reached. But all the further changes and the decrees of subsequent Popes regard only the manner in which the cardinals are to carry out the task entrusted to them. It may be proper, then, here to explain as briefly as may be the origin and meaning, so far as it had any meaning, of the order of cardinals.

The dire necessity which constrains every wonderfully learned Dryasdust to find some different solution for his erudite problems from that suggested by his predecessor Dryasdust, has caused various more or less fanciful explanations of the origin of the term cardinal, as the title of an ecclesiastical prince, to be put forward. There seems, however, to be little room for doubt that the simplest of these is the true one. *Cardo* is the Latin for a hinge. The cardinal virtues are those upon which the character of a man mainly *hinges*, and are,

therefore, the *principal* virtues. "Cardinals" are then principal priests. At all events Pope Eugenius IV., writing in 1431, supposed this to be the origin and meaning of the word. He calls the cardinals those on whom all the government of the Church hinges. "Sicut per cardinem volvitur ostium domus, ita super hoc sedes Apostolicæ totius Ecclesiæ ostium quiescit et sustentatur." Some antiquaries have endeavoured to show that the term is used as early as the second century. This seems doubtful.* But it is certain that the word was in common use in the fifth century. Various principal and leading priests were then called "cardinals." But the name had not yet come to have the signification

* Bingham, when pointing out that *archipresbyteri* were by no means the same thing as *presbyteri cardinales* (book ii. chap. 19, sec. 18), says that the use of the term cardinal cannot be found in any genuine writer before the time of Gregory the Great, *i.e.* the close of the sixth century. "For," says he, "the Roman Council, on which alone Bellarmine relies to prove the word to have had a great antiquity, is a mere figment."

I retranslate from the Latin translation of Bingham, not having a copy of the original English to refer to. Nevertheless, whether Bellarmine cites them or not, there are a few other authorities for the earlier use of the term. See Moroni, *voc.* Cardinal.

In alluding (*loc. cit.*) to the origin of the term, Bingham notices the opinion of Bellarmine, that the word was first applied to certain principal churches, and remarks, that others have supposed that those among the priests in populous cities, who were chosen from among the rest to be a council for the bishop, were first called cardinals. And he cites Stillingfleet, who writes, in his "Irenicon" (part ii. chap. 6): "When afterwards these titles were much increased, those presbyters that were placed in the ancient titles, which were the chief among them, were called *cardinales presbyteri*, which were looked on as chief of the clergy, and therefore were the chief members of the council of presbyters to the bishop." The title, however, seems to have been applied to the entire body of the canons in certain churches, as a privileged use allowed to those special sees. As to the above-mentioned council said to have been held at Rome by Sylvester I. in 324, it is regarded as authentic by Baronius as well as Bellarmine, and is judged to be apocryphal by Van Espen.

it subsequently acquired. The canons of various cathedral chapters, notably those of Milan, Ravenna, Fermo, Cologne, Salerno, Naples, Compostella, &c., were gratified with the appellation of cardinals. There are passages of ancient writers from which it appears clear that at one period all the clergy of the Roman churches were called "cardinals." In France those priests empowered to hear confessions and give absolution seem to have been called "cardinals."*

In fact the use of the word, and the practice in assuming and conceding the title, seems to have been, like so much else in those ages, exceedingly vague. Nor for a long time was the restriction of the title to the class which now alone uses it decisive and fixed. It appears gradually to have been understood to appertain only to those whom the Pope specially created cardinals. At last, in 1567, Pope Pius V. definitively† decreed that none should assume the name or title of cardinal save those created such by the Roman Pontiff; and from that time to the present day the name has been exclusively applied to the body of men who are now so called.

Thus much for the name. That the dignity existed in such sort, that the cardinals of the Roman Church, or rather of the Church at Rome, were deemed of far

* Cave, writing of Anastasius the Roman librarian (vol. ii. p. 56. col. 2.), says that he was ordained by Leo IV. about the year 848 presbyter of the titular church of St. Marcellus, and quotes the words of Pope Leo: "Presbyter cardinis nostri quem nos in titulo, B. Marcelli Martyris atque Pontificis ordinavimus." That is to say, continues Cave, that that church was specially intrusted to him, that he might continually be busied in the care of it, "Tanquam janua in cardine suo," and so commonly called a cardinal.

† Moroni, Dizionario, tom. ix. p. 247.

superior rank and dignity to those of any other church, who more or less abusively called themselves by that name, at least several centuries earlier, has been sufficiently seen. But it does not appear that the idea of the *Sacro Collegio*—of a collegiate body composed of the cardinals, and of them alone—arose till long after the earliest mention of cardinals. It is said that traces of such a conception may be found in the life of Leo III., created in 795, which is extant by Anastasius. Moroni cites a variety of writers and documents of the centuries between that date and the end of the eleventh century, for the purpose of showing that at all events by the end of that time the body of cardinals was recognised as a collegiate corporation. And he then proceeds, "Having fixed the epoch at which the cardinals were known even by name as the Sacred College," &c. But in fact his citations show nothing of the sort, and appear to me to indicate rather the reverse. At all events he fails to adduce any instance in which the phrase in question is used.* Nor have I been able to discover when the body of cardinals was first so called. The institution, indeed, seems to have continued in a very fluid state till a much later date. And it is not till Sixtus V., by the Bull *Postquam*, dated the 3rd of December, 1585, finally

* "The institution of cardinals properly so called," says Cave, "is referred to the middle of this century—the eleventh. There were indeed cardinals in the Roman Church before this, that is to say, clerks fixed in and taking titles from the more celebrated churches of the city. Nor were cardinals wanting in others of the most important churches. But about this time they were enrolled—*asciti sunt*—in an Apostolic College, as counsellors of the Pope, assistant judges—*conjudices*—senators of the city and the world, true hinges of the world—*veri mundi cardines*."—CAVE, *Scrip. Ec. Hist. Lit.*, tom. ii. p. 124, col. 2.

regulated the composition of the *Sagro Collegio*, that we find ourselves on solid ground. Up to this time not only was the number of cardinals exceedingly variable in fact, but the theory of what the number ought to be, as far as any theory existed on the subject, was equally uncertain. Thus John XXII., when requested to create two French cardinals in 1331, replied that there were only twenty cardinals, that seventeen of these already were Frenchmen, and that he could therefore only consent then to create one French cardinal. And at the death of Clement VI. in 1352, the cardinals determined that their number should not exceed twenty. Urban VI. (*ob.* 1389) created a great number; and the College made representations to Pius II. (*ob.* 1464), to the effect that the dignity of the purple was diminished by such excess. Sixtus IV. (*ob.* 1484), however, multiplied the number of his creations to a hitherto unexampled degree. And Alexander VI. (*ob.* 1503), who drove a very lucrative trade in cardinal-making, exceeded him. But Leo X. (*ob.* 1521), having no regard, as we are told, for all that had been said or done by his predecessors, created thirty-one cardinals at one batch. He created in all forty-two in the short space of eight years and eight months, and left at his death no less than sixty-five, a number unprecedented up to that day. Paul III., however, the Farnese Pope (*ob.* 1549), created seventy-one. But Paul IV. (*ob.* 1559), after consulting the Sacred College, issued the Bull called *Compactum*, by which it was decreed that the number of cardinals should never henceforward exceed forty, and that no new cardinal should be created till the existing number had fallen to

at most thirty-nine. Despite this, however, his immediate successor Pius IV. (*ob.* 1565) raised the number of the cardinals to forty-six. Finally Sixtus V. (*ob.* 1590) established, by the Bull mentioned above, seventy as the fixed number—*i.e.* the maximum number—of the College, "after the example of the seventy elders appointed by God as counsellors of Moses." And this number has never since been exceeded, and may be considered at the present day as representing the complement of the Sacred College, though it is expressly laid down by the authorities on the subject that no canonical disability exists to prevent the Pope from exceeding that number if he should see fit to do so.

By the same Bull, *Postquam*, of 1585, Sixtus V. also determined that the seventy of the Sacred College should consist of six cardinal bishops, fifty cardinal priests, and fourteen cardinal deacons. The first are the bishops of the sees immediately around Rome. The deacons take their titles from the *diaconie*, established in the earliest centuries, and attached to certain churches, for the assistance and support of the widows and orphans of the faithful; and the cardinal priests take theirs from the most noted, venerable, and ancient of the parish churches in Rome.

As mistakes are frequently made about the assumption and "choice" of their titles by newly-created cardinals, it may be as well here to give a list of the *titles*, or sees or churches, after which the cardinals are designated. The cardinal bishops are the holders of the sees of—1, Ostia and Velletri; 2, Porto and St. Rufina; 3, Albano; 4, Frascati; 5, Palestrina;

6, Sabina. The fifty "titular" churches are St. Lorenzo in Lucina, St. Agostino, St. Alessio, St. Agnes, St. Anastasia, Saints Andrew and Gregory on Monte Celio, the Twelve Apostles, St. Balbina, St. Bartholomew in the Island, St. Bernard at the Diocletian Baths, St. Calistus, St. Cecilia, St. Clement, St. Chrisogonus, St. Cross of Jerusalem, St. John at the Porta Latina, Saints John and Paul, St. Jerome of the Slaves, St. Laurence in Damaso, St. Laurence in Panisperna, Saints Marcellinus and Peter, St. Marcellus, St. Mark, St. Mary of the Angels, St. Mary of Peace, St. Mary of Victory, St. Mary of Piazza del Popolo, St. Mary in Aracœli, St. Mary in Traspontina, St. Mary in Trastevere, St. Mary in Via, St. Mary sopra Minerva, Saints Nereus and Achilleus, St. Onophrius, St. Pancras, St. Peter in Montorio, St. Peter in Vincula, St. Prassede, St. Prisca, St. Pudenziana, the Four Crowned Saints, Saints Quiricus and Julietta, St. Sabina, Saints Sylvester and Martin on the Hill, St. Sylvester in Capite, St. Sixtus, St. Stephen on Monte Celio, St. Susanna, St. Thomas in Parione, the Holy Trinity on Monte Pincio. The fourteen deaconries are as follows: St. Mary in Via Lata, St. Adrian in the Forum, St. Agatha alla Suburra, St. Angelo in Peschiera, St. Cesareo, Saints Cosmo and Damian, St. Eustache, St. George in Velabro, St. Mary ad Martyres, St. Mary della Scala, St. Mary in Aquiro, St. Mary in Cosmedin, St. Mary in Dominica, St. Mary in Portico, St. Nicholas in Carcere, Saints Vitus and Modestus.

As regards these different orders of cardinals, it may be said that for most practical purposes, specially for all

purposes of the election of a Pontiff, they are in modern times equal. All have an equal vote. All are equally eligible; but are not, as is often imagined, exclusively eligible. Any fit and proper person, whom the cardinals may in their consciences think the most likely to rule the Church to the greater glory of God and welfare of his Church, may be elected. It is hardly necessary to say that such person has almost invariably been found among the members of their own body, and that there is not at the present day the smallest probability that any other should be chosen. One important point of difference there is between the cardinal deacons and their colleagues. The former need not be in full and irrevocable holy orders. But as regards the choice of the Pope and the business of the Conclave, this difference signifies nothing. Should a cardinal deacon be chosen Pope, he must receive priest's orders.

Since the time of Sixtus V., at the close of the sixteenth century, there have never been more than seventy cardinals at the same time. But inasmuch as the great majority of those promoted to that dignity are men far advanced in life, the succession is somewhat rapid; and it is recorded that Clement VIII. (*ob.* 1605), during a pontificate of thirteen years, created fifty-three cardinals. Paul V. (*ob.* 1621), during his reign of fifteen years, made sixty. Urban VIII. (*ob.* 1644) advanced no less than seventy-three persons to the purple, besides four left *in petto* * at his death, thus entirely renewing the Sacred College during his pontificate of twenty years. This Urban VIII. was the

* This phrase will be explained at a future page.

great Barberini Pope, whose zeal for the faith is seen in the celebrated College *de Propagandâ Fide*, and whose nepotism may be read in the vast Barberini palace and galleries and collections, and in the great number of buildings still marked by the bees, which were his cognizance. This was the man who stripped the bronze from the dome of the Pantheon to turn it into a canopy for the tomb of St. Peter, who used the Coliseum as a stone quarry for his building operations, and was the barbarian of whom scandalized Rome said, "Quod non fecerunt barbari, id fecere Barberini!"

Nevertheless, this notable Pope, whose "creations" in stone and mortar were about as numerous as those in "purple," was almost equalled in the latter respect by several of his successors. Clement XI. (*ob.* 1721), during a pontificate of twenty years, created seventy cardinals. Benedict XIV. (*ob.* 1758), during his reign of seventeen years, made sixty-four; and Pius VI. (*ob.* 1799), in the course of his pontificate of twenty-four years and eight months (the longest reign in all the long list till it was surpassed by that of the present Pope), sixty-three. Thus Urban VIII. (Barberini) would have remained on record as the most prolific creator of cardinals, were it not that Pius VII., during his papacy of twenty-three years and five months—the next longest to that of his predecessor Pius VI.—created no less than ninety-eight, besides leaving ten *in petto* at his death—a number which is the more remarkable from the fact, that, by reason of the disturbed condition of the times and the misfortunes occasioned to the world by the first French Empire,

he was not able to create any cardinal from the 26th of March, 1804, to the 8th of March, 1816. The number of creations due to Pius IX. will no doubt be large; but it is hardly likely, though his reign has been so much longer, that he will reach the number of Pius VII.

It may be observed, however, that it has not been without some show of good reason that the later Popes have been desirous of leaving a well-filled College of Cardinals at their death. The smallness of the number of Cardinals in Conclave has frequently been the occasion of difficulty in coming to an election, and consequent long duration of the Conclave—a circumstance which has always been held to be, and may readily be believed to be, injurious to the Church. In old times, indeed, when the period during which the Holy See remained vacant was one of utter anarchy and lawlessness in Rome, it was a matter of the highest importance that the election should be made as quickly as possible. And even in more recent times, a prolonged Conclave was always the cause of disorders both in Rome and to a certain degree in the Church generally. It may also well be believed that scandalous elections and simoniacal bargainings and promises were much more likely to occur in a College composed of but a small number of individuals.

Having had occasion to speak of the creation of cardinals *in petto*, it may be as well to take this opportunity of explaining the meaning of that phrase, before proceeding to speak of those regulations, customs, and specialties which are essential to a sufficient under-

standing of the nature of the august body to which the making of the Pope is entrusted.

Various causes occasionally arose to lead a Pontiff to deem it undesirable to name openly to the world the person whom it was his wish and purpose to create a cardinal. Sometimes the opposition, or at all events the discontent, of some one among the sovereigns of Europe, sometimes jealousies and ill-will among the members of the Sacred College themselves, and sometimes the consideration that the individual to be promoted might for a time be more serviceable to the Holy See in the less exalted dignity from which he was to be elevated to the purple, induced the Pontiff to keep his nomination secret. Martin V. (*ob.* 1431) was the first who thus created cardinals in secret. And the usage as practised by him and sundry of his successors is to be distinguished from the subsequent plan of creating *in petto* to which it led. Pope Martin created in one batch fourteen cardinals, naming and publishing only ten, and confiding in secret Consistory to the members of the Sacred College the names of the other four, who were thus secretly created but not published. The Pope further took the precaution of confirming his secret nomination in a subsequent Consistory, and not only strictly enjoined the cardinals to publish the creation of the persons in question and to consider them as cardinals in case he, the Pope, should die without having published them, but made them swear solemnly that they would do so. The case the Pope had looked forward to happened. Martin died without having published the names of the cardinals

thus secretly created. But the College, their promises and oaths notwithstanding, refused to recognise the persons in question as cardinals, or allow them to take any part in the election of the new Pope. In some similar cases, the succeeding Pope created afresh the secretly named cardinals of his predecessor out of regard for his memory. In more cases, those who remained unpublished when their patron died never obtained the purple. The cardinals themselves always set themselves strongly against these secret nominations.

But as time went on the absolutism of the Popes always went on increasing, and the power of the cardinals to resist it diminishing. And Paul III., the Farnese (*ob.* 1549), a very powerful and high-handed Pontiff, pushed the practice of secret nomination a step in advance. Up to that time the Popes had always named the cardinals whose promotion they were unwilling to publish in secret Consistory, taking the Sacred College into their confidence. Paul simply declared that besides those named as cardinal there were one or two others, as the case might be, whose names he reserved *in his own breast* (*in petto*), to be named when he should think proper. And, further, it became the practice for a cardinal created in this fashion to take precedence in the College according to the date of his secret nomination, whereas previously the secretly named cardinals had taken rank according to the date of the publication of their dignity.

The form used at present in the practice of this secret nomination is as follows. The Pope in Consistory, after

naming those whom he publicly creates, adds, "Alios duos [or more or less] in pectore reservamus, arbitrio nostro quandocumque declarandos." The Popes, however, have never succeeded in obtaining with any degree of certainty the recognition of cardinals thus made if they should be surprised by death before the publication of them. Sometimes they have been allowed to take their places in the Sacred College. Sometimes their title to do so has been rejected. More frequently, perhaps, than either, the succeeding Pope has given them admission to the College by a nomination of his own. It is now, however, a recognised maxim of the Roman Curia that no Pope on succeeding to the see of St. Peter is in any wise bound to recognise any nominations left by his predecessor in this incomplete condition, even if he should find the document in which his predecessor had registered his act in this respect, or if the facts of the case should become known to him in any other manner.

Sometimes it has been the Papal practice to cause some entirely confidential person of those about them to make out a list of those intended to be comprised in a coming creation of cardinals. And the secret history of the Vatican has many anecdotes connected with this practice. Bonifacio Vannozzi, of Pistoia, well known in the history of the Roman Court as having served it as secretary for more than thirty years, had been employed by Gregory XIV. (*ob.* 1591) to draw up such a list of contemplated promotions. Having subsequently passed into the service of the Cardinal di Santa Cecilia, the Pope's nephew, the latter, anxious to know the names of those who were to be promoted, succeeded in wrenching

them from his secretary Vannozzi, whose own name was in the list. The Pope soon found out that his nephew knew all about the new creations, and, sending for Vannozzi, told him that he had misinformed the Cardinal di Santa Cecilia in one respect at least, and so saying handed him the list and bade him erase his own name!

On another occasion it is related * that Pope Alexander VIII. (*ob.* 1691) sent for his secretary Gianfranceso Albani, who afterwards became Pope as Clement XI., that he might prepare an allocution to be spoken by the Pope on the following day but one, when a Consistory was to be held for the creation of twelve new cardinals. As the secretary proceeded with his work, the Pope, walking up and down the room the while, told him with many injunctions of profound secrecy the names of the cardinals to be made, one by one as the secretary came to that passage in the allocution which concerned them; for in Papal allocutions upon these occasions it is the practice for the Pope to utter some words of eulogy and record of services rendered to the Church with reference to each of the new nominees. The Pope had thus gone through the first eleven on his list, and then stopping in his walk said, "Well! why don't you go on with your notice of the twelfth?" "But who is the twelfth, your Holiness?" returned Albani. "What! don't you know how to write your own name?" said the Pope. "Thereupon," says the Jesuit biographer, who was, when he wrote, Bishop of Sisteron, "Albani prostrated himself before the Pope and conjured him to

* Lafiteau, Life of Clement XI., p. 27, 2 vols. 12mo, 1752.

nominate some more worthy person"—a little bit of hypocritical comedy which the Jesuit deems necessary to the due exaltation of his subject. But the Pope, who was virtually making him not only a cardinal, but his own successor next but one—Innocent XII. (*ob.* 1700) having reigned nine years in the interim—told him that he had made many changes in the list of those whom he purposed to elevate to the purple, but that he had never once thought of omitting his name.

## CHAPTER III.

**Ceremonial connected with the Creation of Cardinals.—Practice in the Earliest Ages.—Consultation of the College on the Subject.—Modern Practice.—Communication of his Creation to the new Cardinal.—His customary Duties thereupon.—Costume.—New Cardinal's Visit to the Vatican.—Patronage.—Ceremonial at the Apostolic Palace.—Speeches on the Occasion.—The "Beretta."—The new Cardinal's Reception.—Shutting and Opening of the new Cardinal's Mouth.—Cardinalitial Ring.—Fees.—Ages at which Cardinals have been made.—Anecdotes of Odet de Coligny, the Heretic Cardinal.—Laws restricting Popes a Dead Letter.**

It would occupy too much time and space to attempt to give a complete account of the ceremonies attendant on the creation of the members of the Sacred College. But as these ceremonies, both the strictly ecclesiastical portion of them and the social accompaniments of them, were for three or four hundred years, and up to the time of the recent revolution, which put an end to the temporal power of the Papacy, a prominent and leading feature in the routine of practices which constituted the life of the Apostolic "Curia," and in the social life of Rome, it is necessary to say a few words upon the subject. For unless the ecclesiastical and social dignity and position of a cardinal, and the sort of place he fills, or rather filled, in the eyes of the Roman world, be clearly understood, the meaning and significance of a Conclave will not be rightly apprehended.

In the earlier ages of the Church the ceremonial

observed in the creation of a cardinal was not only much more simple than it became at a subsequent period, which might have been expected, but it indicates also that there was in those days a very much greater reality in the theory which represents the Sacred College as an assisting and, to a certain degree, controlling Council established for the guidance of the Holy Father. And this, too, indeed, might be expected to have been the case by those who have paid any attention to the progress of Church history.

The creation of cardinals in the earlier centuries usually took place on the first Wednesday of the "Quattro Tempora" or fast, with which each of the quarters of the year began; and the first act of the creation took place mostly at Santa Maria Maggiore. There after the Introit and Collect of the Mass had been said, a reader ascended the pulpit, and turning towards the people, said in a loud voice, "Cognoscat caritas vestra quia (N. N.) de titulo (N. N.) advocatur in ordine diaconatus ad diaconiam (N. N.) et (N. N.) diaconus de titulo (N. N.) advocatur in ordine presbyteri ad titulum (N. N.). Si quis habit adversus hos viros aliquam querelam exeat confidenter propter Deum et secundum Deum, et dicat." * If any objection was stated, inquiry was made; and if it was found to be well founded, a different person was raised to the cardinalate. On the following Friday the

* "Be it known to your charitable consideration that N. N., of the title of N. N., is called in the order of deacons to the deaconry of N. N., and N. N., deacon of the title N. N., is called in the order of priests to the title N. N. If any man hath any complaint against these men, let him step forth with confidence, in behalf of God, and according to God's Word, and tell the same."

same thing was repeated in the church of the Twelve Apostles. The next day, the Saturday, at the mass at St. Peter's, after the Introit and the Collect, the Pontiff, turning to the people, pronounced these words: "Auxiliante Domine Deo, et Salvatore nostro Jesu Christo eligimus in ordinem Diaconi (N. N.) de titulo (N. N.) ad diaconiam (N. N.) et (N. N.) Diaconum di titulo (N. N.) in ordine Presbyteratus ad titulum (N. N.). Si quis autem habet aliquid contra hos viros, pro Deo et propter Deum exeat et dicat. Verumtamen memor sit conditionis suæ."* Then there was a pause for a short period, and if nobody came forward with any objection, the Pope proceeded to celebrate mass, and then declared the promotion of the persons named to the cardinalate, and gave them the scarlet hat then and there.

At a somewhat later period the Pope asked of the Sacred College assembled in secret Consistory whether in their opinion there should be a creation of cardinals, and of how many. Then on receiving an affirmative reply to the first question, he pronounced the words: "Nos sequimur consilium dicentium quod fiant."† Then according to the tenor of the replies to the second question, he said: "Nos sequimur consilium dicentium quod fiant,"—such or such a number. He then requested the members of the College to give the choice of persons their best consideration, and so dismissed the meeting. A second Consistory was held on the following Friday, and the first thing done was the deputing

* "Let him however be mindful of his own condition." A hint not to speak lightly or presumingly.

† "We follow the advice of those who say that there should be a creation."

by the Pope of two cardinals to go to the residence of all those who were too infirm to attend the Consistory, and collect their votes as to the persons to be promoted. When the deputation returned the Pope said: "Portetur nuda cathedra!" * Thereupon all the cardinals rose and ranged themselves against the wall of the hall so as to be out of ear-shot of the Pope's seat. The chair was placed at the Pontiff's right hand, and the Dean of the Sacred College seated himself in it. The Pope then in a low voice told him whom he thought of creating, and concluded with "Quid vobis videtur?" † One by one in order of seniority the whole College was thus consulted. When this was completed the Pope said aloud: "Deo gratias, habemus de personis creandis concordiam omnium fratrum," or "quasi omnium," or "majoris partis," ‡ as the case might be. And then the Pontiff at once proclaimed the new dignitaries with the following formula: "Auctoritate Dei omnipotentis, sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et nostrâ creamus Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ cardinales presbyteros quidem (N. N.), diaconos vero (N. N.), cum dispensationibus derogationibus et clausulis necessariis et opportunis." &c. On the following Saturday a public Consistory was held, at which the Pope addressed a hortatory allocution to the new cardinals, placed the hat on their heads, and kept them to dine with him. Soon, however, we find all semblance of consulting the Sacred College dropped; and long before the intricate mass of rules for the ceremonial at present

* "Let an empty chair be brought."

† "What do you think of it?"

‡ "Thanks be to God, we have the consent of all our brethren," or "of nearly all of them," or "of the majority."

prevailing were invented, the Pope simply announced to the assembled cardinals, "Habemus fratres;" * and then proceeded to declare the names of those he chose to promote.

It will be observed that from a very early time *secrecy* as to the names of those who were to be made cardinals, formed, as it still does amid so much else that has become changed, a very prominent feature in the method of proceeding. And we gather from this fact an indication of the difficulty the Popes had to steer their way in this matter amid all the jealousies, enmities, intrigues, which this exercise of their patronage brought into play, and which in the earlier times were always tending to break out into open violence and even warfare. They had also to guard against the embarrassments arising from the requests of those whom it might often have been difficult to refuse.

In later times, when the Pope has determined on the creation of a batch of cardinals, he calls a secret Consistory—an assembly, that is to say, of the Sacred College. He then proceeds to read the allocution, the preparation of which was described in the last chapter, and at the conclusion of it says, "Quid vobis videtur?" —"How seems it to you?" The words are as unreal a form as the "in pace" which consigned an erring nun to her living grave. For any expression of opinion on the subject by any member of the assembly would be as much out of the question in the one case as the hypocritical farewell is meaningless in the other. The assembled cardinals all rise, take off their purple caps (*berretta*)

* "We have as brothers."

and gravely bow their heads. Thereupon the Pope proceeds to the creation in the following solemn form of words: "Auctoritate omnipotentis Dei, sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli ac nostra, creamus Sancta Romanæ Ecclesiæ, cardinales presbyteros quidem (N. N.), diaconos vero (N. N.), cum dispensationibus, derogationibus, et clausulis necessariis et opportunis." * If any cardinals are to be created *in petto*, he here adds the form of words above given in the former chapter. He then thrice makes the sign of the cross with his right hand, saying as he does so, "In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen." And the Consistory is at an end.

It is supposed that no one of the newly made Cardinals has any idea that such greatness is about to be thrust upon him. Of course it is almost always all perfectly well known beforehand. There have been cases, however, in which the news of the promotion was wholly unexpected by the subject of it, but they are so few that Moroni gives a list of all the recorded cases. There are also many cases, occurring in times when communications were not so rapid as they are now, of persons having been created cardinals who were dead at the time of their creation.

With regard to those cardinals who are in Rome, and who are supposed to be entirely ignorant of the coming greatness, a master of ceremonies clothed in a purple mantle proceeds immediately after the termination of the Consistory to announce this promotion to each of

* "By the authority of Omnipotent God, and by that of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and by our own, we create cardinals of the holy Roman Church, in the rank of priests (So and so), and in the rank of deacons (So and so), with all the necessary and fitting dispensations, limitations, and reservations."

them *vivâ voce* at their own residences, informing them at the same time at what hour that same afternoon they are to go to the Apostolic Palace to receive the purple cap. In fact, however, this is not the first notice the new cardinals have received of their promotion, for a servant of the Cardinal Secretary of State, carrying a note from his master, has outrun the Master of Ceremonies in his purple mantle and anticipated him. A third messenger, however, bringing the same glad tidings, comes to each of the new Eminences. For the Cardinal Vice-Chancellor, being by virtue of his office the only man who can authentically certify the acts done in the Consistory, his substitute starts even before the Consistory is quite at an end, that is, as soon as ever the bell sounds which announces the utterance of the creating words, and is thus the first of all to carry the tidings. All this is settled prescriptively and perfectly known to all Rome—to all Rome as it was, for the greater part of the Rome of the present day knows no more of such matters than Londoners do. And it was not without reason that it should have been so, for all these various annunciations were the occasion of receiving large fees—a valuable part of the emoluments of the different offices, which, in some cases, had been bought on careful calculation of such profits.

As soon as ever the first announcement has been received, the new cardinal places himself clothed in purple cassock and band on the threshold of his residence, there to receive standing the so-called *visite di calore*, —the first heat visits, as we may say, of the prelates, nobles, military officers, and cardinals' gentlemen, who

come to offer their congratulations. Other and more formal visiting will follow in due time; but these *visite di calore* are supposed to represent the enthusiastic rush of friends breathless with delight at the unexpected news. On this occasion the new cardinal is to have a black skull-cap on his head, which he is not to take off to anybody, and he is to hold a somewhat larger black cap in his hand the while. The article which I have called a skull-cap is the *berettina*. The *berretta*, which the cardinal holds in his hand, is the square-cornered cap which the clergy use in church. The *berretta* of a cardinal is of silk for the summer and of cloth for the winter, save in the case of members of the monastic orders, who wear merino in the summer. And if the new dignitary be a canon regular, or a member of any of the monastic orders, his cassock, instead of being purple, must be of the colour of the dress of his order. To those of the newly-created cardinals who are not in Rome, the purple *berretta* is sent by the hands of a papal ablegate, but the purple *berettina* by those of one of the Pope's Noble Guard. In some cases where it has been intended to show special favour and distinction, the HAT itself has been sent to cardinals created at a distance from Rome. But this has been very rarely done.

Paul II. (*ob.* 1471) was the first Pope who granted to the cardinals the use of the purple, or rather scarlet, cap. Bonanni, in the 106th chapter (!) of his learned work on the cardinal's *berretta* says this colour reminds the cardinal not only of his superior dignity, but of the martyrdom for which he must be ever prepared for the

defence of the Church! A somewhat better known author, Petrarch, in a letter to the Bishop of Sabina,* speaks of certain cardinals who, "being not only mortal, but well-nigh moribund, are rendered oblivious of their mortality by a little bit of red cloth!"

For a long time the members of the monastic orders were spared this danger, and used caps of the same colour as their cassocks, which they still wear of the colour proper to their order. Gregory XIV. (*ob.* 1591), however, being moved thereto by the entreaties of Cardinal Bonelli, a Dominican, nephew of Pius V., thought seriously of granting the red cap to the cardinals of the monastic orders, and ordered the "Congregation of Rites" to examine the question. Five cardinals constituted the congregation, of whom the three oldest reported in favour of the measure. As they were not unanimous, however, on the question, Gregory thought it desirable to take the opinion of the entire College of Cardinals on the point; and a majority of three-quarters of the College being in favour of the innovation, the monastic cardinals got their red caps, and have worn them ever since. Accordingly, Gregory summoned the four monastic cardinals, who at that time belonged to the Sacred College, to the Quirinal, on the 19th of June, 1591, and there, having caused four red caps to be brought on a silver salver, placed them on the heads of the four cardinals kneeling before him without more ado (*senza ultra ceremonia*); and thus, with their red caps on their heads, they appeared at the mass celebrated that morning at the Church of the Apostles,

* Lib. xv. Epist. 4.

with the applause, says the special historian* of this important concession, of the whole court, no less than if there had been a creation of new cardinals. The importance of this event at Rome maybe measured by the fact that the volume above cited by no means contains the whole literature of the subject. Father Tommaso Gonziani published a letter on the same topic addressed to the Cardinal Alessandrino. There appeared also in 1592, and again in a second edition in 1606, a book "De Bireto rubro, dando S.R.E. Cardinalibus regularibus, responsa prudentum divini, humanique juris, ab Antonia Scappo, in Romana Curia advocato collecta, uno etiam addito ejus responso." We have also, "Responsum divini humanique juris consultorum de Bireto coccineo Illustriss, S.R.E. Card. regularibus a Pontifice conferendo. Rome, 1606." Indeed, it was time that this matter should be satisfactorily settled. For already a Franciscan friar, Cardinal of Aracœli, had been so discontented with the black cap, given him by Paul IV. (*ob.* 1559), that, after wearing it a year, he had sadly scandalized all Rome by audaciously assuming a red one on no authority but his own, "it being found impossible to make him understand that he ought not to wear red as well as the others"! "For how otherwise," said this Franciscan friar, "should he be saved from coming into contact with the populace?"

To return to the ceremonial of the day on which the new cardinals have been proclaimed. Half an hour before the time named for their arrival at the Papal palace to receive the *berretta*, each cardinal sends a carriage—not his state carriage but a more ordinary

* Catena, "Discorso della berretta rossa di darsi ai Cardinali religiosi."

one—with two chaplains and two chamberlains in it to the palace. One of the chamberlains carries wrapped in a purple cloth garnished with a golden fringe the rochet, the band, and the violet-coloured cape, and ordinary episcopal hat of his master. He consigns all these things to the master of ceremonies of the Sacred Palace, who places them in a chamber of the apartment of the cardinal nephew. All these dependents of the new cardinals then wait in the first ante-chamber, and the eldest among them places himself near the door in readiness to open the door of his master's carriage on his arrival. Why rehearse all this trash? Because at Rome, as Rome was, all these matters were deemed worthy of being minutely and irrevocably settled and appointed; and they are described authoritatively in the learned volumes of those whose mastery of the intricate and complex science of the etiquette of the Pontifical Court made them highly necessary specialists in their own branch of learning. A whole crowd of such facts are needed to give a nineteenth-century Englishman some notion of the social state and peculiarities of the old Papal Rome. And all these minute little services and duties were privileges carrying with them advantages in one kind or another. And the distribution of these privileges and the possibility of sharing in these advantages were matters that came home in one shape or another to half the homes in Rome, in every social class, and formed topics of conversation and interest in that strange little world so curiously shut out from all the subjects that were interesting the other big world outside! The Princess's tirewoman,

while dressing her mistress's hair, would seek to induce her to move her brother the Cardinal to appoint as his senior chamberlain some relative, or more probably some client who had feed the waiting-woman for her advocacy. Some family poor to the extent of all but wanting bread, but respectable by virtue of some family connection with somebody who held some post or office in the retinue or household of some prelate, would speculate on the contingent advantages that might arise to them through certain promotion that might fall to the lot of uncle Beppo, or cousin Giuseppe, Monsignore's *intendente di casa*, in case Monsignore should be raised to the purple. One gossip calls upon another in quest of a favour. "*Cara mia*, I should so like to get a look at the new cardinals as they come for their *berrette!* Now you know your husband's brother is *decano* in the family of his Eminence of San Pietro in Vincula that is to be. He will of course be at the carriage door at the Quirinal. If you could get him to let me have a little place in a corner—eh?" These things are patronage, and are valued, and make *safe* topics of interest and talk for a people!

Well! At the appointed hour the new dignitaries arrive at the palace in their state carriages, accompanied each by his master of the chambers and cupbearer, "or gentleman." The carriage must have its blinds down, and be preceded by one single servant "without umbrella" (the umbrella which always precedes a prelate on state occasions), and all the other servants of the household (men of course) follow the carriage, except the "sub-dean" (*i.e.* the servant second in

seniority), who walks at the right hand of the carriage door. The "dean," we remember, is waiting to open the door of the carriage for his master on his arrival. The new cardinal is received at the palace doors by a master of the ceremonies and the chief of the out-runners, and proceeds to the ante-chamber, where the cardinal nephew meets him and conducts him to his own apartment, where the master of ceremonies takes the prelate's band off him, and girds him with one adorned with tassels of gold. He also puts on him, unless he be a member of a monastic order, a rochet * and mantle. And thus accoutred he is presented by the cardinal nephew to the Pope, whom he finds seated on his throne clothed in rochet and cape,† and surrounded by all the dignitaries of his court. The new dignitary approaching kneels three times at intervals, and on arriving at the foot of the throne, led by the master of the ceremonies, he prostrates himself to kis the papal slipper. The master of the ceremonies then brings the scarlet *mozzetta* which the Pope places on the shoulders of the new cardinal with his own hands. He then similarly places the "berretta" of like colour on his head. But the master of the ceremonies who brought the *mozzetta* must not touch the *berretta*. The latter is brought by a prelate, "Monsignore Guardaroba," or at least by his deputy. As soon as

* The "rochet" is the linen garment reaching about half-way down the body, with sleeves covering the entire arm to the wrist, generally richly laced, which in the Roman Catholic Church answers to our surplice.

† Mozzetta. The mozzetta is that cape of fur or of silk peculiar to the Pope, cardinals, bishops, abbots, and canons, which the latter are ordinarily seen wearing in the choir during service.

this has been done, the new cardinal again kisses the foot and also the knee of the Pontiff, who then gives him the kiss of peace on both cheeks—*lo ammette al duplice amplesso.* Then the Pope makes a speech, in which he speaks of the shining merits of the new dignitary, of the motives which have moved him (the Pope) to make the creation, and reminds the new cardinal of the duties and responsibilities, which that dignity brings with it. The cardinal—or the senior of the group in the name of all, if, as is ordinarily the case, there are several—makes a speech in reply, full of promises and thanks, and concluding, says Moroni, * as if he were giving a receipt for the performance of this task, with a declaration that it is only to the Pontiff's indulgence that the promotion is due. Indeed, Parisi, the writer of a work entitled, "Instructions," respecting all these points of ceremonial, gives a collection of forms for these thanksgiving speeches!

As soon as the speech is finished the first master of the ceremonies pronounces "Extra omnes," and the Pope and the new cardinals and the Cardinal Secretary of State are left for awhile alone together. When they are dismissed they return to the outer room, where they find the "Monsignore Sotto Guardaroba" waiting for them, ready to present to each on a silver salver the *berettina*, or scarlet skull-cap, to be worn under the *berretta*, which they have already received in the Pope's presence; after which they return to the apartment of the Secretary of State, and after a little conversation depart in their carriages as they came. Arrived

* Vol. v. p. 160.

at his own residence, the new cardinal lays aside his rochet and mantle, and clad in cardinal's cassock and cape, and "with his red *berretta* in his hand," proceeds to receive the congratulatory visits of the Roman world.

The laws and regulations prescribed respecting the honorific custody, and, one may say, attendance, on this talismanic scarlet cap (not to to be confounded, it should be observed, with the still more majestic and awful *Hat*), are curiously illustrative of the ways and tone of the old Roman society. Even after the day of which we are speaking, the *berretta* is to be placed on a little table all to itself in the cardinal's throne apartment. His Eminence uses it whenever he is in a cardinal's canonicals. And on these occasions, when he takes it from his head, he gives it to his "gentleman of the chamber" to hold. When, however, his Eminence attends collegiate service in the Papal or Cardinal's Chapel, at the entrance to the sacristy, the gentleman of the chamber consigns the cap to the cardinal's train-bearer, who never quits his master, and hands it to him every time he covers himself during the service, which is very frequently, and when he receives incense. But on those occasions when the cardinals wear the mitre, the gentleman of the chamber always carries the *berretta*, and in processions holds it in his hand walking by the side of his master, "as an ensign," says Moroni,* of the cardinalitial dignity. Caraccioli, Bishop of Lecce, in the fifteenth century, strongly recommends the kissing of the *berretta* every morning and every evening.

* *Loc. cit.*

When any one of royal blood, or a brother or a nephew of the Pope, is created cardinal, the guns of St. Angelo fire a salute; and at the Consistory in which the publication is made the oldest member of the Sacred College rises immediately on the declaration of the name by the Pope, and prays the Pontiff to give him the scarlet *berretta* instantly on the spot, which, in accordance with duly registered precedent, his Holiness does.

The receptions held by newly-created cardinals on the evening of the day of their creations, as mentioned above, were always one of the great features in the old Roman society, and the evening in question was looked forward to as a time of high festival by all the city. There was a general illumination of the city, with fireworks and burning of tar-barrels, specially in front of the palaces of the cardinals and the representatives of foreign sovereigns. The fronts of the residences of the new cardinals were ornamented with illuminations in elaborate designs, and vast sums were spent on these decorations by the richer dignitaries, specially by such as were desirous of ingratiating themselves with the Roman people. It was a great matter for fine-drawn political speculations to watch carefully who went and who omitted to go, or who went early and eagerly and who late and perfunctorily, to the new cardinal's reception on the night of his creation. As a rule, "all Rome" was there, and his Eminence's rooms were all a-glitter with the crosses and stars of diplomatists, the gorgeous robes of ecclesiastical princes, and the diamonds of the Roman ladies, to whom these receptions were

occasions for displaying their utmost magnificence. The appearance of (say) the Imperial ambassador's wife with less than the full array of diamonds she was known to possess, still more, of course, her non-appearance, would at once have made a ground for speculating on the probability that the newly-made cardinal would be struck by the Imperial "Veto"* at the next papal election. The doors of the new Eminence were understood to be open on this occasion; and any stranger in Rome, or indeed anybody to whom the tailor or milliner had given a satisfactory ticket of admission, might enter.

There is one other curious ceremony which must be noticed before this, it may be feared tedious, chapter of the mode of cardinal-making can be concluded—the closing and opening of the mouths of the new cardinals. In the first secret Consistory after the creation, before laying before the members of the Sacred College the business in hand, the Pope addresses these words to the lately promoted dignitaries: "Claudimus vobis os, ut neque in consistoriis, neque in congregationibus, aliisque functionibus cardinalitiis sententiam vestram dicere valeatis." † And at the end of the same Consistory he says: "Aperimus vobis os, ‡ ut in consistoriis, &c., &c., sententiam vestram dicere valeatis. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen." And so saying, he makes the sign of the cross thrice with his right hand.

* An account of the origin, nature, and practice of this usage will be found in a subsequent chapter.

† "We close your mouths, so that you have no power to speak your opinion in consistories or congregations, or any cardinalitial functions."

‡ "We open your mouths," &c. &c.

It used to be the custom for the new cardinal, whose mouth had been shut, to leave the hall of the Consistory while the Pope consulted the Sacred College as to the opening of the mouth of their new colleague. Thereupon the novice came in and had his mouth opened. But this form has been disused of late times: an indication, even in such little matters of mere formality, of the general tendency to erect the pontifical power into a pure and absolute despotism, uncontrolled even by the semblance of any consultative authority in the College. At a still more remote period, the mouths of new cardinals were shut in one Consistory, and were not opened till the following meeting of the College.

Pope Eugenius IV. (*ob.* 1447) decreed that if any cardinal had not had his mouth opened at the time of the Pope's death, he could not take part in the following Conclave. But there are signs that there was previously some idea that such ought to be the case. For it is on record that the English Cardinal Winterburn was in this plight at the death of Benedict XI., in 1304, and that his mouth was opened by the Dean of the Sacred College, authorised to do so by a vote of the entire College. Pius V., however, by a decretal dated 26th January, 1571, repealed the decision of Eugenius.

After the opening of the mouth, the Pope places on the new cardinal's finger the cardinalitial ring of gold, with a sapphire, and at the same time assigns to each the church from which he is to take his title. In early times the ring of a deceased cardinal was given to the newly-created one. Nevertheless, there exist contemporaneous notices of cardinals disposing of the ring

in question by will; so that it should seem that also in this respect the institution was, in the fourteenth century, in a state of fluidity. In modern times it has been the custom for each new cardinal to pay for his ring five hundred crowns to the College *de Propagandâ Fide*, which till the money was paid did not despatch the brief (which it is the function of the College to do), on which depends the commencement of drawing the cardinal's allowance.

A few words may be added as to the age at which persons can be, or have been, made cardinals; and it will be seen that, in this respect also, the institution remained in a state of fluidity up to a comparatively recent period. It seems to have been generally understood that the rule was that thirty years of age should be requisite to the cardinalate. Yet Sixtus V., in the Bull which professed to regulate the requirements for eligibility to that dignity, decrees that no cardinal deacon shall be created under twenty-two years of age. He also declares that if one so created be not already in deacon's orders, he must receive them within the year, or remain without any voice in the College. Many Popes have, by dispensation, permitted the interval allowed before the necessity of taking deacon's orders to be greatly extended. But if the Pontiff happened to die during the time thus allowed, the cardinal who was not in orders could not, save by forthwith receiving them, enter the Conclave or vote for the new Pope.

In this matter of the age, however, at which a cardinal could be created, as in so many others, it has been found impossible to bind one infallible Vicar of

Christ by the decree of another. Despite all rules and precedents to the contrary, each Pope created such persons cardinals as it was convenient to him to create. Giocinto Bobo Orsini was created cardinal at twenty by Honorius II. in 1126, and became Pope as Celestine III. sixty-five years afterwards! Clement VI., in 1348, created his nephew, Peter Roger, cardinal at seventeen; and this young cardinal also became Pope in 1370 under the name of Gregory XI. Eugenius IV., in 1440, made his nephew, Peter Barbo, cardinal, who also subsequently became Pope as Paul II. Sixtus IV., in 1477, created John of Arragon, the son of Ferdinand, King of Naples, cardinal at the age of fourteen, but gave him the hat only four years later. The same Pontiff, at the same time, created his nephew, Raffaelle Riario, cardinal when he was seventeen and a student at Pisa.

Innocent VIII. (*ob.* 1492) created Giovanni Medicis, who afterwards became Leo X., and who had been Apostolic Protonotary ever since he was seven years old, cardinal at the age of fourteen, adding the condition that he was not to wear the purple till three years later, evidently indicating his (Pope Innocent's) opinion that a cardinal of seventeen might be created without scandal, as indeed such a step was, as we have seen, not without precedent. Alexander VI. (*ob.* 1503) created Ippolito d'Este a cardinal at seventeen, having the excuse indeed that Ippolito had at that time been an archbishop for the last nine years, Sixtus IV. having appointed him to the archiepiscopal see of Strigonia at the age of eight! At the same time Alexander created

Frederic Casimir Jagellon, the son of the King of Poland, when he was nineteen, and had already for some little time been Bishop of Cracow.

Leo X. (*ob.* 1521) was hardly grateful to the Pope who had made him a cardinal at fourteen, for, when Pope, he made Innocenzo Cibo, the nephew of his old patron, wait till his twenty-first year for the purple. But he created William de Croy a cardinal at nineteen, and Alfred of Portugal, the son of the King, at seven years old, on condition that he should not assume the outward marks of the dignity till he should have reached the mature age of fourteen! He also made John of Lorraine, son of Duke Réné II. of Sicily, cardinal at twenty, Alexander VI. having previously made him coadjutor to the bishopric of Metz at four years of age! Hercules Gonzaga, who had been made bishop of his native Mantua at fifteen by Leo X., was made cardinal by Clement VII. at twenty-two. The poor Bishop must have almost despaired by that time of ever reaching the purple! Clement made his own cousin Ippolito at eighteen, and Odet de Coligny, at the request of Francis I. of France, when he was in his twelfth year.

This promotion, however, turned out ill. For Coligny, though he became Bishop of Beauvais in his thirteenth, and Archbishop of Toulouse in his fourteenth year, and held many abbeys into the bargain, fell eventually into heresy, and had to be formally deposed from the purple. His heresy, indeed, was of the most flagrant sort. At Beauvais, one Easter, he received the Holy Communion in both kinds, which,

though he was a bishop and an archbishop, not being in full priest's orders, it was sacrilege to do. Then he "took to the profession of arms, giving thereby terrible scandal to all Catholics." Yet those who remembered the history of their Church, and the example of Julius II., and many another Pope and cardinal and bishop, need not have been so scandalized at this. But he fought on the wrong side! And still worse married, or, as the ecclesiastical writers are careful to point out, *pretended* to marry, a wife, Isabelle di Loré, Lady of Hauteville, "whom, deacon as he was, he lived with as a concubine." Thereupon Pius IV. (*ob.* 1565), on the 11th of September, 1563, proclaimed his deposition from the cardinalate throughout all France. He was exiled thence, escaped to England, where Elizabeth gave him and his wife Sion House to live in. He died and was buried at Canterbury, in 1568, poisoned, as was said, by his servants.

How fearful and wonderful a thing, that one whom the Church had so marked for her own that she made him a cardinal at eleven, a bishop at twelve, and an archbishop at thirteen, should have been so little seriously impressed by the sacred nature of his responsibilities and respect for his Church! Truly marvellous and incomprehensible are the ways of Providence!

There seems to be reason, however, to doubt whether, despite all that has been stated, Coligny, if he had presented himself at a conclave for the election of a Pope, could have been canonically excluded and deprived of his vote. But this is a subject to which we shall have to return in a later chapter.

Paul III., Farnese (*ob.* 1549), made his nephew, Alexander Farnese, a cardinal at fourteen; his grandson, Guido Ascanio Sforza, son of his daughter Costanza, at sixteen; his cousin, Niccolò Gaetani, at twelve; and a second grandson, Ranucio Farnese, at fifteen, to whom he had a year before given the archbishopric of Naples! He also created Charles of Lorraine, son of the Duc de Guise, and brother of Mary Queen of Scots, cardinal at twenty-two, although he had at the time a brother in the Sacred College, which was contrary to the constitutions and the decree of one of his predecessors. Lastly, he made his relative, Giulio Feltre della Rovere, brother of the Duke of Urbino, a cardinal at eleven!

Julius III. (*ob.* 1555) created Innocenzo del Monte cardinal at seventeen, and his two nephews, Roberto dei Nobili at fourteen, and Girolamo Simoncelli at twenty-one. The latter is noted as having been a cardinal during sixty years! The zealous and earnest Pius IV. (*ob.* 1565), besides creating several cardinals at from twenty to twenty-three, made Ferdinand de Medici a cardinal at fourteen. Gregory XIII. (*ob.* 1585) made Andrew of Austria, a natural son of the Archduke Ferdinand, a cardinal at eighteen; and Albert of Austria, son of Maximilian II., at the same age. He also created Charles of Lorraine at sixteen, and Francesco Sforza at twenty. The high-handed reformer, Sixtus V. (*ob.* 1590), made his nephew, Alexander Peretti, cardinal at fourteen; and Innocent IX. (*ob.* 1591), found time in his two months' papacy to create his nephew, Antonio Fachinetti della Noce,

at eighteen. Innocent was aware, probably, that he had no time to lose!

Clement VIII. (*ob.* 1605) made Wilhelm, son of the Duke of Bavaria, a cardinal at twenty: but he had been Bishop of Ratisbon ever since he had been in the cradle! Clement also created his relative, Gio. Battista Deti, cardinal at seventeen, and his nephew, Silvestro Aldobrandini, at sixteen, although he had previously raised to the purple his brother, Pietro Aldobrandini, at the age of twenty-two, despite the papal decree forbidding two brothers to belong to the Sacred College at the same time.

Paul V. (*ob.* 1621) created Maurice of Savoy at fourteen; Carlo de Medici at nineteen; and Ferdinand of Austria, son of Philip III. of Spain, at ten!

Urban VIII., Barberini (*ob.* 1644), although he had already placed in the Sacred College Francesco and Antonio Barberini, his brother and his nephew, created his other nephew, Antonio, at the age of twenty.

Innocent X., Pamphili (*ob.* 1655), made the nephew of his sister-in-law, the celebrated Olympia, cardinal at seventeen; and Clement IX. (*ob.* 1669) made Sigismund Chigi, the nephew of Alexander VII., a cardinal at nineteen, in return, we are told, for the purple which he had himself received from Alexander VII.

Alexander VIII. (*ob.* 1691) created Lorenzo Altieri, the nephew of Clement X., cardinal at nineteen; Clement XII. (*ob.* 1740) made Luigi di Borboni, son of Philip V. of Spain, archbishop of Toledo and cardinal at the age of eight; and, finally, Pius VII. (*ob.* 1823) created Luigi di Borboni, the son of the

above-mentioned Archbishop of Toledo, cardinal at twenty-three.

I have somewhat grudged the space that has been needed to complete the list of these precocious dignitaries, but I have thought that it was worth giving for the sake of the illustration it affords of the genuineness, sincerity, and state of mind generally of those, ecclesiastical writers and others, who on the same page which records these monstrous promotions, tell us of the infallibility and, in many cases, of the saintly virtues of the Pontiffs who made them, and of the awful sanctity and tremendous responsibilities of those who are called to the assumption of a dress whose colour is the symbol of their being ever ready to shed their blood in defence of the Church! It is also curiously illustrative of the utter futility of attempting by any rules, canons, or constitutions whatever to bind the hands of one who may at his pleasure "dispense" with all laws and rules.

## CHAPTER IV.

Steps by which the Papal Election was attributed exclusively to the Sacred College.—Gradual Progress of Encroachment.—Abnormal Elections.—Early Requisites for the Validity of an Election.—Earliest Examples of the Conclave.—Notable Conclave at Viterbo in the thirteenth century.—First example of Election by "Compromise."—The Fifteen Rules for a papal Election made by Gregory X.—Basis of Conclave Legislation ever since.

Mr. Cartwright, in his able and interesting little volume, "On the Constitution of Papal Conclaves," says, quite correctly in my opinion, that, "from the Bull of Nicholas II.," which I have spoken of at the beginning of my second chapter, "dates the first organic consummation of a revolution that had long been working its way underground, by which the highest constitutional functions of the Roman See came to be taken away definitively from the ecclesiastical body at large." He adds, however, "and vested *exclusively* in this corporation" (the Sacred College), which cannot, I think, be said with accuracy. Indeed he goes on to state with entire correctness, what shows this not to have been the case. Quoting the same Bull, which I have referred to, he adds, "so that the cardinals have *the lead* in making choice of Popes, the other but following them." But it may be seen from the words of promulgation used in declaring the election of Hildebrand in 1073, already cited above in the first chapter, "we the cardinals, and

the clergy, acolytes, subdeacons, and priests elect," &c., &c., that fixity of election, by the Sacred College, had by no means been yet reached. The language of the Bulls and decrees on the subject, and that of the very many writers who have striven to throw light on the question, all go to show that no clear and certain rules or practice in the elections of the Popes had yet been attained. The impression left on the mind by reading these declarations, and the commentaries on them, is that it was the wish and purpose of the Popes and of the cardinals to vest the election exclusively in the latter body; but that they were not able, or could not venture to affirm distinctly that such was the case, or to decree that it should be the case. The utterances both of Bulls and decrees and of the subsequent ecclesiastical writers seem to be studiously wavering and uncertain; such, in short, as it might be expected to be in registering and describing the advance of an abusive encroachment. The Bull of Nicholas II. declares the *assent* of the clergy to be necessary to an election. To demand an assent implies the power of refusing that assent. An election made without that assent would according to the terms of the Bull of Nicholas have been void.

Moroni, quoting the commentaries of Panvinius on Platina, tells us that Celestine II. (*ob.* 1144) was the first Pope elected without the intervention of the Roman people. And Sigonius,* quoted by Moroni, says of Celestine's predecessor, Innocent II. (*ob.* 1143), "Populum Pontificiorum jure comitiorum, cujus a primis tem-

* De regno Italico, lib. x. an. 1143.

poribus ad eam usque diem particeps fuerat, spoliaverat."* Pagi says that Innocent II., already before the election of Celestine, had been elected by the cardinals alone, without the "assistance" of the clergy and people. Otto of Freisingen declares in his chronicle, that Eugenius III. (*ob.* 1153) was elected in 1445, "communi voto cleri et populi." And he says that in 1154 the "clerici et laici pariter conclamantes intronizarunt Hadrianum quartum," the English Pope. The fact is not only that apparently contradictory statements by the dozen may be found, but that the language of all these statements is so vague, uncertain, and plastic, that it is impossible to say what the precise meaning was which the writer intended to convey; or useless rather, as it might perhaps be better put, to attempt to extract from their words a precision of statement, which the subject they were treating of did not admit, and the necessity or desirability of which they had no conception of. This at least is clear, that during all that period of fluidity, as I have ventured to call it, the line of demarcation between *de jure* and *de facto* was oscillating, changeable, and vacillating; but that the general tendency was always advancing towards the recognition of an exclusive right to elect the Popes, in the College of Cardinals.

So far, however, was the matter from being definitively settled by the Bull of Nicholas II., or by the practice that had prevailed during the next hundred and twenty years, that the first attempt made to effect an election, that of Alexander III. (*ob.* 1181), without

* Breviar., tom. i. p. 669.

the participation of the clergy and people, led to a schism among the cardinals, and the election of an Antipope, who called himself Victor IV. Four Antipopes in succession sprung from and supported the schism, and contested the election and the sovereignty of Alexander III. He lived, however, to overcome his enemies, and heal the wounds of the Church in the course of a papacy of all but twenty-two years. And before his death, he assembled the third Lateran Council, which among other matters decreed that no future election to the Papal Throne should be deemed valid without the votes of two-thirds of the College of Cardinals, a regulation which has been observed ever since, and is the law which regulates the proceedings of the Conclaves to the present day.

Nevertheless we have not yet by any means reached the latest case of an altogether abnormal election, though we have made considerable progress towards ascertaining what the *norma* was to be. As late as 1417, Martin V. (*ob.* 1431) was elected for the closing of the schism, which had so deeply wounded the Church, not only by the members of the Sacred College, created by Gregory XII. (renounced, 1415), and those of the deposed John XXIII. (deposed, 1415), and those created (or rather professed to be created) by the Antipope Benedict XIII.; but also by thirty other prelates, six for each of the five nations which contributed to the Council.

As far, however, as regards the final attribution of the power of electing the Pontiff to the College of Cardinals exclusively, we may consider that the practice of the Church was fixed, as it has ever since remained, by the

constitutions of Alexander III. (*ob.* 1181). It remains to be shown that the practice thus ordained did not succeed in getting itself carried out with satisfactory regularity till a yet later epoch. Nothing had yet been established, as a matter of rule, as to the mode in which the cardinals were to elect, save that, as has been seen, it needed two-thirds of the votes to make a valid election. We find early instances of the shutting up of the cardinals, for the purpose of the election; but in most of these cases the imprisonment seems to have been involuntary, and imposed on them by force *ab extra*. Thus Honorius III. (*ob.* 1227) was elected on the 18th of July, at Perugia, by nineteen cardinals, whom the Perugians constrained to enter into Conclave, on the day after the death of Innocent III., who died in that city, keeping them imprisoned till the election should be completed. Such a case very clearly indicated that by that time the idea, that the body of cardinals and they alone could create a Pope, had entirely entered into the popular mind, and been recognised and accepted. The people of Perugia, in their anxiety to avoid the terrible evils of an interregnum, are determined to have a Pope elected with the least possible delay. But they consider that the only possible means of accomplishing this is to catch the cardinals and compel them to do their work.

His successor Gregory IX. (*ob.* 1241) was elected under somewhat similar circumstances, the Romans apparently thinking that the experiment made at Perugia had answered so well as to deserve imitation. The chronicler Rainaldi relates, on the authority of

Riccardo di San Germano, that the cardinals, who had assembled in Rome for the election of a Pope, were shut up at the Septisolium (the hill on which the Church of St. Gregory stands, near the Coliseum) by the Senator of Rome and the people, that they might against their will proceed to the creation of a Pope,* which expedient, says Cancellieri,† was perhaps adopted to avoid the invasions of the Emperor Frederick, who, encamped at Grotta Ferrata, was devasting all the neighbourhood of Rome.

Gregory IX. died in 1241. Celestine IV., who succeeded him, reigned seventeen days only. Innocent IV., who came next, reigned eleven years and nearly a half. The papacy of his successor Alexander IV. lasted six years and nearly a half. The next in the list, Urban IV., reigned three years and a month. Clement IV. succeeded him, and, after a reign of three years and nine months, died in 1269. These twenty-eight years, from the death of Gregory to that of Clement, had been disastrous and stormy ones for Italy, mainly by reason of the contests between different pretenders to the crown of Sicily, and by the pretension of the Popes to have the nomination of the sovereign in their hands. Clement IV. introduced a new and fatal element into the troubled skein of Italian politics by

* Cardinales qui in Urbe ad Papæ electionem convenerant, per Senatorem et Romanos apud Septisolium includuntur, ut at creandum Papam inviti procedant.

† Notizie Istoriche delle Stagioni e de' Siti diversi in cui sono stati tenuti i Conclavi nella Città di Roma, &c. Raccolta da Francesco Cancellieri. Roma, 1823. A very rare tract, as are many of the great number of gossiping and amusing tracts on very various subjects, written by the same author.

conferring this crown on Charles of Anjou, thus bringing a French dynasty into Italy, and, what is more to our immediate purpose, causing thus a profound and irreconcilable division in the College of Cardinals, some of whom attached themselves to the French interest, and some feeling the most bitter resentment against the French prince, and against the policy which had called him into Italy. At the death of Clement IV. in Viterbo, just a month after the last of the Hohenstauffens, the hapless Conradin, had lost his head on a scaffold at Naples —(he had never once during his pontificate of three years and nine months been at Rome)—the discrepancy of opinion between the cardinals led to a most bitterly and obstinately contested struggle for the election of the next Pope, which resulted in an interregnum, the longest on record in the annals of the Church, of two years and nine months. Seventeen* cardinals went into Conclave in Viterbo, which small town, as Mr. Cartwright truly says, "became the point on which remained the fixed and anxious gaze of Christendom." Seven of the cardinals in Conclave were in the French interest, and seven as entirely opposed to it. Moroni remarks that *perhaps* the length of the interregnum was due to the division of parties!—the "perhaps" being introduced in deference to the theory and claim that let what may be the motives and intentions of the electors, the result is due to the

* Mr. Cartwright says that they were eighteen; but I cannot find that more than seventeen are recorded as being present. Moroni says fifteen, or seventeen. Perhaps the circumstance of the Cardinal Henry of Ostia having quitted the Conclave on account of illness, may account for the discrepancy, one reckoning having been of those who went into Conclave, and the other of those who participated finally in the election.

direct action of the Holy Spirit. He adds that the delay could not be due to the want of any person among their own body fitted for becoming Pope, inasmuch as no less than four of those then present became subsequently Popes, under the names of Adrian V. (*ob.* 1276), Nicholas III. (*ob.* 1280), Martin IV. (*ob.* 1285), and Honorius IV. (*ob.* 1287). Unquestionable, however, as the "papability,"—to use a word which has become a cant one in Conclave language—of all these four may have been, the cardinals at Viterbo could not come to an election, for the opposing parties were so evenly balanced, and the interests at stake so great, that neither side would yield. Charles of Anjou came to Viterbo, and remained there, hoping that by throwing the weight of his personal presence into the scale, he might intimidate the cardinals on the opposite side. He had not calculated on the patient obstinacy of an Italian who trusts for victory to the policy of doing nothing! The desired election was none the nearer for the presence of the foreign prince, who was so odious to all save his own creatures in the College.

The citizens of Viterbo, and the town captain, one Ranieri Gatti, who as such had the custody of the Conclave, which seems to have implied the imprisonment of the cardinals, in his hand, understood their countrymen better. Despairing of seeing an end put to the shocking condition of disorder and anarchy, which always, down even to quite modern times, made the Pontifical States a hell upon earth during the period of every interregnum, they resorted to the novel expedient of unroofing the palace in which the Conclave was sitting, at the same time gradually

diminishing the rations supplied to the cardinals. But not even did this strong measure succeed in producing the desired result. There is a curious letter extant, addressed by the cardinals to Gatti, the town-captain, the purpose of which was to request him to allow one of their number, the Cardinal Henry of Ostia, to quit the Conclave on the ground of illness. This letter is dated in Palatio discoperto Episcopatus Viterbiensis, VI. Idus Junii MCCLXX., Apostolicæ sede vacante: *—"From the unroofed episcopal palace of Viterbo."—The letter in question is curious, moreover, from the statement specially made in it, that the cardinal, whose release from Conclave is requested, has altogether renounced his right to vote on this occasion.† But not for more than a year after this incident,—and more than a year, therefore, after the unroofing of the palace,—did the imprisoned cardinals, exposed to the elements as they were, come to an election. At last, moved, it is said, not by any threats or persuasions from without, nor by their own sufferings within their prison, but by the persuasions of the Cardinal Bishop of Porto, and those of the Franciscan Saint Buonaventura, the Conclave was

* Cancellieri, p. 6.

† Mr. Cartwright remarks that the "insertion of this clause in the letter deserves attention, as proving that, at this period, it had not yet been definitely ruled that every cardinal's active participation was not an indispensable condition for setting a papal election beyond challenge." It does not seem likely to me, that the insertion of the clause in question was dictated by any such intention. I am not aware that it was ever held, that the active participation of every cardinal is necessary to a canonical election. And it seems to me, that the notification that His Eminence of Ostia had renounced all right and purpose of voting, was intended to assure those outside that his departure from the Conclave need not be speculated on as exercising any influence over the result of the contest.

persuaded, not to elect in the usual way,—that would have involved an abnegation of which those fierce partisans and good haters were incapable,—but to consent to appoint six of their number to nominate a Pope, pledging themselves to agree to and confirm the nomination so made.

These six electors, thus empowered, named Theobald Visconti, at that time Archdeacon of Liege, who was not a cardinal, and who at that time was at Acre, having left England, where he had contributed to the successful establishment of Henry III.'s throne, for the purpose of accompanying the crusaders as Papal Legate; an election which has been commemorated in the following characteristic lines, by Giovanni of Toledo, the then Bishop of Porto:—

> "Papatus munus tulit Archidiaconus unus
> Quem Patrem Patrum fecit discordia fratrum."

This was the first instance of that mode of election, which has since taken its place as one of the three recognized methods by which a Conclave may elect a Pontiff, and which is known as Election by Compromise. But of this it will be necessary to speak by-and-by in its proper place.

This Theobald Visconti, whom the Bishop of Porto somewhat superciliously thus speaks of as "one archdeacon," being recalled by the news of his totally unexpected elevation to the Papacy, reached Viterbo on the second of February, 1272, and was subsequently crowned in Rome as Gregory X. (*ob.* 1276).

Mindful of the evils which had in very terrible abun-

dance visited the Church and the States of the Church by reason of the interregnum, and of the difficulties and scandals attending such a Conclave as the last, Gregory called a General Council of the Church (the fourteenth), at Lyons, in 1274, by which the following code of laws for the regulation of future Councils was established. Here at last, then, we do touch solid ground, and the fluid state of the institutions on which the elections of the Popes depend may be said to come to an end with the constitution of Gregory X.

The rules in question are somewhat lengthy, and all of them are not of equal importance. But inasmuch as they are the foundation and charter of that which has been, for the last six centuries, the practice of the Conclaves, it will hardly be thought unnecessary to give them—not quite *in extenso*, but with considerable fulness.

"I. When the Pope is dead, the cardinals shall wait for those who are absent ten days only; at the end of which, having for nine days celebrated the obsequies of the deceased Pontiff in the city in which he resided with his Court, they shall all shut themselves up in the palace which the Pope inhabited, contenting themselves each with one sole attendant, either clerk or lay, unless there shall be evident necessity for two, for whom permission may be in such case granted; the choice of such attendant being left to each cardinal for himself."

Pius IV. by Bull bearing date 9th October, 1562, declared that the day of the Pope's death should be counted as one of the ten days. And ecclesiastical writers maintain that it is within the competency of the College to defer the election beyond the time

specified, in case any danger threatening the interests of the Church should require it.

"II. In the palace in which the Pontiff dwelt, let a Conclave be formed in which let all the cardinals live in common, without any wall, or curtain, or veil to separate them from one another, one secret chamber being reserved. Let this Conclave be so closed on every side that nobody can enter or go out of it."

The rigour of this rule was in some degree moderated by Clement VI., by a Bull dated 6th December, 1351, permitting the beds of the cardinals in Conclave to have simple curtains.

"III. Let there be no access to the cardinals shut up in Conclave. Let no one have the possibility of speaking to them secretly; nor let it be possible for them to receive anybody, save such as may be summoned by the consent of all present solely on matters pertaining to the election. Let no one have the power of sending messages or writings to the cardinals, nor to any of the conclavists,* under pain of excommunication."

The strictness of this well-intentioned rule also has been modified in practice, to the facilitating of intrigues, which it was the object of Gregory to render impossible. In modern times, whoso wishes to speak with a cardinal, or with any of those shut up in Conclave, is not prevented from doing so, except, as regards the cardinals themselves, during the actual time of the voting. Such speaking must take place, however, in public, that is

* These are the attendants provided for in the first rule. They are in practice always clerks, are always two if not more (the latter very rarely), and are very important personages in the conduct of all the affairs of the Conclave.

to say, at the "rota" * in the presence of the officials appointed for the service of the Conclave on the inside, and on the outside the prelates and others appointed for guarding the assembly. But it will be very readily understood that, if a private communication were desired, there would be little difficulty in shutting the ears of undesired hearers, especially when the person desiring so to shut them may, within a few hours, be the despotic sovereign of the hearers in question.

"IV. Nevertheless, let an opening of the Conclave be left, by which food may be conveniently passed in to the cardinals, but such that no one can pass in to them by that means. [The 'rota' spoken of.']

"V. If at the end of three days from the entry into Conclave the election of the new Pope has not been accomplished, the prelates and others deputed to guard the Conclave shall, during the next five days, prevent more than one single dish from being served at the table of the cardinals either at dinner or at supper. And when these five days shall have passed, they shall after that not permit the cardinals to have aught save bread and water until such time as the election shall be completed."

Clement VI. modified this rule also. Such severity, it is stated, was found to injure the health of those in Conclave; and Clement therefore contented himself with recommending a "moderate frugality" during

* The "rota," of which much will be heard in connection with the interior arrangements and practices of the Conclave, are the apertures, with turning tables, after the fashion of the means provided for receiving infants at continental foundling hospitals, which are used for passing food into the Conclave, and other necessary communications.

the entire time of the Conclave. He laid down rules, however, for the more precise defining of this moderate frugality. Meat *or* fish, *or* eggs, together with salted things, vegetables, and fruit, might be used, whether at dinner or supper. But Clement expressly forbad the cardinals from accepting any of these things one from another. It would seem that the object of this last prohibition must have been to prevent their Eminences from clubbing their provisions together, and so securing a more varied repast. Pius IV., an ascetic and zealous man, recalled into vigour these rules, decreeing that the cardinals should be content, as they were bound to be, with one sole dish, whether at dinner or supper. Whereupon an erudite prelate* wrote a long and learned work on papal elections, in the course of which he treats at great length on the permissible component parts of this one dish.

"VI. The cardinals shall, during the time of the Conclave, take nothing from the apostolic treasury or from its revenues, which shall during the vacancy of the see remain in the custody of such faithful and upright person as shall have the custody of them. With the death of the Pope let all ecclesiastical offices and the tribunals of the Courts cease and determine, with the exception of the Chief Penitentiary and the Treasurer, who shall continue in office during the vacancy of the see.

"VII. Let the cardinals treat of no other business in the Conclave save that of the election of a new Pope, unless the necessity of defending the territory of the

* Monsigr. Cumarda, De Elect. Pont.

Church from imminent danger should make it necessary for them to do so.

"VIII. If any cardinal shall not enter into Conclave, or shall by reason of sickness quit the Conclave, let the election be proceeded with all the same without such cardinal. If, however, he that has quitted the Conclave should recover let him be readmitted. Let the cardinals also who shall arrive after the others have entered the Conclave be admitted, for no one shall give any vote in the election except in Conclave. Besides which entrance cannot be denied even to cardinals who may have been censured or excommunicated. No one can be declared Pope unless at least two-thirds of the electors shall have concurred in electing him. Not only the cardinals, even those absent from the Conclave, but any other person, not incapacitated by just impediment, may be elected to the Papacy in this manner."

The provision as to the admission to the Conclave of cardinals under censure or excommunication is a very important one; and at one time during the present Pontificate it seemed likely to become very immediately important. And it will be necessary to return to the subject in a subsequent chapter. Evidently the intention of the rule was to put it out of the power of a Pope to ensure the election of such or such a successor by excluding from the Conclave all such cardinals as were not disposed to vote for him, which a Pope might easily have accomplished if his censure could suffice to deprive a cardinal of his vote.

As to elections of persons not present in Conclave,

it may be noted that the last instance of the election of an absent cardinal was that of Florenz the Fleming as Adrian VI. in 1522; and the last instance of the election of a Pope who had not been a cardinal was that of Prignani, a Neapolitan, and Archbishop of Bari, as Urban VI. in 1378.

"IX. If the Pope shall have died outside the city in which he was residing with his court, the cardinals shall hold the Conclave in the city within whose territory the Pope died. But if this city be under interdict or in rebellion, they shall hold the Conclave in the nearest city.

"X. The governors and officials of the city in which the Conclave shall be held shall see to the observance of the prescribed rules.

"XI. As soon as ever the tidings of the Pope's death shall be received, such governors shall swear, in the presence of the clergy and people, who shall be assembled for that purpose, that they will observe the above rules.

"XII. If such governors should not observe such rules, let them be excommunicated, and perpetually infamous; let them lose their charters, and let the city be placed under interdict and lose the rank of an episcopal see.

"XIII. Let the cardinals engaged in the election lay aside entirely all private affections, and let them take heed solely to the common welfare of the Church.

"XIV. No one of the sacred electors shall speak to, make promise to, or entreat in any sort any one of the other cardinals with a view of inducing such cardinal

to incline to their own wishes in the matter of the election, under pain of excommunication. Let, on the contrary, all bargains, all agreements, all undertakings, even though they may have been corroborated by an oath, be held to be of no validity; and let him that breaks them be deemed worthy of praise rather than of the blame of perjury."

This rule, all-important, were it not that all hope of the observance of it is absolutely futile and vain, was confirmed by Innocent VI. in 1353; and Julius II., in 1505, issued a Bull against the simoniacal election of a Pope, in which it is declared that "the election of a Pope tainted by simony must be considered to possess no validity; that the man so elected, even though he should have the vote of all the sacred electors, must be considered a heresiarch, and deprived of all honour and dignity; that a simoniacal election does not become valid either by enthronement, by adoration, by the lapse of time, nor by the obedience of the cardinals; that, on the contrary, it shall be lawful for the cardinals, for the clergy, and the Roman people to refuse obedience to a Pope simoniacally elected."

The enactment of such a law is surely a very curious instance of the simple-minded, unreasoning, unforeseeing, naïveté of the medieval mind, which is thus shown to us as childlike as that of a Red Indian. No provision is made for the authoritative decision of the question whether an election have been vitiated by simoniacal bargainings or not; but each unit in the whole social body is empowered to do his best towards breaking up the whole framework of society if the

election of a Pope have been simoniacal — that is, necessarily, if he, the unit, think so. The French ecclesiastical historian, Jean Sponde,* better known by the Latin form of his name, Spondanus, remarks (A.D. 1505), obviously enough, that the remedy provided by Julius II. would be of considerably difficult application; "wherefore," he proceeds to add, with an amount of audacious and brazen-fronted hypocrisy and falsehood hardly to be paralleled, "God has provided that there has never been need of it." The perhaps *most* grossly and notoriously simoniacal election, that of Alexander VI. in 1492, was still fresh in men's minds, besides numerous other examples in more remote times. The very next election after that of Julius II. himself, when these denunciations and threats of his were brand new and fresh, that of Leo X., was unquestionably simoniacal. And the probability is that scarcely one, if one, election could be adduced during the last three centuries which has not been tainted by simony as understood and defined by Julius II.

"XV. In all cities and places of importance, as soon as the death of the Pope is known, solemn obsequies shall be celebrated; and during the vacancy of the see prayer shall be every day made to God for the speedy, unanimous, and judicious election of a new Pontiff, which the prelates shall also strive to promote by prescribing days of fasting."

Such are the constitutions of Gregory X., which,

* Sponde was born at Mauléon in 1568. His "Ecclesiastical Annals" are in fact an abbreviation of the great work of Baronius, who was his intimate friend.

though modified by subsequent Pontiffs in many respects, and supplemented by more minute regulations in yet more, remain to the present day the foundation and origin of all the law and usage observed in the papal elections up to this time, and may therefore be considered as putting an end to the fluid state of matters which has been described in the preceding chapters, and to this our first book.

# BOOK II.

## NOBLE BOYS AT PLAY.

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## *NOBLE BOYS AT PLAY.*

### CHAPTER I.

**Latter Years of the Middle Ages, from Gregory X. to Pius IV.—Contrast of the Ecclesiastical World of those Days with Present Times.—Where Modern History commences in the Annals of the Papacy.—Variability of the Church.—Papal History falls into Groups of Popes.—Causes of this Phenomenon.—Paul III. the last of a Group of Popes.—Paul IV. the first of a different Group.—List of Popes from 1271 to 1549.**

We start fair, then, from the constitutions of Gregory X., made in the Council held by him at Lyons in 1274. But it was easier in those days to make "constitutions" than to get them observed. This, though unfortunately not a peculiarity of the Middle Ages, was yet a characteristic belonging to them in a special manner. Historians have considered these Middle Ages to last from the fifth to the fifteenth century—a thousand years. And though the days of Gregory X. were comparatively near the end of them, we are, therefore, not out of them yet when we arrive at that point. And the last quarter of the space so designated is, of course, that of which we know most, and which is infinitely the most important to us. We get well out of the epoch of the Middle Age before reaching the time when Pius IV. (*ob.* 1565) found it necessary to add a string of supplementary

regulations to the Gregorian constitutions. And this second book of my story shall consist of such notices of the Conclaves during this period of two hundred and seventy-nine years, from the death of Gregory X. to the election of Paul IV. (1555) as can be found, and seem to offer any points of interest.

Regularity is an essential characteristic of modern times, of an adult state of society, that is to say. And regularity means, in the case of an individual, the subjection of his impulses to rule, and in the body social the subjection of all that makes and marks individuality to rule. And regularity has a tendency to degenerate into that condition of senile induration in which custom is held to be the most sacred of all rules. This, to a curiously marked degree, has been the condition of the ecclesiastical world at Rome in these latter generations. Hence the immense contrast between its ways and doings in the last two centuries, and those ages with which we have now to occupy ourselves. Some poet * of our days has likened the ways and works of the men of the times in question to those of "noble boys at play." Unquestionably there is a nobility of its own about marked and strong individualism. And so much of it as may be discoverable in the Church we may attribute to those masterful Churchmen of the medieval times who were men first and priests afterwards, instead of, as their successors of a more tranquil time may be said to have been, priests first and men afterwards.

* I beg his pardon for forgetting the name of a writer whose expression struck me by its justness. I have not, unfortunately, the means of verifying the references at hand.

For these reasons the ecclesiastical *fasti* of this period offer an interest of a different kind, and one marked off from those of the subsequent period.

There is also another reason for drawing a line at the death of Paul III. (*ob.* 1549), and making a fresh start thence. I have spoken above of the election of Paul IV. as the point from which what may be called the modern history of the Papacy may be held to begin. There may seem, therefore, to be some inconsistency in making the death of Paul III. the closing event of the former period. For Paul III., Farnese, was not the immediate predecessor of Paul IV.; and I have, moreover, referred to the new set of supplementary rules for the holding of the Conclaves promulgated by Pius IV. as a reason for closing the one period and opening a new one.

The matter stands thus:—

Paul III., Farnese, died 1549.
Julius III., his successor, Giocchi, died 1555.
Marcellus II., who came next, Cervini, died the same year, 1555.
Paul IV., succeeding Marcellus, Caraffa, died 1559.
Pius IV., his successor, Medichini, died 1565.

Nevertheless, I close an epoque with the death of Paul III., and open the next with the accession of Paul IV., although it was his successor, Pius IV., who enacted the new constitutions which, in some degree, placed the Conclaves on a new basis. And my reasons for doing so are as follows.

Despite the favourite boast of the Church that she has been *semper eadem*—always the same—the fact is, that the Church has varied from age to age almost as much as most other human institutions, having been ever the

same only in this: that it has never varied in or lost sight of its object to make clerical power dominant in the world—an object that was abundantly beneficent in days when clerks were more fit than laymen to rule, but which has become still more largely noxious when the relative positions of clerk and layman in this respect were manifestly reversed. In all other points the Church has been by no means *semper eadem.* But although it is true that the character of the reigning Pope has often influenced to a very important degree the character, policies, and practices of the institution, as might be expected to be the case, yet the fact that the Church has been to a far more important degree influenced in all these respects by the general complexion of the times and the character of the age athwart which it was at the time passing, is curiously proved by a circumstance which must suggest itself to the observation of the most superficial reader of ecclesiastical history—the singular and marked divisibility of the long line of Popes into groups. Apostle Popes, warrior Popes, priest Popes, mundane Popes, pagan Popes, bigot Popes, *fainéant* Popes, easy-going Popes, respectable Popes, occur in the list not singly, but in groups! To a certain degree this tendency may be perceived to have been assisted by the fact that the creatures* of each Pope are mostly they who, in their turn, create his successor. But the ruling cause of the phenomena will be found in the aspect and bearing of the time.

* I use the word not in the common depreciatory sense, but according to the technical use of the word, as referring to the members of the Sacred College. The cardinals *created* by each Pope are said to be his *creatures.*

Now Paul III. was in a very marked manner the last of a group of Popes. He was the last Pope whose nepotism soared to the height of making his descendants sovereign princes. Subsequent equally mundane Popes ambitioned the founding of princely Roman houses, and founded plenty such. Paul the Farnese was the last who sought to carve out of Italy a sovereign principality for those of his name. He was the last, too, for the nonce, of the thoroughly mundane and *grand seigneur* class of Popes; and is followed by a group of Popes of a very different and contrasted class—the earnest, zealous, bigot Popes, of which group I consider the Paul IV. as the first. For in fact the two intervening Papacies of Julius III., who reigned five years, and of Marcellus II., who reigned twenty-three days, were historically unimportant, and may be left out of the account.

And we will make the story of the modern Papacy begin with Paul IV., and not with his successor Pius IV., notwithstanding that it was the latter who enacted the new constitutions for the regulation of the Conclaves, because Caraffa, Paul IV., was in a very marked and emphatic degree the beginner of a new epoch. In this case both the especial aspect of the times, and the strongly marked character of the man himself, contributed with a singular similarity and coincidence of tendency to bring about the change which at that time came over the spirit of the Papacy. The ruling cause, of course, is to be found in the growling of that Ultramontane tempest which, with so terrible a voice, was warning Rome to put her house in order. But Caraffa

was, if any dyke was to be erected to save a remnant of the Church from the advancing waves of heresy, eminently the right man in the right place! Not at all the right man if the object were so to obey, and while obeying use, the tendencies of the time, as to avail himself of them, for such refitting of St. Peter's barque as should make it seaworthy for many a century to come; but eminently the right man to force it through the breakers with an unflinching eye and iron-strong hand on the helm, on the *sint ut sunt, aut non sint* principle. And Paul was, in accordance with the apparently historic law which I have indicated, the first of a group of such Popes.

These, then, are my reasons for considering the death of Paul III. as the closing event of an epoch in Papal history. And I will occupy the other chapters of this second book with such extant notices of the elections of the thirty-eight Popes who ruled the Church during the two hundred and seventy-three years which elapsed from the death of Gregory X. (*ob.* 1276) to that of Paul III. (*ob.* 1549) as may seem to have any interest in them. It will be observed that these thirty-eight Popes reigned a fraction more than seven years each on an average. I will conclude this chapter by giving a list of them, which may be found useful.

| | Elected. | Died. |
|---|---|---|
| Gregory X., Visconti | 1271 | 1276 |
| Innocent V., Champagni | 1276 | 1276 |
| Adrian V., Fiesque | 1276 | 1276 |
| John XXI., Julien | 1276 | 1277 |
| Nicholas III., Orsini | 1277 | 1280 |
| Martin IV., De Brion | 1281 | 1285 |
| Honorius IV., Savelli | 1285 | 1287 |
| Nicholas IV., D'Ascoli | 1288 | 1292 |

| | Elected. | | Died. |
|---|---|---|---|
| S. Celestine V., De Moron | 1294 | resigned | 1294 |
| Boniface VIII. Gaetani | 1294 | died | 1303 |
| Benedict XI. Boccasini | 1303 | . . . | 1304 |
| Clement V. De Got | 1305 | . . . | 1314 |
| John XXII. d'Euse | 1316 | . . . | 1334 |
| Benedict XII. Fournier | 1334 | . . . | 1342 |
| Clement VI. Roger | 1342 | . . . | 1352 |
| Innocent VI. Aubert | 1352 | . . . | 1362 |
| Urban V. Grimoard | 1362 | . . . | 1370 |
| Gregory XI. Roger | 1370 | . . . | 1378 |
| Urban VI. Prignani | 1378 | . . . | 1389 |
| Boniface IX. Tomaelli | 1389 | . . . | 1404 |
| Innocent VII. Meliorati | 1404 | . . . | 1406 |
| Gregory XII. Conrario | 1406 | resigned | 1409 |
| Alexander V. Philarge | 1409 | died | 1410 |
| John XXIII. Cossa | 1410 | deposed | 1415 |
| Martin V. Colonna | 1417 | died | 1431 |
| Eugenius IV. Condolmero | 1431 | . . . | 1447 |
| Nicholas V. Parentucelli | 1447 | . . . | 1455 |
| Calistus III. Borgia | 1455 | . . . | 1458 |
| Pius II. Piccolomini | 1458 | . . . | 1464 |
| Paul II. Barbo | 1464 | . . . | 1471 |
| Sixtus IV. De la Rovere | 1471 | . . . | 1484 |
| Innocent VIII. Cibo | 1484 | . . . | 1492 |
| Alexander VI. Borgia | 1492 | . . . | 1503 |
| Pius III. Piccolomini | 1503 | . . . | 1503 |
| Julius II. De la Rovere | 1503 | . . . | 1513 |
| Leo X. Medici | 1513 | . . . | 1521 |
| Adrian VI. Boyers | 1522 | . . . | 1523 |
| Clement VII. Medici | 1523 | . . . | 1534 |
| Paul III. Farnese | 1534 | . . . | 1549 |

A glance at this list will show that a small defalcation must be made from the average time of each Pope's reign on account of the time lost in the various interregnums, some of which, as the list shows, have been prolonged to a considerable duration.

## CHAPTER II.

Election of Innocent V.—Anecdote of his Achievements as a Preacher.—Election of Adrian V.—Popes in the Thirteenth Century elected without Conclave.—Conclave in which Nicholas IV. was elected.—Mortality of Cardinals in Conclave.—Strange Inconsistency of the Anecdotist Cancellieri.—Superstition respecting the Duration of St. Peter's Reign.—Anecdote of the papal Physician Matthew Corte.—Election of Celestine V.—Modern Exception to the Rule requiring a Conclave to be held.—Modifications of the early Conclave Rules.—Boniface VIII.—Benedict IX.—Anecdote respecting his Death.—Conclave held at Perugia.—Grossly Simoniacal Election.—Monstrous Assertion of the Historian Spondanus.—Morone, Gregory XIV.'s Barber.—The Babylonish Captivity of the Church.—Conclave at Avignon, in 1334.—And again in 1342.—And in 1352.—And in 1362.—Division between the Gascon Cardinals Subjects of England, and those subject to France.—Election of Urban V. not a Member of the College.—Tentatives for restoring the Papacy to Rome.—Petrarch.—St. Bridget.—Conclave in 1370, the last at Avignon.—Gregory XI.—Difficulties of the Restoration of the See to Rome.—Return of Gregory XI. to Rome.—His Death in 1378.

INNOCENT V., a Savoyard, the successor of Gregory X., was elected according to the rules laid down by his predecessor, with a regularity and celerity which seem to argue strongly in favour of the judiciousness of the Gregorian constitutions. Gregory died in the episcopal palace of Arezzo; and there the Cardinals entered into Conclave, and elected Pietro di Tarantasia*—as he was called, from the name of his native province—Pope by the name of Innocent V., on the 22nd January, 1276, the day after the cardinals went into Conclave, and in

* His family name was de' Champagni.

the first scrutiny, as the new Pope failed not to tell the princes and prelates in the letters announcing his election. It is true that the Savoyard Cardinal must have been strongly recommended to his colleagues by a truly unparalleled feat, which he had, as we are assured, shortly before performed. At the second Council of Lyons, the Cardinal Saint Bonaventura died, and Pietro di Tarantasia was appointed to preach his funeral sermon, in the presence of the Pope, the whole of the members of the Sacred College, two patriarchs, five hundred bishops, sixty abbots, the ambassadors of many foreign princes, and above a thousand priests, from the eyes of every one of which illustrious assembly his discourse drew tears, as is clearly set forth in the introduction to the last edition of the works of S. Bonaventura, a success which he followed up by baptizing a Turkish ambassador and two of his suite. Clearly the man for St. Peter's successor!

Adrian V., Fieschi, a Genoese, the successor of the above Innocent, was elected at Viterbo, on the 10th July, 1296. He had been somewhat of a pluralist, holding contemporaneously archdeaconries in the churches of Canterbury, Rheims, and Parma, and a canonry in that of Piacenza. St. Filippo Benizzi, the Servite Saint, to whom Cardinal Fieschi had been sent by the Sacred College to offer the papacy on the death of Clement IV., 1269, refusing that elevation for himself, foretold to the ambassador that he himself should rise to that dignity, but should not enjoy it long. Adrian, firmly believing the prophecy, said to those who came to congratulate him on his elevation, "Would to Heaven

you had come to congratulate a cardinal in health, instead of a moribund Pope!" and died at the end of a reign of one month and nine days. He had found time, however, to do at least one important act. He suspended the constitutions of Gregory, regulating the papal elections. What his motive for this step was, I do not find recorded; but it must be presumed to have been on some ground or other a cogent one, for his successor, John XXI., revoked the constitutions entirely. And the next three Popes, Nicholas III., elected in 1277, Martin IV., elected in 1281, and Honorius IV., elected in 1285, were accordingly elected without any Conclave. A Conclave, however, assembled for the election of the successor of the last of these, and chose Nicholas IV.; but his successor, St. Celestine V., was again elected without any Conclave.*

Respecting this Conclave of Nicholas IV., some curious particulars have been preserved. The repeal of the Gregorian constitutions did not prohibit the holding of a Conclave, and, as we have seen, that mode of election had been in use before the time of Gregory. The decree by John XXI. only made it no longer imperative to assemble a Conclave.

The Conclave that ultimately elected Nicholas was held in the then papal palace at Santa Sabina; and it assembled immediately after the death of Honorius, which happened in the middle of the hottest season of the year. Their eminences, unable to agree in an election, remained till six of their number died of malaria fever, and many of the survivors were very ill.

* Cancellieri, p. 8.

They still would not come to an election; but they left the Conclave and Rome, all except the Cardinal Girolamo Masci de Alessiano, sometimes called d'Aseoli, Bishop of Palestrina. He, "keeping fires burning continually, to purify the air," remained alone in Conclave at Santa Sabina over ten months. At the end of that time, the pestilence having ceased, the other cardinals returned and elected him Pope, by the name of Nicholas IV.;—as surely he well deserved!

It is singular enough that Cancellieri, who relates this story, opens his work by declaring that "although many Conclaves have chanced to take place in the hottest months, yet no example is found of any epidemic sickness having happened during the continuance of them; it being the case that almost always those who have journeyed to Rome in the dog-days for this purpose, and have entered into Conclave, have come out thence without suffering in any wise in their health." The worthy old gossip evidently means to give the reader to understand that a special protection is accorded by Providence to those engaged in the holy work of making a Pope. The truth, however, of the matter is rather remarkably the reverse of his statement; and he himself has proceeded but a few pages, before he contradicts himself in the above remarkable manner.

On the same page with the above-cited passage, Cancellieri has an amusing note on the well-known superstition (now destroyed for good and all!) to the effect that no Pope could reach the length of Papacy said to have been enjoyed by St. Peter. "Among all the two hundred and

fifty-four Popes," says he, writing in 1823, immediately after the death of Pius VII., a number now to be increased by four more, "Pius VII. had been exceeded in the length of his papacy only by Adrian I. (*ob.* 795), who ruled the Church twenty-three years, ten months, and seven days, and Pius VI., who held the papacy twenty-four years, six months, and fourteen days. Only the Antipope Benedict XIII. reigned more than twenty-eight years, of whom St. Antonine, in his Chronicle, remarks that, 'He exceeded the duration of the pontificate of St. Peter, to the heaping up of his own damnation; and no wonder, since he was in reality not in Peter's* seat.'" The good saint's idea that the wicked Antipope, damned already for being an Antipope, is extra-damned for living so long, is amusing enough. "*Hence*," continues Cancellieri, "one may say with Bzovius, in his history of the Roman pontiffs, 'Sint licet assumpti juvenes ad Pontificatum—Petri annos potuit nemo videre† tamen!" Cancellieri rambles on with his pleasant gossip to an anecdote (which Tiraboschi also tells in his history of Italian literature) of the papal physician, Matthew Corte, who professed to have discovered the means of prolonging life to a hundred and twenty years, and wrote a book specially on that subject. He used to present a copy of this work to each new Pope, taking the precaution, however, to substitute on every occasion a new title-page, with the assurance to each new patron, "Videbis

* "Transivit annos Petri ad cumulum suæ damnationis; nec mirum, quia non in sede Petri."—*St. Antonin. Chron.* p. 3. tit. 22.

† "Although young men have been raised to the Pontificate, yet no one has been able to see the years of Peter."

dies Petri et ultra."* Tiraboschi says that he has seen copies that had been thus presented to Julius III., Pius IV., and Paul IV.

This Conclave, in which Nicholas IV. was elected, was the first that was guarded—*custodito*—by a Savelli. The privilege of holding this office was granted to the head of the Savelli family "for ever" by Gregory IX. Prince Chigi is now the hereditary "custode" of the Conclaves.

Celestine V., the successor of this Nicholas IV., elected in 1294, abdicated the papacy after a reign of five months and eight days; but found time to re-enact the Gregorian constitutions, which were further confirmed and established by his successor, Boniface VIII. And since that time these constitutions have without intermission ruled the papal Conclaves, save when Pius VI. (*ob.* 1799) dispensed the cardinals from the observation of them by reason of the bondage in which the Church was held by Napoleon Buonaparte. There is also the ever-memorable and all-important case of Pope Martin V., elected by the authority of the Council of Constance, which has already been referred to in the fourth chapter of Book I. The Gregorian constitutions have with these exceptions formed the rule of the Conclaves in all essential matters uninterruptedly for the last six hundred years; but they have been frequently modified as to points held not to be essential by various Popes, mostly in the sense of mitigating the rigour of them as regards the personal comfort of the cardinals during their seclusion. These modifications will be

* "You shall see the days of Peter and more."

noticed in their proper places, but it may be convenient to give here a list of them:—1. Clement V. (*ob.* 1314) confirmed the constitutions, adding some small modifications. 2. Julius II. (*ob.* 1513), and Pius IV. (*ob.* 1565), put forth other constitutions confirmatory of those of Gregory, and adding minatory sanctions and explanatory regulations. Gregory XV. (*ob.* 1623) approved and confirmed the whole of these, adding a minutely elaborated ceremonial of his own. Urban VIII. (*ob.* 1644), and Clement XII., issued confirmatory Bulls, with small additions of ceremonial directions. And the various Bulls here rehearsed form the whole body of Conclave law as it exists at the present day.

Celestine seems to have been an unlucky name for the pontiffs. The first of the name was a fifth-century Pope. The second (*ob.* 1144) reigned only five months and thirteen days. The third (*ob.* 1198) had, indeed, a fair length of reign—six years and nine months; but the fourth (*ob.* 1241) was Pope for seventeen days only; and the fifth abdicated in 1294, as has been said, at the end of a reign of five months and eight days. Since him no Pope has called himself Celestine.

Celestine V., taken from his hermitage to be made Pope, was elected at Castel Nuovo, near Naples, and, as contemporary writers assure us, accepted the papacy very unwillingly. The number of Popes of whom this was declared to be the case is worthy of notice. Notwithstanding Dante's phrase respecting the "gran' rifiuto," if we are to consider that the poet had Celestine's abdication in his mind, which seems to be improbable—this unwillingness, or the profession of it, was evidently

looked upon as meritorious: and our "nolo episcopari" is a survival of the same sentiment. The modesty, however, which prompted Celestine to shrink from the supreme dignity, did not characterize his successor, nor prevent him from pushing his greatness to the utmost. He went from Naples to Rome to be consecrated, accompanied by Charles II., King of Sicily, and his son Charles, King of Hungary; and proceeded, when consecrated at St. Peter's, to the Lateran Palace, to be enthroned there, with an unprecedented amount of state and magnificence, mounted, we are told, on a palfrey, whose bridle was held on either side by the above-mentioned two monarchs on foot.

On the death of Boniface VIII., his successor, Benedict IX., was elected regularly and normally. Boniface died on the 11th of October, 1303; the cardinals went into Conclave on the 21st, and at the first scrutiny, on the 22nd, elected the new Pope by a unanimous vote, given, as it would seem, in genuine recognition of his merit.

But Benedict reigned only eight months and five days, and the Conclave which assembled on his death was in marked contrast to that which had elected him: one of the most scandalous in its incidents, and most disastrous in its results, of any that has ever been held for the election of a pontiff. The received account of Benedict's death attributes it to poison. He was dining in the Dominican Convent at Perugia, when a lad, dressed as a girl, and pretending to be a maid servant of the nuns of St. Petronilla, presented him with some figs of a kind he was known to be fond of. They were poisoned, and the Pope died. Such is the received story. It has been

said, especially by French writers, that there is no satisfactory evidence for the truth of the statement. And, while it cannot be denied that poison was in those days very commonly used, and that there is abundant reason for thinking, both that many persons may have wished the removal of the Pope, and that those so wishing were men who would by no means have scrupled to reach their object by such means; it must, on the other hand, be admitted that the medical science of the period was totally inadequate to ascertain whether a death had, or had not, been occasioned by poison, and that the consciousness of this inability, together with a knowledge of the frequency of the crime, no doubt caused suspicion to be roused in many cases where the truth did not justify it. It must, however, also be conceded that the conduct of the cardinals, who had the making of the new Pope, was such as very strongly to suggest the notion that some of them may have determined on making the vacancy, respecting the filling of which passions ran so high, and such weighty interests were at stake.

Civil war was raging throughout the north of Italy and in Tuscany between Guelphs and Ghibelines, Bianchi and Neri. The Pope sent the Dominican cardinal, Niccolo da Prato, as his legate to make peace between the parties. But his reception was such, that the Pope thought himself obliged to place Florence under interdict, and to excommunicate the Guelphs, the Neri, and the people of the cities Lucca and Prato. Hence it was thought probable that the Florentines might have been guilty of his murder. But other quarrels as bitter, and

enmities as irreconcilable, divided the members of the Sacred College. Benedict had liberated Philippe le Bel from the censures which Boniface had fulminated against him; but the cardinals were on many grounds divided into two parties—the one favourable to the French King, the other entirely Italian in its proclivities. That other and more intimate causes of hatred and partisan feeling divided them may be sufficiently learned from the fact that the friends of the Orsini were on the one side, and those of the Colonnas on the other!

The cardinals went into Conclave at Perugia, and remained there more than ten months without coming to an election, so even was the balance, and so great the animosity between the two parties. At last the Conclave agreed to make an election "by compromise," intrusting the nomination of the pontiff to the two heads of either faction, the Cardinal Albertino da Prato and the Cardinal Gaetani. The latter, who was opposed to the French interest, and wished to favour the party of the cardinals created by Boniface VIII., proposed that they should agree to elect one of the three archbishops created by Boniface. Now one of these was Archbishop of Bordeaux, who was known to be on bad terms with the King, on account of offences given to the Archbishop's family at the time of the war in Gascony—the lure to Gaetani being, of course, the prospect of thus electing either an enemy to the French King, or, in any case, one of Boniface's creatures. But Cardinal Albertino being a man, as Moroni tells us, of very acute shrewdness—*di finissima politica*—determines that the Archbishop of Bordeaux shall be the real man, and sends off a

messenger to him in all secresy to strike a bargain with him for his elevation to the papal throne. The messenger found the Archbishop, Bertrand de Got, in the monastery of St. John at Saintonge, and there quickly came to terms with him. De Got promised on oath that, if he were made Pope, he would grant to Albertino six favours. Four of these had reference to the matters which had been in dispute between the French King and Pope Boniface; the fifth was that the clergy of France should be excused from paying tithes to the Roman See for the next five years; and the sixth not to be declared till after the Archbishop should be crowned Pope! This bargain was successfully struck, and Bertrand de Got became Pope by the name of Clement V.

This grossly simoniacal bargain and election was made just thirty-one years after Gregory X. had in his celebrated constitutions above quoted * fulminated excommunication against all who should in any way by promise, entreaty, persuasion, or bargain, tamper with a papal election! It is needless to point out how flagrantly such bargaining was in violation of the solemn pledges given by a cardinal at his creation, or how shamelessly it contradicts the whole theory and professions on which the election by the cardinals is based. Yet the recognized and official historian, Spondanus, as has been shown, declares that God's providence has ordained that the case of a simoniacal election should never occur! And the writer † who has quoted

* Chapter iv. book i.

† Moroni. It is perhaps inaccurate to speak of Moroni as a "writer." The cavaliere Moroni was the barber who attended the Carnaldolese prior, who became afterwards Gregory XVI. Moroni followed the

this passage from Spondanus narrates the history of this simony with no word of remark, save that it was an act of "*finissima politica!*" It is utterly out of the question to suppose that any of these men, either the purchaser or the seller of the papacy, could have had any real belief in any portion of the matter,—either in their own solemn pledges; or in the yet more solemn declaration, that the work of the election proceeded under the special influence of the Holy Ghost; or in the validity and significance of the excommunication pronounced by their own Pope when they had elected him! What could this Bertrand de Got's own idea of his own Bulls and fulminations and declarations of the faith, when he had ascended the seat of St. Peter, have been?

The election thus scandalously brought about was as disastrous to the Church, and especially to Italy, in its result, as it was unblushingly infamous in its initiation. For it was this Frenchman, Bertrand de Got, who transferred the See to Avignon, which "Babylonish captivity," as the ecclesiastical writers have been fond of calling it, endured till the death of Gregory XI. in

fortunes of his patron, was a great favourite with the late Pope, became his first "Gentleman of the Chamber," and was, or was supposed in Rome to be, able to obtain any favour from Gregory. Roman gossip tells that the good-natured but not scrupulously conscientious Pontiff, would say to his favourite, when disposing of some benefice or office at his solicitation, "you make 'em pay for it, I hope? They pay well, I hope!" Thence when it came into the head of the first gentleman of the Chamber to bring out a "Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-ecclesiastica," (in 103 volumes, 8vo. 1840-1861), he had no difficulty, as may easily be understood, in obtaining all his articles from the men most competent to treat each subject. And the barber's book is thus an extremely valuable one; grievously in want of an Index, which, it is said, he has caused to be prepared, but will not print because of the "perversity of the times."

1378, a period of seventy-three years. During this time the See was held in succession by seven Frenchmen, John XXII., Bendict XII., Clement VI., Innocent the VI., Urban V., and Gregory XI. That nothing might be wanting to the sinister auguries with which this papacy, the first of the "Babylonish captivity," commenced, the ceremony of the French Pope's coronation was marked by a terrible catastrophe. Clement refused the prayer of the cardinals that he would go to them at Perugia, and insisted that on the contrary they should come to him at Avignon. They did so, and the tiara was transported thither from Rome with immense ceremony by the Cardinal Ranieri, as *Camerlengo* of the Holy See. Clement was desirous of imitating the pompous progress made by Boniface from St. Peter's to the Lateran. There was no St. Peter's and no Lateran at Avignon. But still he could ride from one church to another in Avignon; and this he did, or at least attempted to do, with the Duke of Brittany, and Guglielmo de Got his brother, holding the bridle of his palfrey on either side. But the concourse of people and the crush were so terrible in those narrow streets that a wall was thrown down, as the Pope was passing, which killed twelve of the barons who were nearest to him in the procession, the Duke of Brittany and the Pope's brother among them, wounded the King of France, and Charles of Valois, and many others, and threw the Pope himself from his horse, causing the sacred tiara to roll from his head, and thereby to lose from it a ruby worth, says the chronicler, six thousand golden florins.

Clement proceeded to fill the Sacred College with French cardinals, whose scandalous quarrels and grossly simoniacal proceedings caused, at his death in 1314, an interregnum of two years, five months, and seventeen days. Two Conclaves were held during this time, one in Carpentras and one in Lyons; at the last of which, a "compromise" having at length been agreed to, and the French Cardinal Jacopo d'Euse having been intrusted with the nomination of the Pope, and the cardinals having bound themselves, as is the essential condition of an election by "compromise," to accept his nominee as the legitimate Pope, he forthwith declared "Ego sum Papa!" "I am the Pope," and was elected accordingly. The reasons assigned by Novaes * for not believing this story seem to me extremely futile. They consist mainly in the new Pope's declaration in a letter to Robert of Sicily that he had been elected "nemine discrepante," and in the declaration of a Portuguese bishop, writing to another Pope, to the same effect. But this D'Euse, John XXII., *was* in perfect truth elected unanimously by all the cardinals, in accordance with their agreement so to elect his nominee.

The Conclave which assembled at Avignon, on the death of John XXII., who after ruling the Church for eighteen years and three months, died in his ninety-first year, on the 13th of December, 1334, was almost as disgraceful an one as that which elected the Pope who led the Church into "Captivity," Clement V. The spirit which animated its members is sufficiently shown by the offer which they made of the Papacy to John de Com-

* "Dissertazioni Storico-critichi." Diss. iii. sec. 47.

minges, *on condition that he would not restore the Papacy to Rome.* This offer, however, having been declined, the Conclave elected, to his great surprise, the Carmelite monk Jacopo del Forno, who became Pope, as Benedict XII., and turned out a better Pontiff than might have been expected.

Pierre Roger, of the noble house of Beaufort,* was elected regularly by Conclave, assembled at Avignon, on the 7th of May, 1342, which was the thirteenth day after the death of Benedict XII., and became Pope, as Clement VI. He, too, made a triumphal procession on horseback, the bridle rein of his palfrey being held by the Count of Normandy, afterwards King of France. One of his first acts was to proclaim that, for two months, all graces and favours demanded of the Holy See should be, in the granting of them, free from the usual fees and charges. And we are told that in consequence of this announcement more than a hundred thousand ecclesiastics flocked to Avignon from all parts of Europe, during those two months, and returned home "filled with graces and benefits!" This was the Pope who excommunicated Cola di Rienzi, and caused him to be brought to Avignon, and there imprisoned. The Romans dispatched two embassies to Pope Clement, at the head of the second of which was Francesco Petrarcha, the object of which was to prefer three

* It is strange that the writer of the article on Clement VI. in Moroni's Dictionary, should say that he took the Benedictine habit in the monastery of Alvernia; whereas that celebrated retreat in the Tuscan Apennines is and always was a Franciscan convent, and was one of the most noted haunts of St. Francis, and the scene of many of the legends connected with him.

petitions: 1. That he would accept, not as Pope, but as Pierre Roger, the places of Senator and Captain of Rome; 2. That he would come and fix himself at the Lateran; 3. That he would reduce the period elapsing between one jubilee and the next to fifty years instead of an hundred. To the first Pierre Roger replied that he had no objection, seeing that he was the master of the city, to all intents and purposes, as he was. To the third he gave his entire adhesion. But to the second, which was the important point and main object of the embassy, he replied that he could not do as was wished, because he was so much occupied in endeavours to make peace between the different warring princes of Europe—which was true.

But in his reign of ten years and a half he accomplished little or nothing towards that end, and at his death in 1352, twenty-eight cardinals went into Conclave at Avignon, and on the third day elected the Cardinal Stephen d'Albret, a native of the parish of Brissac, in the diocese of Limoges, by the name of Innocent VI. This Conclave was, though a short, a busy one. For on going into Conclave a large number of the cardinals wished to elect the General of the Carthusians: a proposed election which seems to indicate the existence of an improved spirit in the Sacred College, for the Cardinal de Talleyrand, we are told, fearing the severity of that holy monk, dissuaded the cardinals from their choice. Another attempt was then made to elect a Cardinal de Cannillac, who had, however, only fifteen votes. This having failed, the cardinals in Conclave found it necessary to lose no more

time; for it was known that the king, John II., was approaching Avignon, by forced marches, with a view to exercise a pressure on the Conclave. Stephen d'Albret was, therefore, made into Innocent VI. in a hurry, and turned out a very good Pope, as the times went, though somewhat more of a reformer of abuses, specially in the matter of non-residence and the holding of benefices *in commendam*, than their eminences much liked.

It is to be observed that all the tentatives made in the Conclave were in favour of Frenchmen only.

Innocent's successor, William Grimoard, resembled Homer, as the ecclesiastical historians remark, at least in one respect—that seven places contend for the honour of having given him birth, and each of these has found writers to maintain its claim. He was certainly a Frenchman, and was most probably born at Grissac, in Languedoc, in the diocese of Mende. Twenty cardinals went into Conclave at Avignon, after the death of Innocent, on the 22nd of September, 1362; and it soon appeared that a new line of division, and consequently of strife, had manifested itself among them. The great majority were French; but a considerable number of their eminences were Gascons, and subjects therefore of the King of England, and these placed themselves in opposition to those of their colleagues, who were subjects of the King of France. The ecclesiastical historians, in recording this, do not seem to be at all struck by the fact that such a division implies a total forgetfulness of the sacred duties and functions for the discharge of which they professed to have been called altogether. But, in truth, it would have been well-nigh impossible

for any Catholic writer to have treated of the history of the elections of the Popes at all, if he were to make any attempt to meddle with considerations of this order! The twenty cardinals, however, despite their differences and jealousies, contrived to agree, after six days' seclusion, to elect Cardinal Hugo Roger. But he, to the infinite surprise of his colleagues, took the almost unprecedented step, not of merely professing unwillingness, but of absolutely declining, to accept the tiara! And the difficulties of the Conclave recommenced, and the discussions broke out with redoubled violence. It was found indeed impossible to agree in the election of one of their own body; and it was not till the 28th of October that a way out of the difficulty was found by the election, as Urban V., of the Abbot William, who was no cardinal, and had been sent as Legate to Sicily, and was at that time at Florence. It is a curious illustration of the condition of things and of men's minds at the time, that it is recorded that the cardinals, instead of sending to him to announce his election, sent a message to the effect that they desired to consult with him; the motive for the step being that they feared lest, had it been known that he was the Pope, the Italians might have forcibly detained him, with a view to the re-establishment of the Papacy in Rome! In truth repeated indications are found that all the Avignon Popes felt a more or less decided consciousness that they were in some sort doing wrong in holding the Papacy out of Rome, and that it would be a good and meritorious act to restore it to the seat of Peter. Petrarch again interceded strongly by letter with Urban V. on this point; and Urban, who

seems to have been a really conscientious man, was much minded to do as all Italy implored him to do. The difficulty of doing this, however, with a College of Cardinals now almost entirely French, was very great. How much greater it was felt to be by a Pope than it could be imagined to be by any other, is curiously shown by a recorded expression which fell from Urban V., long before he had any thought that he should ever be Pope, to the effect that if he could only live to see the next Pope restore the see to Rome, he should be well content to die the next day! Yet when he himself had become that next Pope, he did not do it! He did determine, however, to at least give Rome the consolation of his presence temporarily. He arrived there, to the immense joy of the Romans, on the 16th of October, 1367. He remained in Rome and its neighbourhood three years and nine months, and then departed on his return to Avignon, on the 26th of August, 1370, despite all the entreaties that could be brought to bear on him; despite the warnings of the sainted Minorite friar, Peter of Aragon, to the effect that his residence in Avignon would lead to a schism in the Church; and those of St. Bridget, who, when he was at Montefiascone, on his way to embark at Corneto, assured him that the Blessed Virgin had revealed to her that if the Pope returned to Avignon he might at once prepare for his death, for that he would not long survive it. Urban, however, replying to all these entreaties and persuasions that the interests of the government of the universal Church made it impossible for him to yield to them, returned to Avignon, which he reached on the 24th of September,

1370, and died on the 19th of December of that year, in complete fulfilment, as the historians do not fail to point out, of the prophecy of St. Bridget.

The Conclave assembled at Avignon on the canonical tenth day after the death of Urban, and immediately, by the unanimous vote of all the nineteen cardinals present, elected Pietro Roger of Maumont, in the diocese of Limoges, Pope, by the name of Gregory XI., the seventh and last of the line of French Popes. Gregory seems to have been a conscientious man, and, like his two or three predecessors, made some nearer approach towards the character and conduct that might be supposed fitting in a ruler of the universal Church, as the duties of such a position were then understood by the best members of that Church, than any of the Popes shortly preceding the "Babylonish Captivity" had done. And these last Popes had been chosen almost entirely by French cardinals. Was it the case, that, rude, rough, and violent as the times were among those Gascon and Languedocian populations, there existed in the social atmosphere of those races a somewhat nearer approach towards an adequate conception of the meaning and significance of the office to be filled by the Supreme Ruler of the Christian Church, than was the case among the invincibly and permanently Pagan tendencies of the Italian people? The discussion of such an idea would lead us very much too far afield from the proposed subject of this volume. It is sufficient to have suggested it to the speculative inquirer interested in the study of national characteristics.

Gregory XI. was, as I have said, to all appearances a

conscientious man, and he like his predecessor seems to have felt strongly on the subject of restoring the Papacy to the Eternal City. Indeed he had made up his mind to do so, not merely by his temporary presence in Rome, as his immediate predecessor had done, but by definitively re-transferring the Papal Court to Rome. This is proved by the fact that when he left Avignon for Rome, on the 10th of September, 1376, he was accompanied by all the cardinals, save six, and by the whole of the members of the Pontifical Court.

But this restoration was a very difficult matter—a much more difficult matter than it had been to carry the Apostolical Court from Rome to Avignon. The difficulties in the way of returning to Rome may be easily understood in a great degree; and it is equally easy to feel assured that other obstacles and difficulties must have existed besides those which we can now descry. Further, there is no reason to doubt that the assertions of Gregory's predecessors, to the effect that the interests of the Church and the work of administering it required their presence in France, were made in all good faith and entire persuasion that such was the fact. They were Frenchmen, and were naturally convinced that France was the true centre of the Christian world, as indeed it had for the last century or so been becoming more and more. England and English affairs, the wars of her kings, and the heresies of her people, had contributed much in those latter times to the cares of the Popes. And they felt themselves to be more at hand for the supervision of them at Avignon than at Rome. Then, again, if Aquitainian and Languedocian barons were

masterful and high-handed, if times were rude and men violent in France, the men into the midst of whom the Popes were importuned to return were a herd of raging ruffians, cut-throats, and poisoners. The former were men who could always be awed into reverence by a due exhibition and administration of Papal Mumbo-jumbo. The latter were men whom no Mumbo-jumbo could awe into a reverence which was alien to their nature, or into superstition which too long a close acquaintance with, and handling of, Mumbo-jumbo had utterly liberated them from.

And the great and all-important fact of a definitive restoration of the Papal Court to Rome was accordingly brought about by an accident after all.

Gregory XI., having left Avignon, as has been said, on the 10th of September, 1376, celebrated his Christmas mass at Corneto, on his arrival in Italy. He was received with the utmost possible enthusiasm by all classes, and with the greatest pomp and magnificence; and at once began active endeavours to repair the evils, material and moral, which had resulted from the absence of the Popes from Rome. But it was uphill work! The Florentines were at open war with him. The petty tyrants of the papal cities joined themselves to them, whenever they were disposed to rebel against the Pope. The Roman barons showed not the smallest disposition to obey him. And the Gascon and Breton troops, whom he had brought with him to protect him, found it hard work to do so. Gregory, we are told, was stricken with melancholy from the day of his arrival in Rome. How well we can imagine that it should have been so! A gloomy, savage-looking,

and half-ruined city grovelling amid the majestic ruins of the Paganism which still survived in the blood of the descendants of those who had raised them; lawless and knowing no authority save that of the ruffian barons and their retainers, who were ever snarling over the carcass; desolate in the midst of the ever sad and dreary Campagna! . . . . . Yes! It may be understood that the Languedoc Pope should have been stricken with melancholy at the sight of the surroundings, and the life, and the work before him.

He seems very soon to have begun to make up his mind that it would not do, and that he must return! That, however, was far more easily said than done. The Romans, who would not obey him, were by no means willing that he should depart. It is probable that they would have attempted, and probably succeeded, in detaining him by violence. And it is to be remembered that his death at Rome would have suited their plans and wishes just as well as his continuing to live there. For in that case there would be a Conclave at Rome, and the probability of a Pope who would continue to reside there.

Gregory had, however, determined to return. But he was continually tormented by an incurable and painful illness, and he began to foresee that he might never see his Languedoc again! And his last act seems to indicate a conviction, not only that he had make a mistake in moving to Rome, but that it would be desirable for his successor, be he whom he might, to continue to keep the Papacy in France; for his last act was the preparation of a dispensing Bull, empowering the cardinals

to elect his successor either in or away from Rome, wherever the greater number of the members of the College might be. Now as the major part of the cardinals were then in Rome, and as they had all been most urgent with the Pope to return to France, this Bull would seem to contemplate their going away from Rome to make the election elsewhere.

Gregory indeed was destined never to leave Rome. His last illness overtook him before he could put his intention of returning into execution; and he died on the evening of the 27th of March, 1378, having reigned seven years and all but three months, of which the last year and three months were passed in Italy.

And thus ended the "Babylonish Captivity."

## CHAPTER III.

Sacred College at the Death of Gregory XI.—Anecdotes of the Conclave that elected Urban VI.—Turbulence of the Roman People.—Alarm of the Cardinals.—Circumstances which led to the great Schism.—Doubts respecting the Canonicity of the Election of Urban VI.—Other Causes leading to the Schism.—Irregular Election of Robert of Geneva by the dissenting Cardinals as Clement VII., who has always been held to be an Antipope.—Schism of thirty-nine Years.

THE death of Gregory XI., which overtook him at Rome when he was meditating his return to Avignon, was the means of restoring the Papacy to the Eternal City, but by no means smoothed away or cut the knot of the difficulties by which that restoration was surrounded. The details of the story of the Conclave which elected his successor, Bartolommeo Prignani, Archbishop of Bari, who was not a cardinal,* as Urban VI., are curious and strongly marked by the characteristics of the times. They have been preserved in the Latin relation of a contemporary, probably a "Conclavista,"† which is printed in the collection published in 1691, by G. L.‡

* Since him no Pope has been elected who was not at the time a member of the Sacred College.

† *I.e.*, one of the "attendants" provided for in the constitutions of Gregory. They may in accordance with them be either clerks or laymen. In practice they are always clerks.

‡ Gregorio Leti. The edition cited is a reprint made at Cologne, and is in 12mo. The original edition in 4to. has no date of place or year. Gregorio Leti was born in 1630. His inexactitude as an historian is notorious. But in the case of these relations of the Conclave, he is merely the collector of the accounts of others. That of the Conclave of

Gregory left the Sacred College consisting of twenty-three cardinals, of whom four only were Italian. There was one Spaniard, and all the others were French. Some of these had remained at Avignon; and sixteen only (as Moroni says, reckoning one Spaniard, eleven French, and four Italians; or seventeen, as the old *Conclavista* says) entered into Conclave on the 7th of April, 1378.* But, as the Conclavista relates, without the smallest appearance of any consciousness that he is telling that which vitiated the whole election,† they met before entering into Conclave to discuss the matter, and see what prospect there was of coming to an agreement. This at once appeared to be but small. For although the eleven French cardinals were strong enough to have elected one of their own body, who would have carried the Papacy back into France, as they ardently wished, if they had been unanimous, there was a principle of division among them which deprived them of their power. The difficulty arose from the fact that the French cardinals, though all French, were not *all* from the Diocese of Limoges; as (from the circumstance of three out the line of seven French Popes, Clement VI., Innocent VI., and Gregory XI., having been natives of

Urban VI. is shown to be by a contemporary, by the statement that Joanna of Naples "was and is" a person much esteemed by the cardinals.

* Cancellieri, with his usual carelessness, says on the 11th of September, which could in no wise have been the case; a blunder which is the more strange in that in the same passage he quotes Leti's Conclavista, who gives the date correctly.

† His words are, "Cardinales ante ingressum Conclavis simul in certo loco aliquando congregati inter se colloquium habuerunt super persona (*sic*) futuri Pontificis tractantes et colloquentes, qui tamen non potuerunt concordare." Compare this with the 14th of Gregory X.'s rules.

that diocese) was the case with a considerable number among them. The other French cardinals, determined that the Papacy should not become the hereditary property of the Limoges clergy,* were ready to unite with the Italian cardinals even in the election of an Italian, if by no other means could they prevent the election of a Limoges man. In this frame of mind they cast their eyes upon the Archbishop of Bari,—"unum Archiepiscopum Barensem," as the Roman Conclavista somewhat contemptuously calls him,—no other indeed than our Bartolommeo Prignani, who, if to a Roman conclavist he was "one Archbishop of Bari," was sufficiently well known in the ecclesiastical world of Christendom, and who eventually became Urban VI. The reasons for the choice are given as follows by the conclavist: It was hoped that the Italian cardinals would agree to elect him, an Italian, rather than another Frenchman; while it was thought on the other hand that the Ultramontane† cardinals would agree "because the Bari Archbishop was a very learned man, used to business, erudite, and instructed in the style of the Curia and Chancery,"‡ and from his early years the familiar companion and domestic chaplain of the Cardinal Vice-

* "Concordarunt cum cardinalibus Italicis de habendo potius Italicum quam unum Lemovicensem, dicentes aperte quod totus mundus admodum erat attediatus de Lemovicensibus, qui tanto tempore Papatum possiderant quasi hereditarium;" saying openly that all the world was very tired of the Limogians, who had possessed the Papacy so long as though it were hereditary among them.—*Conclavi dei Pontific.* Colonia, 1691. V. i. p. 24.

† *I.e.* the cardinals from the *northern* side of the Alps. The change of meaning and relative position in the current talk of the day is not unworthy of notice.

‡ "Instructus in Stylo Curiæ et Cancellariæ."

Chancellor, who was himself of Limoges. So much so that the French cardinals considered this Bishop of Bari to be as it were one of themselves, and conformable* to their ways. Lastly, it was a reason in favour of the choice that the Archbishop was a Neapolitan, "of which kingdom the *Serenissima Joanna*,† who was exceedingly devoted to the Holy Church, and very acceptable to and beloved by the cardinals, was mistress. These grounds for the choice appeared to have approved themselves to the majority of the cardinals, and it was well understood before they went into Conclave that the Archbishop of Bari was to be the man. So much so that on entering Conclave, as soon as the appointed mass "De Spiritu Sancto" had been performed, the Cardinal de Agrifoglio, addressing his colleagues, said,‡ "Let us set to work at once, for I feel sure that we shall make an election out of hand." But the Cardinal Orsini, who was believed to be himself an aspirant to the Papacy, and who saw that the election of the Archbishop of Bari was imminent, wishing to gain time, and *ut creditur*, to get rid of it altogether, spoke thus, or to this effect: "Let us, your eminences—*Domini mei*—defer this election to another time, that we may elude—*ut deludamus*—this Roman people, who wish to have a Roman citizen for Pope;

* "Ipsorum moribus conformem."

† It may be as well to remind the reader that this most Serene favourite of the cardinals was the woman who incited her lover to murder her husband, who used means of nameless infamy to escape public denunciation for the crime, who was the consistently adulterous wife of four husbands, who espoused subsequently the cause of the Antipope against the Pope, and was ultimately stifled under a feather bed in a remote castle in the Apennines by the order of her murdered husband's nephew.

‡ "Dixit hæc verba," says the conclavist.

and let us summon some Minorite friar, and let us put the papal cope and mitre on him, and pretend that we have elected him for Pope; and so let us get away from this place, and elect somebody else elsewhere." For, explains the conclavist, there was a crowd in the Piazza in front of the palace, "not violent, however, or making any threats" (this, as will be seen, was an important point); but imprudently—*incauti*—crying out, "We want a Roman for Pope," their real object being rather to run off to plunder the house of the new Pope, according to custom, as soon as the election should be announced, than really to influence in any way the election; as in truth they did nothing when subsequently one who was not a Roman was elected. But the other cardinals, in reply to the Cardinal Orsini, said, "Certainly we will not do this thing. For we will not make the people idolaters—(as they would be, that is to say, if we deceived them into adoring as Pope one who was not so in reality),—nor will we deceive them to the damnation of our own souls. On the contrary, it is our intention forthwith to elect, and we will elect a true Pope; and for the words and clamours of those people we care not."

Cardinal Orsini, however, making one more attempt to prevent the election of the Archbishop, attempted to persuade his colleagues to elect Francesco, Cardinal of St. Sabine, a Roman, upon which one of the Limoges cardinals said that although the Cardinal of St. Peter's (his Eminence of St. Sabine was so called) was a good and holy man, they would not elect him; in the first place because he was a Roman, and by doing so the Conclave

would seem to have been influenced by the clamour of the mob, and, in the second place, because he was too infirm to sustain the weight of the Papacy; then, turning towards the Florentine Cardinal, he said, "You are of Florence, a city at war with the Holy See. Therefore we will not elect you. His Eminence of Milan is from a country that was always opposed to the Church. The Cardinal Orsini is, again, a Roman, a partisan, and too young for the Papacy. Therefore we will elect none of these." (These were the only four Italians in the Sacred College. It only remained, therefore, to find a Pope outside the College, or to elect one from one or other of the two hostile factions of Frenchmen, a course which the hostility of either party was sufficient to render impossible.) Having thus spoken, continues the conclavist, "Cardinalis ipse Lemovicensis,"* in the presence and hearing of all the other cardinals, and before them all, chose as Roman Pontiff Monsignore Bartolommeo, Archbishop of Bari, using words to the following effect, "I purely and freely elect and assume to be Pope Monsignore Bartolommeo, Archbishop of Bari." And on that same spot, without any interval of time,† all the other cardinals acting and constituting a part much larger than the two-thirds of the number of cardinals in Conclave, freely elected similarly the said Archbishop of Bari to be the Roman Pontiff.‡ The Florentine

* It is not clear which of the cardinals from Limoges is intended. But it is of no importance.

† It is evident from this and many other of the points insisted on in the narrative, that it was composed in view of the schismatic election of an Antipope, to which the proceeding of this Conclave gave rise.

‡ He says all the other cardinals, and thus in fact contradicts himself. But I have accurately translated his words, and his meaning is clear.

Cardinal seeing that there was a majority of more than the requisite two-thirds for the Archbishop of Bari, joined his vote to theirs, and "so the election was celebrated."

The Conclave having remained duly closed all this time, and the election thus canonically* made, their eminences began to have misgivings as to what they had done so bravely, and began to question among themselves whether it were expedient to proclaim the said election forthwith to the people. "And at length they came to a conclusion to put off this publication till the time of dinner had passed, and they should have dined; the object of which was that, inasmuch as the dignitary elected was not then in the palace where the Conclave was held, there was reason to fear that if the election were then proclaimed before he had had time to come to the cardinals in the palace, something unpleasant—*aliqua sinistra*—might happen to the said prelate by the way, inasmuch as he was not a Roman, which the populace were bent on having." Another reason, adds the conclavist, was that their eminences were anxious to get their silver plate and other valuables that they had with them in the Conclave, carried to their houses, or to some other place of safety, which they feared they might not be able to accomplish after the election had been declared.

So, "ne aliquis posset suspicari vel præsumere, ipsum esse electum," they sent for several prelates, known to

* Except in so far as it was vitiated by the simoniacal proceedings preceding the Conclave, as before observed, which nobody seems to have thought anything about.

be then in Rome, desiring them to come and confer respecting certain arduous affairs of the Church. The conclavist names five thus sent for besides the Archbishop of Bari. They all came, and the cardinals gave them a dinner, not inside the Conclave where they were dining themselves, but in the palace. After dinner, the Conclave being still closed, and all semblance of pressure from without having ceased, they again, for greater security, safety, and precaution—"concorditer ac unanimiter"* — elected Bartolommeo, Archbishop of Bari, to be Pope.

When that had been done, a rumour got out—"cepit exire et dici"—that the Pope had been elected. But nobody could say on whom the election had fallen. Thereat the people began to be clamorous, and going to the Bishop of Marseilles, who had been appointed keeper of the Conclave, insisted that it should be told to them who the Pope was. The Bishop answered that he would go to St. Peter's and ascertain, and that the result of the election should then be published. But some of the people misunderstanding him, thought that he said he would go to the house of the Cardinal "de Sancti Petri" (Orsini), and concluded at once that he had been elected. Whereupon the populace rushed off to that cardinal's dwelling, and to show their joy at having a Roman for Pope, plundered the house according to custom. When, however, the hours went on and no proclamation of the election was made, an idea began to gain ground that the

* I presume that he means that those who had before done so unanimously repeated the election. It is not likely that the others who had refused before dinner to concur in the election should have now agreed to it. The sequel of the history makes this very improbable.

people had been deceived, and the notion was confirmed by some who had observed some of the plate of the cardinals being carried away out of the Conclave, whereupon a portion of the populace made an irruption into the Conclave, intending to insist on the cardinals remaining where they were until an election should have been made.

The French cardinals, seeing the people rushing into the Conclave, "were exceedingly frightened because they had not elected a Roman Pope;" and forgetting not only the bravery with which they had declared that they would elect without regard to the clamour of the people, but also all that care for the welfare of their own souls which had induced them to reject the proposal of Cardinal Orsini, they induced that Cardinal to permit himself to be clothed with the insignia of the Pope, "ad placandum populum." And the people, believing him to be the Pope, adored him as such; so that, to use the expressions of the Limoges cardinal who had spoken so bravely when the walls of the palace were between him and the populace, "the people" were "made idolaters," and the souls of the cardinals acting the fraud were "damned," as his Eminence had said.

While these things were being done in a tumultuous manner, all the cardinals got away out of the Conclave and reached their own houses in safety, except the real Pope, who had hidden himself in the palace, and the mock Pope, Orsini, who was receiving the salutations of the people. When, however, this had been going on for some little time, Cardinal Orsini, beginning to feel

uncomfortable in his strange position, cried out,* "I am not the Pope, and I don't want to be an Antipope. A better man than I has been chosen Pope—the Archbishop of Bari."

Meantime most of the cardinals had become so much alarmed at the aspect of things that they thought they could not venture to remain in their own houses. A few, three or four, did so in perfect safety; of the others, some hid themselves in the city, some escaped to strong places out of the city, and some took refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo. The conclavist gives the names of all those who adopted each of these courses. That same evening those who were in Castle St. Angelo wrote to the elected Pope recommending him, inasmuch as he was not a Roman, to escape to some safe place; but the new Pope, on receiving this message, consulted Cardinal Orsini, who alone had remained in the palace, as to the course he should adopt. Orsini told him that he was well and truly made Pope, and that nothing could hurt him if he remained where he was. He accordingly did pass that night in the palace, and on the morrow it was, "by the counsel and will of" the Cardinal Orsini, announced to the official personages of the city that the Archbishop of Bari had been elected Pope. Whereupon they, the official personages, were much astonished, but were highly contented, and wished to approach the Pope, and did go to him for the rendering to him that reverence which is usually shown to the Popes. But he, the new Pope, was unwilling that such reverence should be shown him by the said officials, or by anybody else,

* "Hæc verba protulit in effectu," says the Conclavist.

saying, among other things, that for the present he did not choose to be called other than the Archbishop of Bari.*

This statement is very important as indicating that Urban VI. was not himself contented with his election, and had doubts as to its validity. It is, at the same time, evidence of the impartial good faith of the conclavist who has preserved the story of the Conclave. Many of the passages which have been quoted, in which he insists upon small facts that go to show that the election was canonical according to the rules, might lead to the suspicion that, writing his account of the election after it had been disputed, he wrote merely as a partisan. But it is impossible to suppose that he could have failed to perceive the very damaging inference to be drawn from the conduct of Urban himself.

The writer goes on to relate that, on the morning after the election, the five cardinals who had remained in their own homes came to the new Pope to congratulate him and implore him to accept his election. They

* This passage is so important, in view of the disastrous schism which the circumstances of this memorable Conclave led to, that I think it worth while to give the text of the original.

"In crastinum autem de consilio et voluntate Domini Cardinalis Sancti Petri (Orsini) fuit electio Dom. Barensis intimata officialibus Urbis, qui de electione hujus modi remanserunt; et fuerunt valde contenti, et voluerunt accedere et accesserunt Dominum electum ad exhibendum ei reverentiam exhiberi solitam summis Pontificibus; qui noluit sibi talem reverentiam fieri per dictos officiales, nec per alium quempiam, dicendo inter cætera, quod pro nunc nolebat nominari, nisi Archiepiscopus Barensis."

The reader will have remarked the peculiar use of the word "remanserunt." Nobody could understand it who was not familiar with modern Italian colloquialisms—"Io rimango!" "Sono rimasti!" ("I am amazed!" "They were much astonished!") which may be heard any day in the mouths of Italians. A quaint instance of the persistence of a popular, almost slang, phrase.

persuaded him also to allow a message to be sent to the six cardinals who were in Castle St. Angelo, requiring them to meet their colleagues, and that the Elected might give his consent to the election made in his person, as is customary. He, however—the new Pope —*wishing to be secure in his conscience*, asked all* the cardinals, each one separately, whether in truth he was elected Pope, "sincerely, purely, freely, and canonically," by all the cardinals in Conclave. And they replied that assuredly he was so elected as much as any one could be, persuading him by no means to refuse or delay his assent to his election on account of the danger of a long interregnum, considering that it would be very difficult for the cardinals to be again assembled together. The cardinals who had remained in St. Angelo, moreover, gave by publicly executed instrument full and free power to the five who were at St. Peter's with the Pope to enthrone him, and do all things that they could by their own presence do. When, however, this instrument was shown to the Senate of Rome and the other officials of the city, they went to Castle St. Angelo, and humbly prayed the cardinals there to come out and join their colleagues at St. Peter's, assuring them that they would be there in a perfectly safe, free, and secure place; and that although they had not chosen a Roman, yet the Roman people were contented with the election of the Archbishop of Bari, and were perfectly quiet and peacefully disposed. Thus reassured, the six foreign cardinals

* That is, all the five who had come to him. For it appears immediately afterwards that the six who were in St. Angelo did not as yet come out to join their colleagues.

came out of the castle and joined the Pope elect and the other five cardinals at St. Peter's; and there the whole eleven together in the chapel, "a second time and for the greater surety," elected the Archbishop Pope, "or purely, freely, agreeingly, and unanimously consented that he should be elected."

Here again the narrative of the conclavist is very damaging to the cause of Urban VI. It is clear that if he had not been duly, fully, and finally elected in the Conclave, nothing that could be done afterwards could canonically make him Pope. And yet the cardinals by their conduct show that they must have had doubts upon the subject. The eleven constituted, it is true, two-thirds of a Conclave consisting of sixteen (if seventeen entered into Conclave the eleven did not make a two-thirds majority); but a canonical election could not be effected by first getting rid of a portion of the electors by means of an erroneous statement that the election was consummated, and then proceeding with the real effective election in their absence. It would seem, indeed, that from the first, the circumstances attending this Conclave did inspire a certain degree of doubt and misgiving in all those who were actors in it. Nevertheless, the sequel of the story, as narrated by the contemporary writer whom I have followed, and who in all probability was, as I have supposed, a conclavist, seems to show that the pretences on which the terrible schism that followed were founded were in truth insincere and merely colourable. My impression, too, from a very careful reading of the narrative, is strongly in favour of the truthfulness and sincerity of the writer.

He goes on to show at great length that every part of the usual ceremony of enthronement, and of the practices that according to custom follow after it, were duly, fully, and undisputedly done and complied with in the presence and with the assent and assistance of all the sixteen cardinals who had taken part in the Conclave,* those who had fled from the city having returned. He proceeds to show that for three months all these cardinals treated Urban as Pope in every respect and particular, no word of doubt having been breathed on the subject. The writer then mentions various papal acts done by Urban, such as holding a Consistory, appointing a Bishop of Ostia, granting graces and dispensations, and some others. But among the things done he tells us that the cardinals wrote letters to the different princes of Christendom, informing them of the election, and *warning them to give faith to none who should assert the contrary, or insinuate a doubt as to the election*—again a very damaging admission; for certainly such a warning implies, if not that objections to the election had already been put forward, at least a conscious fear that such might be likely to arise.

We soon come, however, to matter that was much worse than simony, or any possible formal objection that could

* "Cardinalibus omnibus numero xvi. assistentibus, presentibus, et sic fieri volentibus, ipsique Domino Urbano ministrantibus. Omnes enim dicti cardinales numero xvi., qui in electione fuerunt, in hoc Coronationis festo interfuerunt, purèque et liberè consenserunt, et quatuor illi cardinales, qui ab urbe recesserant jam fuerant ad urbem reversi, ubi omnes dicti cardinales per tres menses continuos steterunt, ipsi domino Urbano assistendo et ministrando, Concistoria et alia per cardinales summis Pontificibus consueta faciendo . . . et durante tempore dictorum trium mensium dicti D. Cardinales semper tractarunt, et habuerunt Dominum Urbanum pro vero, unico, et indubitato sumo Pontifice."

be brought against the election. "One day the Pope, Urban, having summoned all the cardinals, addressed to them many admonitions for the good government of the Church, and respecting their setting a good example to the people. For he warned them to abstain and hold their hands from all gifts, declaring that he detested and would severely punish all guilty of simony,* and all seekers after gain; forbidding them to accept presents either great or small on whatsoever account, as it was his intention that all affairs that came before him should be despatched gratis, no man thence hoping anything. Poor Urban! He was by no means the right man in the right place. One sees in truth that they ought to have chosen a Roman for the position. He admonished them further as to exemplary living, speaking strongly against superfluous expense, and numerous retinues, and expenditure in horses, garments, and conviviality; asserting that all such pompous and puffed-up ways of living tended to injure rather than support the Church and the Papacy. He said further that it was his intention that justice should be rendered to all seeking it without distinction of persons; and added that since the Divine Providence had placed the Apostolic See in Rome, his purpose was to reside in the city and there to live and die, and he deemed it an offence to God to do otherwise.

Here, indeed, were grounds enough for disputing the election! Surely it was clear that this man was not the

* It is fair to observe, inasmuch as I have spoken of the vitiation of Urban's election as simoniacal, that no shadow of such an accusation rests on him. The simony which vitiated the election consisted in the bargaining among the cardinals which preceded it. In fact but few papal elections, if any, have been other than simoniacal.

man for a Pope; and that the cardinals must have been acting under some pressure, or at all events some hallucination, in electing him. The writer, indeed, of the impartial and passionless narrative which I have followed evidently is much of this opinion. He tells us that the cardinals who rebelled against the Pope, and were the authors of the schism, were tired of Urban's * morality; and that his too great severity, rather than any flaw in his title to the Papacy, caused the cardinals who rebelled against him to do so. And a little further on he tells us that it was generally thought that he was himself the cause of all the persecution he suffered, because he was unduly severe,† and that out of his own head, and had more confidence in himself than in others.

Ugly symptoms, in fact, of rebellion and disaffection exhibited themselves immediately after this solemn monition. The Bishop of Arles, who had been Chamberlain to Gregory XI., and had the custody of all the jewels belonging to the papal treasury, went off with them to Anagni, carrying with him also the tiara, with which Urban and many of the Popes, his predecessors, had been crowned. One Peter, the commandant of the Castle of St. Angelo, at the instigation of another of the French cardinals, refused to render up possession of the fortress. The Cardinal of St. Eustace, after having treacherously‡ persuaded the Pope to give a large sum of money to a company of Breton free-lances, induced

* "Attediati moribus Urbani."

† "Propterea quod homo ultra quam decebat severus erat, et sui capitis, et sibi magis quam cæteris credens."

‡ "Per suas virtutes, et subtiles tractatus, ac deceptoria verba, et falsas ac dolosas inductiones."

them as soon as ever they had received the money to turn their arms against the Pope. They too, of course, were desirous of having a French Pope, and were easily made to believe that Urban had not been duly elected. In a word, things were beginning to look very ugly. And at the end of June the Pope seems to have been guilty of a mistake and an imprudence. The cardinals who were hostile to him, making a pretext of the heat in Rome, asked permission to retire to Anagni, which Urban, "wishing to please them," conceded, and at the same time forgetting what he had so recently said about living and dying in Rome, or, perhaps, coerced by fear, he himself went to Tivoli.

Thus two hostile camps were formed; and very shortly afterwards the disaffected cardinals, breaking into open and avowed schism, declared the election of Urban to have been *ab initio* void, on the ground that the Conclave had not been held in a safe place, and that the electors had acted under the influence* of fear. And possibly the reader of the foregoing pages may be under the impression that such a statement was not altogether unwarranted by the facts of the case. The northern cardinals, who were not to the manner born, may not have understood the playful ways of the Roman populace, or comprehended that when the crowd in the *piazza* were bawling *Papa Romano volemo*, they were only waiting to offer their congratulations to the new Pope by losing no time in wrecking his house. But in reply to all this it must be remembered that the election

* "Quia per impressionem, et quod electio non fuit celebrata in loco tuto."

was completed *before* the irruption of the populace. Besides, there was the still more conclusive fact of the perfect adhesion of the cardinals to their choice during three months. The rebels, however, proceeded to hold a Conclave, which professed to elect the Cardinal Robert of Geneva Pope, by the name of Clement VII., "but in truth," says the conclavist, "rather erected an idol, and called him so."

And thus began the great schism, which lasted thirty-nine years, and was only closed by the irregular election of an undisputed Pontiff in the person of Martin V., by the authority of the Council of Constance, in 1417.

This election, or pretended election, of an Antipope divided all Europe, and was the cause of a long and sad series of evils, as those who engaged in it must have known that it would be. All Italy (except the Count of Fondi and the prefect of the city, who had from the first joined the rebel cardinals in their conspiracy against Urban), all Germany, all England, and Portugal, maintained their allegiance to Urban. France and Spain adhered to the Antipope. "And thus," says the Conclavist, "followed difficulties and very many errors among Christian people. And what one Pope bound the other loosed. And hence arose legal processes, and deprivations, and anathematizations, to the great disgrace of the Church and of Christendom. From the same cause it came to pass that the same benefice often was given to two persons, and the matter was frequently settled by force of arms, whence followed the deaths of many men, the depopulation of the country, and the destruction of many. Hence, too, followed the great

war between the Duke of Burgundy and him of Liege, in which, as it is said, thirty thousand men perished."

The very important results that followed from the circumstances of this Conclave, and the singularity of them, have seemed to afford a reason for relating the details of it at greater length than can be afforded to the story of many of them. But the history of this Conclave of Urban VI., and of the terrible results of it, will be worth remembering when we come to the description of the minute and elaborate precautions and ceremonies, the main object of which has been to render any, even the smallest, irregularity in the action of the Conclaves impossible.

The whole tone and style of the proceedings which have been related contrasts amusingly with the more staid and solemn, but not a whit more sincere or honest, doings of the Conclaves of later times. And there is a flavour of masterful directness and reckless violence mingled with a sort of naïve semi-barbarian simplicity, which, as characteristic of the times, has suggested the heading of this book of my story.

## CHAPTER IV.

**Conclaves during the Period of the Schism.—Council of Pisa.—Abnormal and Irregular State of Things in the Church.—Council of Constance.—Decrees which put an end to the Schism, by the Election of Martin V.—Difficulties arising from the Action of the Council of Constance.—Their Effect as regarding Modern Theories of Infallibility.**

THE notices that have been preserved of the Conclaves which elected the Popes during the period of the schism —from the election of Urban VI., that is to say, in 1378, to that of Martin V., in 1417—contribute nothing of special interest to a history of the Conclaves. The story of the Church, indeed, during those disastrous years is full enough of interest. But it would require the entirety of a volume as large as the present to give a detailed and intelligible account of the struggles, plottings, and counter-plottings, of the rival Popes, of whom there were at one time three in the field. For the Council of Pisa, 1409 (the legitimacy of which is itself disputed, on the ground that no Pope summoned or presided over it), deposed, or pretended to depose, both Gregory XII. and the Antipope, Benedict XIII., and elected Alexander V. But neither Gregory nor Benedict would consider themselves to be deposed, though the former renewed the offer which he had before made as regarded Benedict, to resign the Papacy if both his rivals would do the

same. The cardinals who elected his predecessor, Innocent VII., in 1404, had in Conclave all sworn, each for himself, that if elected Pope he would pledge himself to resign if the Antipope would do so also. But Innocent no sooner was elected than he dispensed all the cardinals, himself included, from the observance of the vow!—a notable instance of the futility of any attempt to bind a Pope by any moral sanction. In the Conclave which elected Gregory XII. the same oath was taken by all the cardinals, and one cannot but feel astonishment that they should have had the face, each in presence of his fellow, to go through such a solemn farce so shortly after the experience they had had of the efficacy of the oath in question, and astonishment still greater at the simplicity of those, if such there were, who could imagine that they were binding an infallible being, armed with such authority as a Pope wields!

Gregory XII. did not, indeed, forthwith repudiate his oath, as Innocent did. On the contrary, he continued to protest his readiness to abdicate if his rival would do so too. But the promise was one which it was very safe to make. He promised also on oath in Conclave to create no more cardinals than such as should be sufficient to keep *his* College of Cardinals as numerous as that of the Antipope. But as soon as ever it became convenient to him to do so he violated his oath, declaring that he was not guilty of any perjury because circumstances had changed since he made the promise.

Alexander V., the Pope elected by the self-constituted Council of Pisa, died in 1410, after a reign of only ten months and eight days. His name appears in the official

lists of the Popes, and he is recognised by the Church as having been such;—strangely enough! For it follows that there were two legitimate Popes (beside the Anti-pope) at one and the same time. The list published in the official Pontifical Calendar declares Gregory XII. to have resigned in 1409, the date of his deposition by the Council of Pisa; and places the election of Alexander in the same year, avoiding the appearance of two contemporary Popes on the face of the list. But in the list of the Popes given in the "Relazione della Corte di Roma," by the Cavaliere Lunadoro—a useful little work recognised by the ecclesiastical authorities, and reprinted again and again in Rome—the following is the statement made respecting Gregory XII.: "His Pontificate, according to the opinion of those who think that it terminated in the fifteenth session of the Council of Pisa, lasted two years, six months, and four days; and according to the opinion of such as prolong his reign till the fourteenth session of the Council of Constance, at which time Gregory solemnly renounced the Papacy, it lasted eight years, seven months, and three days." And in truth the resignation of Gregory did not take place till he sent it by his plenipotentiary, Carlo Malatesta, to the Council of Constance, at the fourteenth session of that body on the 14th of July, 1415. And during all the time from the election of Alexander by the self-created Council of Pisa, in 1409, to the 14th July, 1415, there were two Popes, neither of whom has the Church agreed to consider spurious and illegitimate. For though Alexander V., the first creation of the rebellious and schismatic cardinals, died at Bologna ten months

after his creation, another Pope, Giovanni XXIII., was forthwith created by them in that city, in the person of Baldassare Coscia. The Church considers both these Popes, Alexander V. and Giovanni XXIII., to be genuine. But it is difficult to understand the theory on which it does so. For they were the creations of cardinals who had created an Antipope, or of cardinals who had been themselves created by an Antipope. The Council of Constance, which had been itself summoned by a Pope, John XXIII., who had been created by seceding cardinals in opposition to an accepted and recognised Pope contemporaneously reigning, Gregory XII., and the authority of which, as summoned by a Pope so created, had been expressly repudiated and denied by Gregory, ordained that both Gregory and John should be deposed and a new Pope elected. This election was made in a wholly novel and abnormal manner. It was decreed by the Council that a Pope should be elected by a specially constituted body, consisting, firstly, of the cardinals of the College of Gregory XII.; secondly, of those created by his rivals John XXIII. and his predecessor Alexander V.; thirdly, of those created by the Antipope Benedict XIII.; and fourthly, by thirty other prelates, six for each of the five nations which took part in the Council.

Such an election involved, it will be seen, nothing less than a new departure for the Church. All continuity with the traditional past is wholly and definitely severed. And though, Martin having been elected, it was thought fit to return with all possible accuracy into the old grooves, and to speak and act as though no continuity

had been broken, nothing can be more indisputable than that the legitimacy of the whole scheme and constitution of ecclesiastical government thenceforward reposed and reposes on the innate authority of a self-constituted* General Council. No better ground according to the veritable nature of things and of a constituted Church can be imagined. But various difficulties, then unforeseen, have arisen from the course pursued by that Council at Constance in the fifteenth century, and ultimately, therefore, from the disastrous action of those schismatic cardinals who rebelled against Urban VI., because he menaced them with the suppression of their simoniacal gains, luxurious habits, and loose lives. From that rebellion, and from the series of events to which it directly led, arose a condition of things, the only outlet from which, as found by the Council of Constance, has made it exceedingly difficult for the defenders of the Roman Curia to support in its continual encroachments the ever-growing and advancing theory of papal infallibility. Could the Council have foreseen to what a length these claims of infallibility would one day rise, they might have managed better. The better course—the only possible consistent course—would have been to declare the cardinals who rebelled against Urban VI. schismatic, and all their

* Self-constituted, inasmuch as Gregory absolutely refused to recognise the Council as summoned by John XXIII.—and not unreasonably, for John could be deemed to be Pope only by a seceding portion of cardinals and of Christendom. But Gregory did not refuse to recognise and submit to the Council, considered, not as summoned by John, but as a spontaneous meeting of the bishops of the Universal Church. As to the summoning of it by this or that lay prince, of course such summoning could impart no sort of authority to the Council in ecclesiastical eyes.

acts null, and the Popes elected by them, Alexander V. and John XXIII., Antipopes, and to have placed Gregory XII. upon an undisputed throne. Probably it was out of the power of the Council to pursue any such course. Probably no exit from the dead-lock could have been found save by compromise. But the compromise was fatal to a theory of papal infallibility, which, as matters have by the action of the Council been made to stand, not only bases the world of papal authority on an elephant which rests upon a tortoise, but takes that same elephant for the support on which to place the tortoise!

The intricate details of the vexed questions to which the proceedings of the Council of Constance have led, and of the all-important bearing of them on the contemporary controversy to which the unprecedented pretensions and claims of the present Pontiff have given rise, cannot be held to belong to a story of the Papal Conclaves, and would lead us into fields much too far away from our subject. The facts of the case, as well as the bearing of them on the claims advanced in accordance with the decrees of the late Vatican Council, have been as succinctly as lucidly set forth in Mr. Gladstone's tract on "The Vatican Council and the Infallibility of the Pope," and may there be read by those who are interested in the subject.

It is more germane to the scope of the present volume to point out, that all the disasters of a schism which divided Europe for thirty-nine years, all the heroic remedies applied by the Council of Constance to an intolerable state of things, from the violence of which

remedies the constitution of the Church yet suffers, and all the insuperable difficulties imported into the theory of the existence and government of the Roman Church, were caused by small circumstances in that fourteenth century Conclave which elected Urban VI., such as it has been the object of all the voluminous ceremonial and minutely precise regulations which govern those assemblies to render impossible.

## CHAPTER V.

Otto Colonna Pope as Martin V.—Conclave for the Election of Eugenius IV.—Contest between Pope and Council.—Anecdote of the Death-bed of Eugenius IV.—Anecdotes of the Conclave that elected Nicholas V.—Violence of the Roman Barons.—Prospero Colonna.—Cardinal Nephews.—Election of Nicholas V.—Condition of Italy.—Failure of the Attempt to unite the Latin and Greek Churches.—Nicholas a Patron of the new learning.—Other Doings of Nicholas.—Anecdote of his Mother.—Conclave which elected Calixtus III.—Cardinal Bessarion.—Conclave which elected Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini as Pius II.—Efforts of the Cardinal of Rouen to prevent the Election, and to secure his own.—Mode of Pius II.'s Election.

Otto Colonna, Pope Martin V., thus elected by the authority of the Council in the November of 1417, was then in sound health, and fifty years old, and he reigned thirteen years and three months, not without some success in reducing the confused state of things in the Church to some degree of regularity and order. It was but little he could do or even attempt towards achieving as much for Italy, which was torn by war from end to end. But as has mostly been the case, the Roman Colonna Pope, object of jeers* as he may have been elsewhere, was liked, and seems to have done well at

* The rhymes sung under his window at Florence by the Florentine street boys, then as lawless, and as incapable of reverencing aught save cash, as now, are well known.

"Papa Martino
Non vale un quattrino,"

screamed the boys, imputing to the new Pope the only fault which they could comprehend to be such.

Rome, where, as an old contemporary diarist tells us, he "kept his dominions quiet and tranquil, so that one could go about with gold in one's hands for a couple of hundred miles around Rome, and be safe by day or by night; and he did great good to the city of Rome."* I should not have liked to make the experiment suggested. But the statement may be taken to indicate the general impression made at Rome by the pontificate of Martin V. He died on the 13th of February, 1431; and on the 2nd of March, six days, it will be observed, after the due time, thirteen cardinals went into Conclave at Santa Maria sopra Minerva, and on the following day elected the Venetian Gabriel Condulmieri Pope as Eugenius IV. If Pope Martin had kept Rome quiet while he lived, all law seemed to have come to an end there at his death and during the pontificate of his successor. The Colonnas, the late Pope's kinsmen, seized on the treasure of the Church, and very nearly succeeded in their rebellion against Eugenius. They had to be, and by the assistance of Florentine and Venetian troops were, put down; and the Pope launched against them the first of those excommunications of which he had to make such frequent use in the course of his pontificate of all but sixteen years, for the whole course of it was one continual struggle with opponents and rival authorities of all kinds. The history of his reign, a very interesting one, cannot be entered on here. And it must suffice to remark that the story goes to show that the Church had learned nothing of moderation, of prudence, or of the duty of preferring the welfare of Christendom to the

* Diario del Ceremoniere Paolo Benedetto Nicolai.

most paltry private interests, by the terrible misfortunes through which it had so recently passed. A new schism, though, as it chanced, a less important one than the last, was created. Pope and Council were again opposed to each other, the Pontiff dissolving the Council by Bull, and the Council deposing the Pontiff! Nevertheless, Eugenius did contrive to live and die as Pope, exclaiming, we are told, on his death-bed, as well he might, "Ah, Gabriel! How much better for thee it would have been, instead of being either cardinal or Pope, to live and die in thy cloister,* occupied with the exercises of the monastic rule!"

Eugenius IV. died on the 28th February, 1447; and on the 4th of March their Eminences went into Conclave—too soon this time, as on the last occasion the Conclave had been deferred too long, possibly in deference to words which fell from the dying Pope in his last address to the cardinals whom he had assembled around his bed. "Further," he concluded, after many exhortations to unity and concord, "I earnestly beg of you all that, as soon as I shall have passed from this life, you lose no time in matters of pompous exequies." It may have been considered that these words constituted a dispensation from the exact observance of the Gregorian rule, which required a lapse of nine days between the death of a Pope and the entrance of the cardinals into Conclave. Eugenius IV. left a College consisting of twenty-four cardinals, all save one created by himself, of whom eighteen (all who were then present in Rome)

* He had belonged to the congregation of Celestines of St. Giorgio, in Alga, at Venice.

entered into Conclave, in the dormitory of the monks of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, much against the will of that body, who maintained that the Vatican was the proper place to hold the Conclave in. It is recorded that on this occasion the cells for the cardinals were not constructed, as was usual, of wood, but of green or violet-coloured cloth, save only that of the Cardinal of Bologna, who gave especial orders that his cell should be of white material—"perhaps," says slily the conclavist who has written an extant account of this Conclave, "because his mind was neither more white nor more black than that of the others."

The first incident in this Conclave was an irruption of several of the Roman barons, who pretended the right of taking part in—or perhaps the word used may signify only being present at—the election. But the cardinals would not submit to this, and succeeded in getting rid of the intruders, the most obstinate of whom was the aged Gio Baptista Savelli, who furiously protested that he had a right to be there by virtue of a special papal grant. What the old blockhead had got in his thick baron's head was the privilege granted to his family by Gregory X. to hold the hereditary position of keepers of the Conclaves, which duty required him to be on the outside and not on the inside of the door!

When the cardinals went into Conclave, the universal opinion was that Prospero Colonna would be elected. He must have been the Dean of the Sacred College, for it is recorded that all the cardinals save one were of the creation of Eugenius IV.; and Colonna must have been that one—a creation of his kinsman, Martin V.—for

he was certainly a cardinal at the time of the election of Eugenius, and was then thought to have a good chance of the Papacy. He had at the first scrutiny ten votes—twelve, it will be observed, being needed to elect, *i.e.* two-thirds of eighteen—the other eight being given to the Cardinal of Fermo. The next day Prospero Colonna still held his ten votes, though many attempts were made on the part of the other eight to entice away from him some of his ten, by putting forward a variety of other candidates, several even who were not cardinals, as the Archbishops of Benevento and of Florence, and others. Prospero Colonna's ten supporters, however, stood firm, and nothing was done on that second day.

There were reasons, indeed, for electing Colonna, but they were reasons of a kind which indicate the fatal consequences which have fallen upon the Church from the universal sovereignty of its head—reasons of European policy, and in no wise reasons having any regard to his fitness as a supreme bishop of souls, nor even to a right recommending him as a governor of Rome. He was acceptable to the French party in the Conclave, and was deemed more likely than any of his colleagues to command the means of compelling the obedience of the different Italian States. But, Colonna as he was, he was not the favourite candidate of the Roman people. They wished the Cardinal of Capua to be Pope, perhaps from having had too much experience of Colonna's high-handed and lawless violence. On the third day, the 6th of March, the steady phalanx of Colonna's ten supporters still continued unassailable; and on that day, after the first of the two scrutinies that take place daily,

the Cardinal of Fermo, seeing matters thus at a dead lock, and that his own eight voices could do nothing for him, and thinking that the next best thing to getting the tiara for himself was to be the conspicuous means of obtaining it for another, rose and addressed the meeting.

"Why," exclaimed he, "are we thus losing time, seeing that there is no greater danger to the Church than a long delay in the election of a Pontiff! The city of Rome is divided into parties! The King of Aragon is close at hand on the sea with an army! Duke Amadeus of Savoy is in opposition to us! The Count Francis is our enemy! Suffering, then, from all these evils, why do we not rouse ourselves to give to the Church of Christ a pastor and a guide? Here is that angel of God, the Cardinal Prospero Colonna, mild as a lamb—*mansueto agnello*—why do we not elect him Pope? He has already ten votes. He needs only two more!* Why do not some of you rise and give him these two? If only one will do so, the thing is done; for then a twelfth is sure to follow!"

But not a man moved! It was a trying moment, for any one of the eight, acceding to Fermo's call, might have had, in the eyes of Colonna, the merit of giving him the Papacy.

"Mansueto agnello!"—a mild lambkin!—his Eminence of Fermo had called him! And of course that was a characteristic that always recommended itself very

* It seems, therefore, that the Cardinal of Fermo, although voted for himself at the first scrutiny by eight cardinals, must have been himself one of Colonna's original ten supporters. Otherwise he could not have said that Colonna needed two more votes, seeing that he, Fermo, would have been the eleventh, and only twelve were needed.

strongly to those who were setting over themselves an indefeasible and despotic master. But probably some of those present may have called to mind that this mild lambkin was the man who, at the death of Martin V., had, in company with two of his lawless kinsmen barons, seized on the papal treasure chest and carried it off; and had had to be excommunicated for the deed by Eugenius IV., till, on disgorging the plunder, the sentence was removed. Prospero Colonna, in fact, belonged to a category of cardinals from which more Popes were chosen in the subsequent centuries than had hitherto been the case—the category of "cardinal nephews." The evil wrought by them in and to the Church has been well-nigh fatal to it; and it continued to increase till increasing danger warned the Pontiffs to abstain. The worst cardinals, providing, of course, the material for the worst Popes, have been for the most part cardinal nephews, the temptation to the creation of such having been rendered too great to be resisted by the exorbitant greatness of the power, dignity, and wealth attributed to the members of the Sacred College. The value of these great "prizes" was so enormous, that the "hat" became an object of ambition to princes, and it was a primary object with a long series of Popes to bestow it on their kinsmen. If among these there was none fitted by character, education, and antecedents for the position, the dispensing power was called into requisition, and the Pope's relative, however unfit in all these respects, became one of the princes of the Church. Of course precedents once made were eagerly quoted, and it became an understood thing that a "prince of the Church" was

not to be expected to have the virtues or professional character of a private in the ranks. And thus the institution went from bad to worse; the invention of the Sacred College having been, on the whole, perhaps, the most fertile source of corruption in the Church, especially of the Church as it has existed in Rome.

This Prospero Colonna had been a cardinal nephew, and the Church very narrowly escaped having him for a Pope!

The speech of the Cardinal of Fermo took the Conclave by surprise, and all remained mute and motionless and watchfully expectant. Then, after a pause, the Cardinal of Bologna rose, and was on the point of giving Colonna the eleventh vote, which the Cardinal of Fermo had said would surely draw after it the twelfth, when the Cardinal of Taranto brought him to pause.

"Be not in so great a hurry," he said, "to do so great a thing! Pause a little! The matter we have before us is a very weighty one; nor will a short delay matter, so that the business be well done! Think what you are doing! We are not here to choose the ruler of a town, but one who is to rule the entire world—one, remember, who is to bind and to loosen, to open and to shut; one, in a word, who is to be a God on earth! Much consideration is necessary; and he who sees quickly sees little!"

Hereupon the Cardinal of Aquileia cried out in anger, "Cardinal of Taranto,* all that you have said, and

* Not Otranto, as has been sometimes written. The see of Otranto was not at that time, or at any other, so far as I know, occupied by a cardinal.

all that you have done, has been said and done with the sole object of preventing the election of Cardinal Colonna, and forcing one of your own choice! Say at once, whom do you wish to see elected?"

This was an exceedingly impolitic outburst of temper, such as, it is safe to say, no member of any of the Conclaves of the following century, when policy had become more subtle, dissimulation finer, and manners more urbane, would have been guilty of. There is nothing which an Italian more sorely dislikes and resents than an attempt to put a pressure on him by outspoken plainness of language, which tries to break through the cobwebs of conventional surface smoothness, and fiction. The frankness which among northern people may often engage sympathy and disarm opposition is sure to be deemed rustic and ill-mannered violence by the Italians, and resisted accordingly. And the Cardinal of Aquileia had soon cause to perceive that he had made a mistake.

Instead of waiting for the Cardinal of Taranto, who had been addressed, to reply, the Cardinal of Bologna struck in dexterously: "And I follow the lead of the Cardinal of Aquileia" (who had, of course, never meant to lead in any such direction); "I am ready to give my vote for any one, whom you" (*i.e.* the Cardinal of Taranto) "may select." "Then," said Taranto, "I give my vote for you!" The Cardinal of Aquileia, thus caught, did not care to back out from the position in which he had placed himself, but seconded the nomination of the Cardinal of Bologna. Thereupon one after another followed till the Cardinal Marino gave the eleventh vote; and then, after a pause, the Cardinal

San Sisto rose and added, "And I, O Thomas" (the name of the Cardinal of Bologna was Tommaso di Sarzana) "make you Pope this day, which precisely happens to be the Vigil of St. Thomas!" * Thus the election was made; and once again was verified the Roman saying, that he who goes into Conclave a Pope (*i.e.* one whom everybody expects will be elected) comes out of it a simple cardinal, as was on this occasion the case with the Cardinal Prospero Colonna.

An election would not have been made in this direct, open, cards-upon-the-table fashion a hundred years later; and the whole style and tone of the proceedings show them to belong to the period which has been characterized by the heading given to this book.

This election was one of the few to which those who maintain that in these Conclaves the unwisdom of men and their purposes are overruled by the special providence of God and the operation of the Holy Ghost, may point in exemplification of their contention. It was intended that Colonna should, and everybody supposed that he would have been elected; and he would, doubtless, have made a very bad Pope. On the other hand, Thomas of Sarzana, who was elected as Nicholas V., against the original will of the majority, apparently by a sort of accident, and to the surprise of all parties, turned out one of the best Popes who ever sat on the Papal throne.

Italy, and especially the Church, was in a dreadful state when Nicholas became Pope. The schism en-

* Not St. Thomas the Apostle, but St. Thomas Aquinas, the 6th of March.

gendered by the Council of Bâle was still causing mischievous divisions. The union of the Latin and Greek Churches, so much wished for, seemed further than ever from accomplishment. Italy was desolated from end to end by factions and the lawless troops which supported them. The Roman barons had made themselves the despotic tyrants of the cities and provinces which had been entrusted to their rule, as vice-regents for the Church, and were in rebellion against the Pontiff. Venetians, Genoese, and Florentines were all in arms. The Holy See was oppressed by debt. Nicholas applied himself from the first day of his pontificate to meet this sea of troubles with energy, zeal, industry, and a degree of enlightenment in advance of his age. In the course of the eight years of his reign he extinguished the schism growing out of the Bâle Council; endeavoured much, and accomplished somewhat, towards composing the differences which were lacerating Europe; and had the infinite pleasure of leaving Italy at peace. He did not, as we all know, succeed in uniting the Latin and Greek Churches. He had warned the last Constantine that the result of continued schism would be the final fall of the Eastern Empire, and he saw his prophecy verified in 1453. It would be difficult, perhaps, to show that this event would have been avoided by union of the Churches; and the accomplishment of his prophecy was anything but a source of satisfaction to the Pontiff. The Turk was at last the master of the Eastern world, and the fact was lamented by all the Christian world with a genuineness of grief which men do not often feel for

public disasters. But Nicholas was among the most active in turning to the best account the circumstances that followed from the misfortune. He received with open arms and was largely beneficent to the crowd of scholars and men of learning and letters who were driven by the Turkish conqueror to seek refuge in Western Europe, and more especially in Italy. He eagerly availed himself of the occasion to acquire manuscripts of the ancient writers; and the modern world, which profits by that revival of learning which became then or never possible, may thank Nicholas for his enlightened activity. He was a great builder and founder of universities. He largely improved that of Bologna, and founded those of Treves, Barcellona, and Glasgow, and conferred many privileges on that of Cambridge. He was the founder of the Vatican library; and the Medicean library at Florence, if due to the money of the Medici, was planned and carried out in accordance with the suggestions of Nicholas. He built the palace at the Lateran, and was the first of the long series of Popes to whom the rebuilding of St. Peter's is due, who conceived that noble ambition. He rebuilt the Milvian bridge, and largely improved many parts of Rome. Sarzana, Viterbo, Fabriano, Civita Vecchia, Orvieto, Spoleto, were all enriched by him with new and useful buildings. He was not chargeable with any tendency to nepotism; and an interesting anecdote has been preserved of a visit paid to him in Rome by his aged mother, who had come up from far-away little Sarzana, among the Tuscan Apennines, to see her two sons, one the Pope and the other a cardinal of the

Church. The poor old woman thought it necessary to present herself to his Holiness in very gorgeous attire, resplendent with gems and brilliant colours. But the Pope, as soon as ever he saw her, left the room, desiring his chaplain to tell the stranger that it was a mistake; that bedizened lady could not be his mother, and was, indeed, hardly a fitting visitor for the Apostolic palace. "He well remembered," he said, "his dear mother, who was a very plain and decent body, and whom he would fain see again, but had no desire to speak to the magnificent lady who had entered his room!" The old lady took the hint, returned in her own homely dress, and was received with open arms.

Fifteen cardinals entered into Conclave at the due time after the death of Nicholas, and on the fourth or fifth day elected, to the general surprise, the Spanish Cardinal Alfonso Borgia, by the name of Calixtus III. The purpose of the majority of the cardinals was to elect the learned Bessarion, who had come from Constantinople at the time Eugenius IV. was endeavouring to effect the union of the Eastern and Western Churches. He was unquestionably the man whom attainments and character marked as the fittest man in the Sacred College for the papacy. And had the cardinals held firmly to their first purpose, they would have spared the Church the indelible shame of having for ever on her list of Pontiffs Alexander VI., the second Borgia Pope! But the Cardinal of Avignon, who hoped that he himself would be elected, succeeded in arousing the jealousy and the bigotry of his colleagues by a violent speech, in which he dwelt upon the disgrace which it

would be to the Latin Church to confess, by putting a Greek on the Papal throne, that there was no man among themselves fitted for the Papacy; and, further, threw doubts upon the genuineness of Bessarion's "conversion," and on the orthodoxy, in any case, of a "Greek neophyte." The cardinals, however, would not have his Eminence of Avignon, and elected Borgia as a compromise.* This Conclave, as has been said, was held in the Vatican; and from this time the Conclaves were held there uninterruptedly until the present century.

Calixtus III. (*ob.* 1458) reigned three years and three months; and on the due day after his death, on the 16th of August, eighteen cardinals went into Conclave, and on the third day elected Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini of Siena. In this case again the believers in the supervision of a special providence, controlling the actions of the electors, may point to this election as a notable instance of the truth of their theory. Few Conclaves have been more disgracefully conducted than was this, and few have concluded by making a better choice among the persons before them. After the first unsuccessful scrutiny the cardinals went to dinner, and after dinner there were, we are told, many meetings of groups and knots of cardinals, each intriguing in favour of different candidates, in which, as the chronicler of the Conclave says, "they hunted the Papacy either for themselves or

* This was the first election made in the manner which was subsequently recognised as one of three ways in which a Pope may be elected, and called an election "per accessum," the manner of which will be explained when we come to speak of the processes and ceremonial of the Conclave.

for their friends, and spared not either prayers, promises, or threats. And some there were who, without any sense of shame or modesty, made speeches about themselves, and pointed out their own fitness for the Papacy; as did the Cardinal of Rouen, Barbo, Cardinal of Santa Maria Nuova, and Castelli, Cardinal of Pavia.

The Cardinal of Rouen seems to have been the chief of these audaciously simoniacal self-praisers, and was thought, when the cardinals went into Conclave, to be the most likely candidate. Though Æneas Sylvius of Siena took no steps to obtain the tiara for himself, saying at the opening of the Conclave, "It is God who appoints to the Papacy, not men!" his Eminence of Rouen perceived that he was his most dangerous rival. The writer of the story of this Conclave which I have before me declares that the Cardinal of Siena himself (Æneas Sylvius) did not disdain to recommend his own merits to the electors, despite what he had said. But other writers do not so represent the matter. And the writer in question seems to contradict himself in this respect, for he says presently that the Cardinal of Rouen feared the silence of the Cardinal of Siena more than he did all the much talking of the others. So "he kept calling aside now one and now another, saying to them, 'What can you want of this Æneas? Why do you think him worthy of the Papacy? Would you elect for Pontiff a gouty old man, as poor as Job! How can he, infirm and in poverty, support or succour the Church? But recently he has returned from Germany!'" (Piccolomini had nearly passed his life in various missions and embassies entrusted to him by the last and previous

Popes, and having had no time to care for his own fortunes, was in truth a very poor man.) "'How do we know that he will not transfer thither the Papal court! What literature has he? Shall we put a poet on the seat of St. Peter?'" (Æneas Sylvius had that defect.) "'Shall we govern the Church by the statutes and laws of the Gentiles?'" (Alluding to Piccolomini's reputed acquaintance with the ancient literature.) . . . "'Know, then, that I am not unworthy of consideration, and am no fool; nor am I unworthy of the Papacy in point of learning.'" (Æneas Sylvius, it may be remarked, was one of the most distinguished scholars of his day.) "'I come of royal race, and am in want neither of friends, nor power, nor wealth, by which means it will be in my power to be of service to the poor Church. I hold many benefices, which, when on my elevation to the Papacy I give them up, will be divided among you.'" He continued, says the chronicler, to insist with many entreaties, mingled with threats. He went on to observe further, with an unblushing frankness which is the most amusingly audacious touch in his whole discourse, that should any one maintain that he could not fitly aspire to the Papacy by reason of the simony which he had practised, seeing that he had bought all the benefices he held, he would not deny that for the past he had been smirched by that foul stain, but that he promised and swore that for the future he would keep his hand clear of all such wickedness! And this while he was in the act of committing the most heinous simony conceivable by the persons he was addressing! As it appeared, however, that he failed to prevail on a sufficient number

of the electors to secure his election, the knot of supporters who were bent on making him Pope, finding it very difficult to meet for the concocting of their ulterior plans in any corner of the space enclosed for the Conclave (very far inferior in accommodation of all sorts to that provided in later times) where they would be safe from the danger of interruption, betook themselves to a certain inconveniently small and otherwise disagreeable but sufficiently remote and private apartment. There all the conspirators mutually bound themselves by oath, and the would-be Pope promised to each benefices and offices and appointments in the provinces! "And a very fitting place it was," concludes the narrator, "for the election of such a Pope, seeing conventions and bargains so base and so foul could not have been prepared and accepted in a spot more adapted to them!"

This notable meeting took place at midnight, but before the morning the fact that it had taken place and the general nature of the bargains made at it had become known to all in the Conclave. One of his friends came to the Cardinal of Siena at a very early hour, and warned him that the Pope was as good as made, and counselled him to go at once and offer his vote and interest to the French Cardinal (Rouen). But Æneas not only absolutely refused, with the greatest disdain, to do anything towards the election of such a man, but spoke so forcibly that he induced the friend who had come to counsel him to abandon his own intention. He went to several others of the midnight conspirators, and by the sheer force of his eloquence made them ashamed of their promises, and determined them to break them.

The main arguments he used were the exceedingly bad character of the French Cardinal, and the danger that he might again remove the seat of the Holy See to France, and fill the Sacred College with Frenchmen, so that it might become impossible that it should ever return to Italy.

At the scrutiny of that morning it so chanced that the Cardinal de Rouen was one of those scrutators who received the votes at the altar. His agitation was excessive; and when the Cardinal of Siena, whom he knew to be his most dangerous rival, stepped up to the altar to put the paper containing his vote into the chalice, he lost all sense of dignity or decorum, and was mean enough to say, as his rival passed him, "Æneas, have compassion on me! Be kind to me! Do not forget me!" "Words," says the chronicler, "truly rash and inconsiderate, specially as they were spoken when the vote that had been written *could no longer be changed.* But his longing blinded him and made him lose his head." "What!" replied Piccolomini, "appeal to a worm like me!" When the votes had been counted—every name that he was compelled to utter being a dagger thrust in the heart of his Eminence of Rouen—it was found that Piccolomini had nine votes and the French Cardinal only three! The blow was a terrible one. But nothing was yet lost or won; for twelve votes were needed to make the election, and the Cardinal of Rouen and his supporters were by no means willing to despair. Unless at least three of their own friends deserted them Piccolomini could not be elected.

Then commenced a sitting to see whether an election

could be made, as in the last Conclave, by *accession*. The pause for this purpose is ordinarily occupied by busy talk and negotiations, but upon this occasion the tension appears to have been too great to admit of this. "They all sat," says the narrator of the scene, evidently an eye-witness, and in all probability a conclavist, "pale and silent, in a sort of amazement, and as if beside themselves. No one of them dared to speak or to open his mouth, or so much as to stir a finger, or any other part of the person save the eyes, which rolled around, now on this side of the meeting, now on that. The dead silence was wonderful. Wonderful, too, was the aspect and appearance of all of them as they sat like so many statues, not a sound or a movement to be heard; and so they remained for a while, the juniors in the College waiting for the seniors to begin their work of the *accessus*. At length Roderigo, the Vice-Chancellor (he who afterwards became Alexander VI.), rose and said, 'I join the party of Æneas!' The word stabbed the Cardinal of Rouen to the heart to such a degree that he was like one dead. Then a second silence fell upon the assembly, while each looked in his neighbour's face with expressions produced by the conviction that Piccolomini was already as good as Pope. Then the Cardinal of San Sisto and another rose, and, making an excuse for leaving the room, went out, in the hope of avoiding instant defeat by breaking up the assembly, but finding that no man followed them, they shortly returned to their seats. Then James, Cardinal of Santa Anastasia, got up and said 'I too accede to the Cardinal of Siena.' (This, it will be observed, was the eleventh vote given for Piccolomini. One more only

was needed to make the required majority of two-thirds of the Conclave.) Again a thrill of agitation ran through the whole assembly! They seemed like men in a maze and without power of speech! Then, at length, the Cardinal Prospero Colonna (he who had once so very nearly been made Pope himself) rose, and promising himself the glory of giving the Papacy, was about to record his vote. Pausing, however, a moment in order to do so with becoming gravity, he was at that moment seized by the cardinals of Nice and Rouen, one on each side of him, and violently reproached by them with the intention of giving his vote to the Cardinal of Siena; but when they found that they could not divert him from his purpose, they strove to drag him from his place by main force,* and one taking him by the right arm and one by the left they struggled to force him out of the assembly. But in the midst of all this, Colonna, who, although he had at the first scrutiny given his vote to his Eminence of Rouen, was an old friend of Æneas Sylvius, turning his head towards the other cardinals, cried aloud, 'And I accede to the Cardinal of Siena, and thus make him Pope!'"

The deed was done, and neither persuasion, plotting, intrigue, or violence could thenceforth undo it! Suddenly the losing party fell back into their seats as if paralyzed. For a minute another dead silence and stillness fell upon the assembly, and then all with a sudden rush threw themselves at the feet of the new Pontiff, and the usual confirmation of the election and adoration followed.

But the Cardinal Bessarion thought fit to make a

* "Si sforzarono cavarlo á viva forza dal suo luogho."

speech before the assembly separated in explanation of the part which he and those who had acted with him had taken. He had all through supported the Cardinal of Rouen, and it is odd enough that he should have done so considering the characters and tendencies of all the three men—himself and the two rival candidates. He and Æneas Sylvius were essentially book-men, scholars, and held high and acknowledged rank among the learned men of Europe. The French cardinal was a thoroughly vicious and depraved man of the world, notorious for his immoralities and scandalous simony. Are we to see in this the jealousy entertained by one celebrated scholar of another? Did some infinitesimal question of criticism, or the interpretation of a greek passage, or the relative value of the Aristotelian and Platonic philosophies (a fertile source just then of learned enmities) cause hate between those two erudite Eminences? "Tantæne animis *Eminentibus* iræ!" The ground, however, on which Bessarion chose to motive his opposition to Æneas Sylvius was that the latter was afflicted by gout. "We, O Supreme Pontiff, rejoice in thy election, being well assured that it comes from God. And truly we have always in the past as well as now judged thee to be well worthy of so great an office; and if we did not give thee our votes, the reason was thy not robust health. For, afflicted as thou art by gout, we judged that that alone stood in the way of thy complete fitness for the Papacy, seeing that the Church has need of an active man, and one who fears not the fatigues of journeyings and dangers which threaten us from the Turk. Thou, on the other hand, hast need of repose; and this alone has moved us

to support his Eminence of Rouen. For hadst thou been sound of body, there is none whom we should have judged preferable to thee. But since it has pleased God that it should be thus, it must needs please us also. The Lord, who has promoted thee, will supply the defects of thy feet, and will not chastise us for our ignorance. We adopt thee as Pope; we elect thee as much as it lies with us to do, and we will serve thee faithfully."

Thus was completed the election of Pius II. Again, we may remark, after a fashion, if no purer or more elevated as regards motive, yet simpler, rougher, more direct and open than would have been the case had the actors in it lived a hundred years later. They were still boys—if rather naughty than noble boys—at play.

## CHAPTER VI.

Death of Pius II.—Decision to hold the Conclave in the Vatican.—Election of Paul II.—The Handsome Pope.—Election of Sixtus IV.—His Character.—Effect on the Church of the first menaces of Protestantism.—The all-devouring nepotism of Sixtus IV.—Peter Riario, his Nephew.—Sixtus dies of a Broken Heart.—Epigrams on Sixtus.—Interregnum after the Death of Sixtus.—Conclave which elected Innocent VIII.—Anecdotes.

Pius II. died on the 14th* of August, 1464, at Ancona, whither he had gone to hasten the sailing of the fleet which he had assembled there for the war against the Turks. His entry into Ancona, together with the other main incidents of his life, may be seen very grandly represented on the walls of the Piccolomini Chapel, generally called the library, in the cathedral of Siena, by the frescoes of Pinturicchio. Some of the cardinals had accompanied him to Ancona, and they brought the Pope's body to Rome, and the Conclave took place duly on the appointed day. It is said by the historians that the Conclave was not held at Ancona because it was difficult for many of the older cardinals to go there. But I do not find that any notice was taken of the fact that, according to the Gregorian prescription, the Conclave for the election of the next Pope ought to have been held in the city where his predecessor died. There was some question between the cardinals as to

* Some authorities say the 7th of August.

where the Conclave should be held; for a party among them alleged, that inasmuch as the castle of St. Angelo was held by a lieutenant of the Pope's nephew, who was the governor of it, and this nephew was at a distance from Rome, and that they were not certain what his intentions might be, the Conclave could not be held with due independence and liberty in the immediate vicinity of the fortress. But those who had these scruples, having been assured of the perfect loyalty of the intentions of the governor, and another nephew of the Pope, a brother of the governor, and a cardinal, undertaking to answer for him, the Conclave was held at the Vatican, and the idea of holding it in the convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, which had been proposed, was abandoned.

The Conclave was a very short and uneventful one, the Venetian Pietro Barbo, a nephew of Eugenius IV., and great nephew of Gregory XII., by his mother Polissena Condulmieri, having been elected, as Paul II., almost without opposition, by *accession*, after the first scrutiny. One amusing incident followed, however, after the election, but before the Conclave broke up. Barbo, when asked, according to custom, by what name he would become Pope, said that he would be called Formoso—a not unprecedented name, though the one precedent had to be sought as far back as the ninth century. Now it so happened that Pietro Barbo was a very remarkably handsome man,* and their Eminences,

* A contemporary chronicler says of him that, "not having succeeded well in literary culture, he determined to make his pontificate *reputable* by ornamental pomp, in which his majestic presence and pre-eminently

somewhat scandalised at the proposal, and taking into consideration the marked accordance of the name with the fact, demurred, declaring that such an appellation would savour too much of mundane and personal vanity. Pietro Barbo, perhaps a little ashamed of his choice of appellation, made no difficulty about giving it up, but was unlucky enough to choose a second name which was also objected to. He said, well then, he would be called Marco. But to this it was objected that a Venetian choosing such a name would seem imprudently to declare too strong a partiality for his own nation. So he submitted to take a commoner appellation, and was enthroned as Paul II.

But this splendid lay-figure of a Pope died after a reign of six years and ten months, at the comparatively early age of fifty-three, quite suddenly in the evening of a day in which he had celebrated a consistory with much pomp and in high spirits. It was the 18th of July, 1471. The suddenness of the Pope's death caused the number of cardinals in Rome to be smaller than it would otherwise probably have been, and only seventeen cardinals went into Conclave at the Vatican, on the tenth day after Paul's death, and almost immediately and unanimously, after an entirely uneventful Conclave, elected Francesco della Rovere Pope by the name of Sixtus IV.

But if this Conclave was short and its work easily accomplished, few Conclaves have ever done a deed of

tall and noble person helped him not a little, giving him, as it did, the appearance of a new Aaron, venerable and reverend beyond that of any other Pontiff."

more far-reaching importance in the history of the Papacy.

Historians and antiquaries have been much troubled by doubts, which appear to be insoluble, as to the parentage of Francesco della Rovere, and the position in life of his parents. He is said, in all probability with good reason, to have been a poor fisher-boy, the son of parents following that occupation on the Ligurian coast at or near to Savona, on the Genoese *riviera*. But this, the sole point of similarity between him and that first predecessor of his, in whose seat he was so proud to sit, was indignantly repudiated by his biographers and chroniclers as soon as he had been invested with the fisherman's ring. It was then discovered that he was a scion of the old and noble house of della Rovere, and the illustrious bearers of that name were glad enough to enroll a Pope among the glories of their house. The matter in dispute has been the object of much learned research; but I do not know that any one of the supporters of either opinion has put forward the theory that both statements may well have been true, and are by no means incompatible.

Let his birth, however, have been what it may, it is certain that during his early youth and manhood he was a Franciscan friar, and the learning which enabled him to acquire that fame as a preacher and theologian, which obtained the Papacy as its reward, was obtained by convent teaching. And it cannot be denied that Sixtus, when he was made Pope, had the qualities, character, and antecedents which rendered him no unfitting object of the suffrages of his colleagues of the Sacred

College, and seemed to afford a reasonable hope that he would be a fair Pope, as Popes were at that day. Nor, further, can it be denied that Francesco della Rovere, let his forefathers have been what they might, was in many respects a born ruler of men.

Wadding, in his great history of the Order of St. Francis, writes of him in the following terms: "In truth," says the Franciscan historian, writing some century and a half after the death of this great Pope, "he appeared made by nature to govern. He was affable, a speaker of infinite efficacy, and quick and witty in reply. He was a common father, revered by the good, feared by the bad. With the learned he was erudite, with the simple forbearing. He reproved the faults of those guilty of them not by abuse but by reasoning. He was a prudent man, too, temperate in eating and drinking, and pleasant to look upon." Of course the Franciscan historian's account of the great Franciscan Pope must be taken with a grain—nay, with many grains—of salt. But it may be accepted as the truth that the fisherman's son had many of the qualities needed to make him a worthy wearer of the fisherman's ring.

And Sixtus would have, doubtless, continued eminently well fitted for the Papacy if he had never been made Pope. With the possession of worldly power, the demon of worldly ambition seems to have entered his soul, and to have worked till it obtained entire possession of the whole of it. Of Sixtus IV. I wrote as follows now nearly twenty years ago,* and I do not

* "A Decade of Italian Women," London, 1859.

know that anything would be gained by attempting to recast what I then said.

"This barefooted mendicant friar, the vowed disciple of that St. Francis whom no degree of poverty would satisfy short of meeting his death, naked and destitute, on the bare earth—this monk sworn to the practice of an humility abject in the excess of its utter self-abnegation—was the first of a series of Popes who one after the other sacrificed every interest of the Church, waded mitre deep in crime and bloodshed, and plunged Italy into war and misery, for the sake of founding a princely family of their name."

It is curious to observe that generally throughout the pontifical history, scandalously infamous Popes and tolerably decent Popes, are found in bunches or series of six or eight in succession—a striking proof of the fact that when they have been of the better sort the amelioration has been due to some force of circumstance operative from without. Never were they worse, with perhaps one or two exceptions, than during the century which preceded the first quickly-crushed efforts of the Reformation in Italy—from about 1450, that is to say, down to 1550.* Competing Protestantism then began to act on the Roman Church exactly as competing Methodism acted on the Anglican Church three centuries later, and a series of Popes of a different sort was the result.

But the conduct of the great family-founding Popes,

* Paul III., whose death I have assigned as the break at which this book of the story of the Conclaves shall close, for the reasons given in the first chapter thereof, died in 1549.

which strikes us, looking at it through the moral atmosphere of the nineteenth century, as so monstrous, wore a very different aspect even to the gravest censors among their contemporaries. The Italian historians of the time tell us of the "royal-mindedness" and "noble spirit" of this ambitious Franciscan, Pope Sixtus, in a tone of evident admiration. And the gross worldliness, the low ambition, and the unscrupulous baseness of which he may fairly be accused, did not seem, even to Du Plessis Mornai * and the French Protestant writers of that stamp, to be sufficient ground for denouncing him and the system which produced him. Otherwise they would not have disgraced themselves and their cause by asserting that he was guilty of hideous and nameless atrocities, for which, as the less zealous but more candid Bayle † has sufficiently shown, there is no foundation either in fact or probability.

The new Pope lost no time in turning the Papacy to the best possible account in the manner which had for him the greatest attractions. And it so happened that he was singularly well provided with the raw material from which the edifice of family greatness he was bent on raising was to be furnished forth. He had no less than nine nephews, five of them the sons of his three brothers, and four the sons of his three sisters!—a field for nepotism sufficiently extensive to satisfy the "high-spirited" ambition of even a Sixtus IV.! But among all this wealth of nephews, the two sons of his eldest sister, Girolamo and Pietro Riario, were distinguished

* Du Plessis Mornai, "Mystère d'Iniquité," p. 555, *et seq.*
† Bayle, Dict. article Sixte IV.

by him so pre-eminently that a great many contemporary writers, thinking it strange that he should prefer them to those of his own name, have asserted that they were, in fact, his sons.* Giuliano della Rovere, the eldest of all the nine, who received a cardinal's hat from his uncle, but could obtain from him no further favour, was, nevertheless, destined, as Pope Julius II., to become by far the most important pillar of the family greatness. His sister's son, Peter Riario, was, like his uncle, a Franciscan † monk, and was twenty-six years old when the latter was elected. Within a very few months he became Bishop of Treviso, Cardinal-Archbishop of Seville, Patriarch of Constantinople, Archbishop of Valentia, and Archbishop of Florence! From his humble cell, from his ascetic board, from his girdle of rope and woollen frock, baked yearly to destroy the vermin bred in its holy filth, this poverty-vowed mendicant suddenly became possessed of revenues so enormous, that his income is said to have been larger than that of all the other members of the Sacred College put together! The stories which have been ‡ preserved of his reckless and unprecedented expenditure at Rome would seem incredible, were they not corroborated by the fact that

* Corio, the contemporary annalist of Milan, writes; "Hebbe due che egli chiamava Nipoti. — *Istoria Milanesi*, p. 974. Machiavelli says, "Secundo che ciascuno credeva, erano suoi figliuoli."—*Storia*, Lib. vii.

† Those who have had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the nature of the tie which usually binds a friar to his order, and with the amount of feeling and sentiment frequently generated by it, will be likely to find in the fact mentioned in the text a sufficient motive for the preference shown to Peter over the other nephews of Sixtus.

‡ "Papiensis Cardinalis," Epis. 548; but especially, "Infessura Diario," p. 1144.

he had in a very short time, besides dissipating the enormous wealth assigned to him, incurred debts to the amount of sixty thousand florins. He gave a banquet to the French ambassador, which cost twenty thousand crowns, a sum equal to more than ten times the same nominal amount at the present day. "Never," says the Cardinal of Pavia, "has pagan antiquity seen anything like it. The whole country was drained of all that was rare and precious, and the object of all was to make a display such as posterity might never be able to surpass. The extent of the preparations, their variety, the number of the dishes, the price of the viands served up, were all registered by inspectors, and *were put into verse*, of which copies were profusely circulated, not only in Rome but throughout Italy, and even beyond the Alps."

The diarist Infessura, in his valuable chronicle of the events which occurred at Rome from A.D. 1294 to A.D. 1494, the events of the latter years of which period are recorded with great and most amusing detail, says that the viands on the occasion of this remarkable festival were gilt! He especially notes, as a marked indication of reckless extravagance, that sugar was lavishly used. In recording another equally magnificent festival given by this mendicant friar to Leonora, daughter of King Ferrante, who passed through Rome on her way northwards to be married to the Duke of Ferrara, Infessura tells us* that this Franciscan mendicant turned cardinal caused the bed-chamber of the princess, and those of all the ladies of her court, to be furnished with certain implements, of a kind generally deemed more useful than

* Rerum Ital. Scrip., tom. iii., pars ii, p. 1144.

ornamental, made of gold! "Look now," cries the diarist, as he well might, "in what things the treasure of the Church has to be squandered!" *

Such was the *great* Sixtus IV., the first of the Popes who conceived the ambition of making the universal bishopric of souls subservient to the schemes of leaving their kinsmen in the position of sovereign princes!—an example but too readily followed by the more powerful among his immediate successors, with results to Italy fatal, though it may be hoped not finally fatal; but to the Church, if not so perceptibly and unmistakably, and immediately, yet probably more ultimately fatal still, in their far-reaching consequences. He had lived (as Pope) but for one object, and despair of obtaining it seems to have killed him.

On the 10th of August, 1484, he "was seen at vespers with his hands clasped together, and very sad. The next day the ambassadors of the confederated Italian States, thinking † to bring him news that would cheer and comfort him, came to him and set forth how that peace had been concluded in all Italy, and all the powers of the League and Confederation had come to an agreement! At which, marvelling much that this should have been done without him, he was amazed; and finding, on questioning them, that he had no power to undo what had been done, he was smitten with great grief.

* "Oh! guarda! in quale cosa bisogna che si adoperi lo tesauro della Chièsa."

† The genuineness of their thoughts upon this subject appears to me not a little questionable. Doubtless in addressing the Pope they pretended to think that their news would be acceptable to him, but they must have known right well, that they were plunging daggers into his heart.

And the cause of his sorrow was, as all men deemed, this:" that whereas he had lived, and lighted war in Italy, and spent the treasure of the Church only to secure the greatness of his family, he now saw that all had been done in vain. "So crushed, both by the first of these sorrows (the ruin of his hopes for his family), as well as by the second (the consideration of all the terrible ill he had done to secure that object), he was seized by fever, took to his bed, and said never a word;"* and on the evening of the 12th of August breathed his last. "All," continues the recorder of the Conclave which assembled on his death, who writes in Latin worse even than that of the conclavist at Urban VI.'s election a hundred years before, from which I quoted in a former chapter, "all spoke ill of him, nor was there any man to say a word in his favour, save a certain Franciscan friar, who alone watched the body during that day, despite the dreadful effluvium. Many verses were made against him, perhaps because he had always been the enemy of literary men, and of all who lived good lives. Here is a specimen." †

It may be worth while, inasmuch as one very notable speciality of the Conclaves for the election of the Popes has always been the social condition of the city of Rome while the cardinals were engaged in the choice of a new sovereign, to give here a few notices of the

* "Conclavi de' Pontifici," V. i. p. 119.

† I will give the specimen in this note, because it is also a specimen of the times, and of the feeling which the Pontificate of Sixtus had created among the Romans. But I do not think it necessary to translate it.

"Leno, Vorax, Pathicus, Meretrix, Idolater, Adulter,
Si Romam venerit, illico Crœsus erit."

state of things that followed the death of Sixtus, as a specimen of an *interregnum* in the fifteenth century.

No sooner was the death of the Pope known than a band of young men, armed to the teeth, rushed to the palace of the Count Girolamo—the Pope's other favourite nephew, the brother of that Cardinal Peter, of whose magnificence some full account has been given—hoping to find him there. But he had not waited for the bursting of the storm, and the house was found deserted. Thereupon, with a cry of "A Colonna! a Colonna!" they proceeded to wreck the palace, destroying and despoiling everything, "smashing the doors and the marble window-frames with two-handed axes, and carrying off everything. They destroyed the greenhouse, pulling up the trees by the roots, so that not a door nor a window was left, as may be seen at the present time. On the same day the young men of the city, with similar clamour, went into the Trastevere; and there, finding near the river bank two magazines full of goods, the property of certain traders from Genoa, they, as is said, sacked them entirely. Then they entirely carried off two boats, the property of a citizen of Genoa, together with all the nautical apparatus belonging to them. Then, returning to the city, they similarly treated every house or goods that could be found belonging to any Genoese.* And some went to the villa of the Countess (the wife of

* The sort of "solidarity" recognized as existing between all the citizens or natives of any one of the rival Italian cities during the Middle Ages, is worthy of notice. The instance in the text is one of a thousand such; and the feeling is one of the most constant and curious factors among the causes of events in Italian history. The Genoese were deemed legitimate objects of plunder because the Pope had belonged to that province.

Girolamo) and carried off a hundred cows, and an equal number of goats, mules, pigs, donkeys, geese, and hens, which belonged to the Countess, together with an immense quantity of salt meat and Parmesan cheese and furniture. Then the greater part of the band broke open the granaries of Santa Maria Nova, and took thence an enormous quantity of grain, which the Pope had not been able to sell last year, but hoped to sell it hereafter." The Colonnas, meantime, were engaged in recovering the strongholds which Sixtus had taken from them. In one place the constable whom the Pope had placed there, together with all the garrison, were massacred either by the sword or by being thrown from the battlements of the fortress. At Cafraria, another hold of the Colonnas, the whole of the garrison was slain. The Countess escaped into Castle St. Angelo, her husband, with some of the Orsini, escaping to some other place of safety. Such was the state of Rome during an interregnum in the fifteenth century.

On the day following the Pope's death his exequies were commenced at St. Peter's, but very few cardinals took part in them, "because they were afraid of the Castle of St. Angelo," still in the hands of the kinsmen of Sixtus. At last, however, it having being agreed that the Castle should be given up to the cardinals, the Countess having got off in safety on the 25th—on the thirteenth day, that is, after the Pope's death—and both the Orsini and the Colonna factions having agreed to quit the city, and not return to it for two months after the new Pope should have been elected, the cardinals, to the number of twenty-five, three only of the entire College

being absent, ventured to come forth from their fortified dwellings, and entered into Conclave at the Vatican on the 26th, a day or two later than they ought to have done so.

At the first scrutiny the Cardinal of St. Mark had eleven votes, whereupon the Cardinal of St. Peter *ad Vincula* went to him and said that if he would promise to give his palace to the Cardinal of Aragon, the son of King Ferdinand, he (his Eminence of St. Peter *ad Vincula*) would give him three votes, making with those he had already, fourteen. But the offer was rejected on the ground, first, that an election so brought about would not be canonical, and, secondly, that the palace in question commanded the Castle of St. Angelo to a very great degree, so that the giving it to the King's son might be very "prejudicial to the city, and to the whole of Christendom. For the King might easily come there and make himself master of the city, and disturb the state of the Church." So on these grounds, temporal and spiritual, the Cardinal of St. Mark refused the offer made to him; and this simoniacal Eminence of St. Peter *ad Vincula* went off with his votes to sell to the Vice-Chancellor—*i.e.*, to Roderigo Borgio, afterwards Alexander VI. But it is worth notice that he did not offer them to him with a view to any aspirations of his own. It would seem that Borgia had as yet conceived no hopes of the Papacy, or at least no expectation of fulfilling such hopes yet. Probably he was not yet rich enough to attempt the purchase of votes which he afterwards effected. The offer of the Cardinal of St. Peter *ad Vincula* was that they two should put their forces together

and make the Pope between them. Borgia, who especially hated the Cardinal of St. Mark, agreed to any plan which should exclude him. So that night, while all the Conclave slept, the two conspirators arose and went from one to another of the younger cardinals who had no hope for themselves, making them large promises of all kinds. All save six of the seniors and leading men in the College, who were carefully left sleeping, were thus negotiated with, and the election of Cardinal Cibo, as Innocent VIII., was thus, by sheer simony, effected before morning.

"In the morning they called the sleepers, and said to them, 'Come, we have made the Pope!' But the others said, 'Whom?' They replied, 'The Cardinal of Melfi!' The seniors said, 'How?' They replied, 'Why during the night, while you were asleep, we collected all the votes save those of you sleepers!' But the others perceiving that those who had played this trick were eighteen or nineteen, and that they were too few to disturb what had been done, consented; and Cibo was accordingly proclaimed."

The writer of the narrative goes on to specify in detail what each of the electors, who had thus sold their votes, received as the price of this simony. "May God grant him (the new Pope, he concludes) His grace that he may lead a good life, and administer the Church well; which, however, it seems very difficult to expect, looking to his past life, and considering that he is a young Genoese who has seven children, male and female, by various*

* Any little irregularity of this sort was, however, abundantly compensated in an ecclesiastical point of view by his having condemned two

mothers; and considering also the manner of his election, which was worse than that of Sixtus IV."

But where then was the overruling influence of the Holy Ghost, which if avowedly absent from one election, there can be no reason to expect to preside over others? For the all-important nature of the choice to be made, which is the ground on which it is hoped that the voices of the electors are specially controlled by the Holy Spirit, is as great in one election as in another! In truth, the mere enunciation of such a theory, in the face of the long story of the Papal Conclaves, extending over so many centuries, needs a cynical audacity of confidence in the capacity of the lay world to swallow any amount of the grossest absurdities and falsehoods if put forth with a sufficient amount of unction and solemnity, which is no less astounding than revolting.

men, Domenico di Viterbo and Francesco Maldento, to be burned alive, for having said that according to Innocent's opinion such matters were not prohibited. "And those who had said so were burned."—BERNINI, *Storia di tulle l'Eresie*, tom. iv. p. 213.

## CHAPTER VII.

Interregnum after the Death of Innocent VIII.—Tumults.—Conclave which elected Borgia, Alexander VI.—His Reign and Death.—Scandalous Scene at his Burial.—Effect of his Papacy on the Church.—Interregnum after his Death.—Terrible Condition of Rome.—Conclave, and scandalous Election of Pius III.—Another Conclave sixteen Days later.—Anecdotes of the Death of Pius III.—Simoniacal Arrangements for the Election of Julius II., Della Rovere.—Character of Julius II.—Conclave which elected Leo X.—Meeting and Demands of the Conclavists.—A Surgeon in the Conclave.—Anecdotes of this Conclave.—Election of De Medici, as Leo X.—His Simoniacal Dealings.—Exhaustion of the Papal Treasury at his Death.—Difficulties of the Cardinals.—Election of Adrian VI.—Dismay produced in Rome by his Election.—Character of Adrian.

Pope Innocent VIII., "the young man from Genoa," died, after a reign of nearly eight years, on the 26th of July, 1492. The interregnum which followed was a very short one, but it was an even more than usually tempestuous and lawless one.

"Alas! for the miseries of humanity!" cries the moralizing historian of the Conclave of Alexander VI., speaking of his predecessor Innocent; "his body lay exposed to the crowd and the rude cries of the populace, whose ears had ever been shut to the prayers of the poor; and a small coffin of perishable wood enclosed him, who had deemed the gilded halls of the Vatican too narrow for him! But Rome the while was up in arms, and bands of lawless malefactors overran the city in every direction, and many murders were committed because the

tribunals listened to no complaints, the judges having shut themselves up for fear of their lives. . . . Gangs of robbers, murderers, and bandits, the very scum of the earth, ranged freely in every part of the city; and the palaces of the cardinals were guarded by archers and troopers or they would have been sacked and wrecked. But although all Rome was in arms, there did not occur any notable tumult;* only a great number of people were killed from private enmity. The streets of the Borgo (the part of the city between the Ponte St. Angelo and St. Peter's) were barred and guarded by companies of soldiers and cavalry."

Twenty-three cardinals went into Conclave, and elected Roderigo Borgia Pope by the name of Alexander VI. almost immediately and without any divisions. The account given by the chronicler of the Conclave is on this occasion extremely meagre and short. There was, in fact, but little to be said upon the disgraceful subject. The voices of the electors had been simply bought before they went into Conclave. The Vice-Chancellor, says the writer I have quoted, "used his utmost industry and art for the satisfaction of his immoderate ambition, having conciliated by all sorts of means, good and bad, the minds of the more powerful among the cardinals." The election afforded a striking instance of the way in which a bad Pope prepares the way for a yet worse than he.

This infamous man, the worst probably of all the Popes, reigned eleven years, and died on the 18th of

* A curious statement indicating the sort of thing that might be expected on these occasions. The state of matters described was not held to constitute any notable breach of order.

August, 1503, poisoned, as there is every reason to believe, by the mistake of a servant, who handed both to him and to his son Cæsar some poisoned wine which had been prepared by their orders for the poisoning of several cardinals who had been invited to sup with them; the object of the intended murder being that the "hats" thus vacated might be resold to others! The writer of the story of the Conclave of his successor, Pius III., who tells us that he was a Papal Master of the Chambers, and seems evidently to have been a conclavist also, gives a terrible and horrible account of the death and burial of Alexander. Hardly was the breath out of his body before the servants and soldiers plundered his private apartments. This search for plunder was not very thorough or successful, however, for subsequently stores of valuables were discovered to a very large amount, as also "a writing desk covered with green cloth, which was full of gems and precious stones to the value of twenty thousand crowns," worth something like fifty thousand pounds at the present day.

The mortal remains of the Popes were very generally utterly deserted and left to the care of the lowest people about the palace; and it was not likely that the body of such a Pope as Alexander should be treated with more respect than those of the most detested of his predecessors. When the body had been carried into the Church of St. Peter's there was no priest ready to begin to read the service; and some soldiers took advantage of the pause to begin wresting the wax torches out of the hands of the attendants around the bier. The latter defended themselves, using the torches for the purpose, and the

soldiers using their arms. At last the clerical party, getting the worst of it, ran away into the sacristy! "Then leaving off their singing (of the burial psalms) the Pope was left alone; and I and some others took the bier and carried him to a spot between the high altar and his seat, and placed him there, turning his head towards the altar." The body was left there till the evening, when a change came over the appearance of it, which the Master of the Chambers describes with a loathsome minuteness of particulars into which I will not follow him. "He was," continues he, "horrible and fearful to look on; and after nightfall he was carried to the mortuary chapel by six porters and two carpenters who chanced to be gambling together near at hand. And inasmuch as the coffin had been made too short, they pounded the corpse and stamped on it with their feet to make it go into the coffin, having first despoiled it of the mitre and the grave-clothes, and covered it instead with a dirty old bit of green carpet."

Such was the end of him whose existence on the earth the English poet deemed might be a stumbling-block to those who attempt to scan the providential government of the world, and whom the fathers of the Church selected as the vicegerent of God upon earth—Pope Alexander VI.!

It was the inevitable tendency of the combined mode of electing the Popes and creating the cardinals, that a bad Pope should, as has been said, pave the way for a worse successor. Alexander effectually provided an exception to the rule, for a worse than he could hardly have been found. But there can be no doubt that the

manner in which he filled the Sacred College prepared the way for a period of Church history which was the lowest in the whole annals of the Church as regards the character of the Popes, and the utter and audacious shamelessness of the prostitution by them of their position and their power to the pursuit of objects which the great and powerful have often pursued unscrupulously, but which have never been pursued with such reckless and monstrous wickedness as by the successors of St. Peter!

The condition of Rome during the interregnum between Alexander and Pius III. was terrible. No man's life was safe in the streets: murder, plunder, and open fighting were rife in every part of the city. The hands of Orsini and Colonnas were against all men, and all men's hands were against them. The Holy City was a veritable pandemonium. At last thirty-eight cardinals went into Conclave on the 12th of September, twenty-five days after Alexander's death, a delay which was contrary to all rule, but was necessitated by the state of Rome and the violence of Cæsar Borgia, who had possession of St. Angelo, and could not sooner be got rid of out of Rome; and on the 22nd of the same month they elected the Cardinal of Siena, Piccolomini, nephew of Pius II., by the name of Pius III.

"On the 14th of the same month," notes the Master of the Ceremonies—also, no doubt, a conclavist—who relates the story of this Conclave, "I found a billet hidden in a dish which was going in to the Cardinal of Bologna, which I plainly saw, but held my tongue, considering it for the best." He then goes on to give the story of the Conclave as follows: "The divisions and

parties among the cardinals were manifold, concerning which I am silent by reason of the ugliness of the business, and the simony which then took place among them without blushing or shame. At last on the Thursday, by the help of God (!), the Cardinals Ascanius, Volterra, and Rouen took counsel together to elect the Cardinal of Siena, who had promised them many things if, by their means, he should be made Pope. Many cardinals purposing to elect him, went to congratulate him, and, on the following day, the Sacristan made a little hole in the walling-up of a door that was in his room, and sent a note to the house of the Cardinal of Siena, announcing that he was elected;"—in order to give friends of his own a hint to take time by the forelock in plundering the new Pope's house.

Further particulars of this very disgraceful Conclave have been preserved, and are with singular candour recounted by the modern writer of the article on Pius III. in Moroni. The friends of Cæsar Borgia, and creations of his father, were a very strong party in the Conclave, and they wished to make the Cardinal Antoniotto Pallavicini, Pope. But there was a certain Nicolò Bonafede, Bishop of Chiusi,* who, having a special enmity against Pallavicini, and being at the same time a friend of Piccolomini, and in the confidence of Cæsar Borgia, succeeded in persuading the latter that it would be impossible to get Pallavicini elected; and proposed to him that the Borgia party should support Piccolomini, who was specially hostile to the Petrucci (who were

* A life of him, in great part written by himself, is extant, and was printed at Pesaro, in 1832.

endeavouring to make themselves tyrants of Siena, which Cæsar Borgia wanted for himself), and whose candidature, as Bonafede pointed out, would not awaken any suspicions or animosities, because there had never been any intimacy or alliance between Piccolomini and the Borgias, whereas if now elected by their influence he would . . . be grateful. Bonafede went off to Piccolomini, who gave him full power to promise in his name all that was wished—"always safeguarding his own honour and that of the Holy See."

How one can see the decorous faces of the two bargaining dignitaries, and the mutually understood expression of the eye beneath the drooping eyelid, as this saving clause was stipulated and accepted with an "Of course! Of course!" and a deprecatory raising of outstretched palms!

Cæsar Borgia, however, knew what he was about, and drew up articles of agreement, which he made Piccolomini sign before assenting to running him as the Borgia candidate. All this was duly settled, and then Bonafede set himself to detach some of the Italian cardinals (the Borgia party consisted mainly of Spaniards) from Pallavicini, in which he succeeded so well, that "Pallavicini found the 50,000 ducats which Cæsar had lent him, and the 30,000 which he brought into the Conclave in banker's notes, of no avail!" "Pallavicini," the writer goes on to say, in the very next sentence, "was a most worthy cardinal, and some *exaggeration* may be suspected therefore in this statement." Perhaps the sum destined to the purchase of the Papacy by this most worthy cardinal was only fifty or

sixty thousand, and not eighty, as his enemies would have it! "True it is, however," adds the writer, "that we often have to deplore similar human weakness."

And thus, after ten days of Conclave, Francesco Piccolomini was made Vicegerent of Christ upon earth, "by God's help" and that of Cæsar Borgia, being at the time unable to stand from infirmity, and having one foot so far advanced into the grave that he died on the sixteenth day after the election—having had time, however, it is pleasing to hear, to make that faithful creature, Bonafede, governor of Rome.

And so the work of the Conclave, with all its base bargaining and hypocrisy, had to be done over again! It was pretty well accomplished, however, before going to Conclave, and was achieved in a very business-like manner without much difficulty. We have an account of the Conclave written by "me, Giorgio Broccardi, Clerk of the Ceremonies." The writer relates that he was sent for immediately after the death of Pius III., and assisted in putting on the body the pontifical garments, and laying it out "on a mattress under a covering of green velvet, nothing being wanted save the cross on his breast, to supply which I made him one out of the four tassels that hung from the corners of the green velvet pall, which I pinned on his breast with four pins." Fifteen cardinals were present at the funeral service, the Spanish and French cardinals excusing themselves for their absence on the ground that they could not venture to pass through the Borgo * because

* The street that runs between the Bridge of St. Angelo and the Vatican.

it was full of the Orsini. The Clerk of the Ceremonies tells us that, on the 29th of October, he was sent to warn all the cardinals that the Conclave would begin on the following day. And "on that same day the Cardinal of St. Pietro ad Vincula (Guiliano della Rovere, nephew of Sixtus IV., who was about to become Pope as Julius II.) had an interview with the Duca Valentino (Cesare Borgia) in the Vatican Palace; and, together with the Spanish cardinals of his party, came to certain terms of agreement between them, among which, besides many others which cannot be told, the Cardinal San Pietro promised the Duke that if he were elected Pope by his (the Duke's) means, he would create him Gonfaloniere and General of the Holy Church. And the Duke, on the other hand, promised many things to the Cardinal. And all the cardinals present promised and obliged themselves by oath to give their votes to the said Cardinal of St. Peter." In Conclave an agreement was at once come to as to what they were going to do, and "I," says the Clerk of the Ceremonies, "went to his cell to congratulate him, and he promised me the church of Orti, and his mule with its trappings, and his cope and rochet." And when, after the unanimous election, the new Pope was, according to custom, divested of his robes, our friend George tells us that "his Holiness was disrobed of his rochet and cassock, which I took for myself, despite the opposition of the Sacristan."

In the whole list of the Conclaves, there is not one more decidedly and notoriously black with simony than this of Julius II. Guicciardini, though strongly prepos-

sessed in favour of Julius, and writing favourably of him, yet speaks of his simoniacal elevation to the Papacy as a notorious thing—which, however, Guicciardini was not a man to have deemed any very serious accusation. But the defence put forward by the recent writer of his Life* is not a little amusing. "It would suffice for his disculpation," says this very *naïf* defender, "to cite the constitution, *cum tam divino*, which the Pope published against the simoniacal election of a Pope!" It is perfectly true that Julius II. thundered against simony in the Conclave as loudly, or more so, than any Pontiff on the list. His Holiness knew well what he was talking of, and, on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief, was certainly so far the right man in the right place. His conduct in the matter reminds one of those apostles of universal peace and liberty who demand a little war and sharp coercion as a preliminary means for enabling them to enter on their mission. Julius felt that a scruple respecting a little simony ought not to be allowed to stand in the way of the election of one minded to enforce such salutary reforms.

Julius, a great Pope in his way, though that was a way more fitted for a lay than an ecclesiastical ruler, reigned nine years and three months; and then another Conclave elected Leo X., the great Mecænas of the arts and of literature, to whom literature and the arts have been more than sufficiently grateful—the jovial Pope, who, as soon as he felt the tiara on his head, expressed his sense of the tremendously awful nature of the position to which he had been raised by ejaculating, "Since

* Moroni, vol. xxxi. p. 161.

God has given us the Papacy, let us enjoy it!"—and proceeded to do so accordingly.

Julius II. left thirty-two Cardinals in the Sacred College, of whom twenty-five entered Conclave on the 4th of March, 1513. But some days passed before the first scrutiny was held, during which their Eminences were engaged in settling various matters of regulation for the internal management of the Conclave, and especially the rights and privileges of the body of conclavists. The majority of these, who in this Conclave must have been at least fifty, held several meetings of their own, in which they drew up a statement of their demands, especially as to their presentation to certain benefices, all which were agreed to by the cardinals. They also arranged among themselves, by legally executed instrument, that the conclavist of the cardinal who should be elected Pope should pay to the others, his comrades, the sum of 1,500 ducats as the price of their share of the contents and furniture of his patron's cell, which had hitherto been scrambled for in a tumultuous manner. All that the cell of the Pope elect contained was in consideration of this payment to be the sole and legitimate property of the new Pope's conclavist.

Other abuses of the Conclave seem to have engaged the attention of their Eminences before they began their scrutinies, for we learn that the Cardinal Camerlengo, and the Cardinals of Aragon and Farnese, made a searching examination of all the cells and every part of the locality of the Conclave, for the purpose of assuring themselves that there were none present save the cardinals and their conclavists. Nor do I find any mention

of those other officers and functionaries who, by subsequent regulation, made a recognised part of the Conclave world. Perhaps, however, these, or the more important among them, were not mentioned by the writers as having been there as a matter of course. It is noted, however, that the Cardinal de' Medici required the presence of a surgeon, one Giacomo di Brescia, in the Conclave for the performance of an operation on an imposthume; and that the said Giacomo, despite his urgent entreaties, was not permitted to leave the Conclave until its conclusion.

It was not till the 10th that the first scrutiny took place; and then, before proceeding to the votation, the recent Bull of Julius against all simoniacal practices in the election of the Pontiff was solemnly read. Then all the conclavists were turned out, and the cardinals remained alone for the transaction of their all-important business. At the first scrutiny the "Cardinal Alborense" had thirteen votes. It was probably perfectly well known that he would not be elected. But the number of votes given to him seems to have somewhat startled those who had the management of the Conclave mainly in their hands. And immediately after dinner (on one dish apiece only, those charged with the custody of the Conclave on the outside appearing to have adhered on this occasion to the rules provided on that subject) the work of secret conversing and bargaining became very active throughout the Conclave. In the evening the Cardinals De' Medici and Raffaello Riario, the nephew of Sixtus IV., were seen in close conversation in the great hall. But though the fact of their taking counsel

together was patent enough, it was even more impossible to overhear any syllable of what passed between them than if they had had their interview in the cell of either of them; for as they walked together in the ample space of the hall, it was impossible for the sharpest ears of the most enterprising conclavist to catch even a tone of their cautious voices. And it was in that conversation that the Pope was made, and that "the age of Leo X.," with all its manifold and interminable series of consequences, was from a potentiality made into an actuality.

Those who were, with anxious and understanding eyes, watching that colloquy, in which two of the most intensely worldly and unspiritual-minded men on earth were deciding the spiritual conditions of unborn millions, well knew the decisive nature of such a combination of forces. And it was assumed as certain that one of those two was to be the Pope. And the older cardinals, we are told, were in much dismay, for the influences which it was felt would suffice to make one of those two the new Pope lay mainly among the younger men. The Cardinal de' Medici himself was only thirty-seven. The intrigues among the latter, however, had been conducted so secretly, that the few older and more prominent cardinals were mystified, and felt that they had been left out in the cold. The result of the all-important colloquy in the great hall was soon, however, allowed to leak out; and it became known throughout the Conclave that night that De' Medici was to be Christ's Vicar on earth! And all the cardinals thronged to his cell to congratulate him, prostrate themselves before him, and

kiss his feet! *All*, for it is ill voting against a man to-day who is to be the despotic master of your fate and fortunes on the morrow! And on the following morning Giovanni de' Medici walked forth from the scrutiny duly elected without a dissentient voice.

A very decently conducted election! For no human ear heard what passed between the gay and gallant young Medicean Cardinal and that infamous and needy spendthrift the Cardinal Riario, of whose modes of life something has already been said in these pages. No indiscretest of conclavists has ventured to whisper that the universal bishoprick of souls was then bought and sold. But I will here again venture to quote from a volume of my own on the life of a contemporary, connection, and friend of the new Pope, Filippo Strozzi. "The Cardinal was accompanied," I wrote, "on his hurried journey to Rome" (from Florence, on the occasion of the death of Julius II.) "by Filippo Strozzi. What on earth could a grave Churchman, going on such a mission, want of such a companion as the gay, handsome, pleasure-seeking young banker? Some silver-haired and venerable confessor, who should have beguiled the way by his exhortations as to the awful nature of the responsibilities the Cardinal was hoping to assume—such an one, it might have been supposed, would be the companion of a dignified priest bound on such an errand. But a dissipated young banker! Yet the young banker's brother, disciple of austere Savonarola as he was, tells us as simply as if it were the most ordinary business in the world what Filippo went to Rome for with the Cardinal. "Inasmuch as the latter

aspired not without good reason to the Papacy, it was likely enough that he might have to avail himself of Filippo's credit! * So that it seems to have been quite as much a recognised thing, even among the strictest, in those admirable 'ages of faith,' that a candidate for heaven's vicegerency should come up to Rome with his banker to support him, as that in our days a candidate should seek similar aid in presenting himself to a select borough constituency." But the simoniacal Pope Julius's solemn Bull against simony had been solemnly read in this the Conclave immediately following his death; and the authoritative French Church historian, † quoted in a former chapter, assures us that the Holy Ghost has effectually provided that no case has ever arisen calling for the penalties fulminated by sundry Popes besides Julius against simony!

Leo X. reigned eight years and eight months, and died somewhat suddenly, not without very strong reasons for believing that he was poisoned.‡ The Venetian ambassador believed it; and the Pope's physician, Bernardino Speroni, was a subject of Venice and in confidential intercourse with the ambassador.

The interregnum which succeeded the death of Leo was, as on former occasions, a time of trouble. But already the nature of the troubles begins to wear a more modern aspect. The interval between the death of the Pope and the entry of the cardinals into Conclave was

* "Life of Filippo Strozzi," by his brother Lorenzo, p. xxxiv.

† Henri de Spond, generally quoted as Spondanus.

‡ See the very curious particulars recorded in the summary of Luigi Gradenigo's (the Venetian ambassador) report to the Senate (Relat. Ambas. Ven., series ii. vol. iii. p. 71).

prolonged beyond the prescribed time; Leo having died on the 1st of December, and the Conclave not having been begun till the 27th. Despite the immense sums which Leo had received mainly from the sale of profitable offices,* he left the Papal treasury absolutely empty at his death. There was not even money enough to pay the expenses of his funeral. And the Papal palace was stripped of everything of value, the moment the breath was out of his body, by his sister, who had been living in the Vatican.† The wax candles that had been prepared for the funeral of the Cardinal di San Giorgio, who died shortly before the Pope, were taken to serve for the Pope's obsequies, for there was no money to buy others. On the 14th the cardinals got a loan of two thousand ducats from the Jews on the security of the dues payable to the Sacred College; and they obtained a loan of a similar sum from Monsignore Tomaso Righi, the Clerk of the Chamber, which was advanced *gratis*. Other sums were borrowed on the above-named security. And, in truth, their Eminences were very hardly pressed for the means of carrying on the government of the city. Two noble barons of the Colonna family and two of the Orsini having been appointed as guardians of the Sacred Palace and Conclave during the interregnum, they came to the cardinals and declared that they could not undertake the duty unless six thousand ducats were paid them in advance, to which their Eminences were obliged to submit.

* And that quite recently. See the relation of the Venetian ambassador, *loc. cit.*

† *Ibidem.*

On the 27th of December thirty-eight cardinals went into Conclave at the Vatican, but it was not till the 30th that the first scrutiny took place. The intervening time had been employed in receiving the envoys of the different Powers, and in making rules now observed for the first time as to the method of voting and the preparation of the voting papers. It was on this occasion finally decided that the voting should be secret, and the papers so arranged as to disclose the name of the person voted for without allowing the name of the voter, also written in the paper, to be seen. Minute precautions also were adopted to prevent fraud in giving the votes *per accessum*, as will be more fully explained in a future page. Besides the arrangement of these matters, after considerable debate, the Bull of Julius against simony was solemnly read, and all present swore by their hope of eternal salvation to observe its provisions to the letter! Then on the 30th the bargaining began, "without any reserve" (*senza rispetto*), says the Venetian ambassador.

The election in which this Conclave resulted was assuredly as pure from all taint of simony as any in the whole long roll of the Popes. But none the less did the Conclave reek with simony; only the chapmen in the field were so numerous that they spoiled the market, and rendered simony for once ineffective. Gradenigo, the Venetian ambassador, gives the process and result of the Conclave in compendious form thus: "All the cardinals received the Eucharist, and forthwith all began bargaining for the Papacy without any regard for decency. The cardinals in Conclave were thirty-eight;

fifteen of whom were in favour of Cardinal de' Medici, (Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII.*) and twenty-three against him; of which twenty-three eighteen wished each to be Pope himself. And after the first scrutiny the Cardinal Grimani, seeing that he had no chance, left the Conclave." (The conclavist, who has left a narrative of the Conclave, says that Grimani went out from the Conclave because his conscience revolted from the things he saw done there.) "The Cardinal Farnese" (he who was afterwards Paul III.) "had twenty-two votes; but the Cardinals Egidio and Colonna would not give him their votes. Had they done so, he would have been Pope. Farnese gave a promise to Medici to secure to him all he had, and to make him greater than ever. But the Cardinal Adrian, who was in Spain, was elected." But the conclavist, less exclusively interested in the result, gives at length the particulars of nine scrutinies which took place before the election was effected. It would be wearisome to give all these details of the various fluctuations of the votes among eighteen different names, most of which are now wholly forgotten. There absolutely were at least eighteen candidates, and the statement of the Venetian was no mere exaggerated phrase. At each new voting the numbers varied, and the chances of the election seemed to defy all prognostication. The only remaining interest in the facts, however, is this—that it was only as an escape from insoluble difficulties, and when their

* Sometimes called the cousin and sometimes the nephew of Leo X. He was in fact not legally related to him in any way, being of illegitimate birth. He was the son of the Giuliano who was killed in the conspiracy of the Pazzi.

Eminences were truly at their wits' end, that they determined on electing a man who had no recommendation whatever save his real fitness for the promotion. In fact, this poor Flemish professor, Adrian, who had come to be a cardinal in consequence of having been Charles V's. tutor, was wholly unknown at Rome, save by the general report of his piety and worth. And, to cite again the Venetian ambassador, "When they had elected him, the cardinals were like dead men at the thought that they had elected one whom they had never seen. And as they came out of the Conclave, a terrible outcry was raised against them by the people, who cried out, why could you not elect one of yourselves! And so strong was this feeling that placards were stuck up about the city with *Roma est locanda*,* that is to say, Rome is to be let! because all thought that Adrian would take the Papacy to Spain."†

But the cardinals soon found that they had brought a worse fate upon themselves and upon Rome than even such a second Babylonish captivity. Adrian came to Rome, but came in all the simplicity of his northern piety, actually taking the duties and responsibilities of the Papacy *au sérieux*, and minded, as far as was in him, to act up to them! The astonishment, dismay, and disgust of all the cardinals, and all the Apostolical Court, and indeed of all Rome, at such an incredible and unprecedented phenomenon may readily be imagined. Of course poor Adrian was an utter failure! No doubt

* The words still used in Rome to signify that any tenement is to be let.

† *Loc. cit.*, p. 74.

it was as happy a fate for himself as it was a source of immense rejoicing to Rome, when he died, after an unhappy reign of one year and eight months. And never, since that time, have their Eminences of the Sacred College made the mistake of electing any save an Italian to the chair of St. Peter!

## CHAPTER VIII.

Conclave which elected Clement VII.—Change in the Characteristics of the Conclaves.—Anecdote of Adrian's narrow Escape from being killed, and of the hatred felt by the Roman Clergy against him.—Roman and Florentine rivalry in the Conclave.—Intrigues in the Conclave.—The Plan of Making a Pope by "Adoration."—Crafty Trick of Giulio de' Medici.—His Election.—And reign.—Conclave which elected Farnese as Paul III.—Circumstances of his election.—His Character.

THE Conclave which elected Giulio de' Medici as Adrian's successor, by the name of Clement VII., was an interesting one, as being, probably, the first in which the more modern spirit of finesse and intrigue seems to have prevailed over the nakedly simoniacal method of proceeding of earlier times. The menacing growlings of the storm that was about to break over the Church were beginning to be heard from the other side of the Alps. That word of dread—as it was to the Popes of those days—"an Œcumenical Council," had been heard; and the Church began to affect a show of decency. The motives which produced the election of Clement VII. were as far removed from any such as should have dictated the choice of a vicegerent of God upon earth as they well could be. But the election does not seem to have been an openly simoniacal one.

Adrian died on the 14th of September, 1523. When

the Romans learned that he was dead, "it was an incredible pleasure and contentment to them; the fact being, that he was universally disliked by the whole Court, because his Holiness differed much from the greatness, magnificence, and splendour which his more immediate predecessors were wont to manifest in the pontificate, though he was, in truth, more inclined to those good qualities which one is wont to seek and look for in the elections of the Popes in the primitive ages of the Church." * The writer goes on to relate how, on one occasion, when the architrave of the doorway of the Sistine Chapel fell just as the Pope was entering, killing some of those around him, while he very narrowly escaped, a certain prelate amongst those present scrupled not to curse Fortune and inveigh aloud against the ill fate which had saved the Pope from destruction. Nor, adds the writer, "was that prelate in any way blamed for his words by the cardinals who heard him, but was rather praised and petted for them. *So that* this holy man was little fitted for governing worldly affairs."

Thirty cardinals went into Conclave on the proper day after the death of Adrian. A large portion of them were young men, the creations principally of Leo X., who had no pretentions to the Papacy. But there were among them four men, the bearers of great names, the heads of powerful factions, and each anxious to be Pope, and with claims to the throne equal to those of his rivals. These were Pompeo Colonna, Alessandro Farnese, Giulio de' Medici, and Francesco Orsini. Among

* "Conclavi de' Romani Pontifici," vol. i. p. 194.

these, the favourites—to use the word in its turf sense—were Colonna and Medici. Medici, however, the conclavist writes who has left a narrative of this election, "was in truth the more powerful, from the great number of cardinals who followed him; as, indeed, might naturally be expected from the fact of his kinsman's unscrupulously partizan papacy having so recently come to a conclusion. Colonna, on the other hand, had all the more strictly Roman world in his favour, as well as the strong prudential consideration arising from the fact that he was known to be in close relations with the Emperor Charles V. Upon the whole, the older members of the College were for Colonna, the younger for Medici. In the beginning of the Conclave, at the first scrutiny, Colonna had more votes than Medici, and had, indeed, nearly been elected, two votes only having been wanting to him to make the twenty necessary for an election in a Conclave of thirty. Now Colonna and Orsini were well known to hate each other bitterly; which was quite as naturally and inevitably the case as that cats and dogs should hate each other. They had been the Montagues and Capulets of Rome for many generations, and enmity was traditional between all the numerous members of either family. And Orsini had a compact little party of his own in the Conclave. Medici, therefore, fearing the result of a contest with Colonna, and alleging the urgent necessity of not prolonging the interregnum and the Conclave, declared his intention of bringing it to an end by giving his support and that of all his friends to Orsini; for he doubted not that, while this hope would prevent any of Orsini's friends from deserting him—

Medici—it would be impossible for Colonna to obtain the necessary majority among his own followers. And, on the other hand, he felt perfectly sure that Colonna would rather see him (Medici) Pope than an Orsini.

When this was reported to Colonna, he set to work actively to procure the exclusion of Orsini, declaring that he would be content with any election that might be made save that one. Eleven voters, on whom he could perfectly depend, would suffice to render the election of Orsini impossible, and so many he was, he thought, able to command. But votes are given secretly. Should an election not be accomplished in that scrutiny for which they are tendered, the names of the givers are never known. And should an election be effected, the value of treason which has availed to make a Pope is apt to be so highly assessed by him who has profited by it, that defection from him who might have been, but is not, Pope, is not likely to count for much. In the state of dead-lock to which this policy of De' Medici had brought the Conclave, an attempt was made to elect Farnese, who was popular in Rome and with the members of the Sacred College. There was no very valid or ostensible ground for refusing to join in such an election, and the heads of the other parties were obliged to pretend that the welfare of the Church, and, *pro tanto*, the speedy election of a due and fitting successor to the Papacy, were the main and paramount objects they had in view; and for a moment it seemed likely that Farnese would have carried the day. He did succeed, as we know, at the next election, ten years subsequently, and then held the Papacy for fifteen years.

But he always was wont to say that Giulio de' Medici had robbed him of ten years of his reign!

Meanwhile, the days went on; scrutinies took place twice every day, and continued to give results not very much varying from each other, and all equally futile. The Conclave had lasted more than a month; and indications of the discontent of the people and of the Roman world generally, at the prolongation of the interregnum, were made to reach the cardinals in their retreat. And still Colonna, though perfectly sincere in his declaration that he would rather see De' Medici, or any other member of the Sacred College, in St. Peter's Chair, than his hereditary foe, Orsini; and fully decided to give his support to the Medicean cardinal, if there was no hope of placing himself there; could not yet quite bring himself to believe that there was no such possibility. The contest, in short, between Colonna, Orsini, and De' Medici, had assumed very much of similitude to a game of brag; with, however, the additional complicating and disturbing element,—that there was a continual danger, a danger of every day and every hour, that the cardinals who were not mainly and personally interested in the elevation of either of the three great rivals, might suddenly and secretly coalesce and make a Pope of their own, Farnese probably, or possibly even some outsider, whom nobody had seriously thought of. That "adoration" plan of making a Pope was such a dangerous thing, and so difficult to be guarded against! The thing might be done by sudden impulse, in a moment, without any warning, except such as was afforded by observing any unusual and suspicious gathering together

of cardinals! And then, if such a thing were to happen, the disadvantage of having taken no part in it was obvious and much to be avoided.

Still Colonna, though he had caused it to be whispered to De' Medici that he was ready to give him his vote and interest, rather than that Orsini should be elected, was not willing to give up; and in order to gain time, and at the same time to make it appear that he was really anxious to bring the injurious prolongation of the Conclave to an end, caused his followers to put forward sundry other candidates whom he knew well would not have the necessary majority of votes. One of these, the Cardinal di Santiquattro, however, was very nearly elected in this manner, and instances are not wanting in the history of the Conclaves of precisely similar accidents having happened.

But one morning, when this sort of work had been going on for nearly fifty days, De' Medici determined on a plan to make Colonna declare himself one way or another. Having caused his friends to assemble in the vicinity of Orsini's cell, he himself paid a visit to his rival, and so contrived as to come out of the cell, he and Orsini together, and the latter apparently in high good humour and jovial mood. They walked towards the great hall, and a crowd of the special friends of either following them. Care had, moreover, been taken that all this should be breathlessly reported to Colonna on the instant. "At last, we are going to elect a Pope!" cried De' Medici in a loud voice as Colonna came out of his cell. "Are you going to elect Orsini?" asked one of Colonna's friends of one of those who were following

him and De' Medici. "Well, it looks very like it!" replied the dignitary questioned. "But," cried Colonna, who felt that, if he was to avoid having his old enemy Orsini as a master over him and all the other Colonnas, there was not a moment to be lost, "I thought it had been understood that we—I and my friends—were ready to give our votes to the Cardinal De' Medici! I am not the man to promise what I do not mean. We are ready to elect De' Medici Pope on the spot, and this instant!" Whereupon a shout was raised for De' Medici, and an "Adoration" followed, unanimous, or nearly so, on the part of all present. Giulio De' Medici, however, who was as careful and cautious a man, as his relative, Leo X., was the reverse, begged his friends to proceed to the more regular process of a scrutiny, which was done accordingly, and he was duly elected as Clement VII. by an unanimous vote, on the fiftieth day of he Conclave, the 18th November, 1523.

Clement reigned ten troublous and disastrous years. His life as Pope was like that of a hunted hare. He lived in perpetual fear—fear of the lawless bands of the Constable Bourbon, who sacked his capital and threatened his life; fear of the raising of the question of the canonical validity of this election, on the ground of his illegitimacy; fear of the rivals Charles V. and Francis I.; fear of the treacheries by which he strove to cheat and deceive both of them being found out; fear, perhaps the worst of all, of the General Council, which he did manage to stave off, but which could no longer be staved off by his equally unwilling, but bolder successor.

The Papacy of that successor, Paul III., was a notable and highly important one. But the Conclave which preceded it was one of the shortest and most uneventful in the whole list.

The cardinals went into Conclave on the 11th of October, 1534, and elected Alessandro Farnese Pope by the name of Paul III. unanimously, and at the first scrutiny. In fact, there are few, if any other, instances in the history of the Popes, of its having been so well known, and so entirely a foregone conclusion, who the Pope was to be, as in the case of Paul III. All Rome knew perfectly well that Farnese was to be Pope, before the Conclave was begun. In fact, he was abundantly marked out for the choice of his colleagues. He was then in his sixty-eighth year, and he had been forty years a cardinal! He was a man of good character, born to rule, and of a very noble presence. And had he had no nephews or sons, would have made a very good Pope. As it was, he made one very fatal to the interests of the Church.

This election was certainly untainted by simony. The Farnese proceeded with refractory voters otherwise than by buying them. It is related that, having heard that one of the younger cardinals in the Conclave was speaking against him, and striving to organize a party in opposition to his election, he proceeded straight to the cell of the offender, and there—voice, eye, and mien assisting him—administered such a verbal castigation to the offender, that he professed repentance, implored pardon, and on receiving it became one of Farnese's fastest friends.

And so ends that portion of our story which falls within the period that has been called the Middle Ages; if not quite accurately so according to the almanac, yet sufficiently so in respect to the animating spirit of the times, and the influence of that spirit on the Papal Conclaves, to justify the adoption of it as a *story-shed* dividing the old time from the new.

# BOOK III.

## THE ZEALOUS POPES.

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## *THE ZEALOUS POPES.*

## CHAPTER I.

Remarks of Ranke on the Papal History of the Sixteenth Century.—Julius III.—His Character.—Conclave which elected him.—View of this Conclave by the Venetian Ambassador.—Delay in Assembling of the Conclaves after Paul III.'s Death.—Reginald Pole.—The Expectation that he would be elected.—Was all but elected.—His own scruples.—His Election lost by them.—Anecdote of his behaviour in Conclave.—Cardinal di San Marcello, afterwards Pope as Marcellus II.—Determined to elect Pole, if possible.—The Emperor appealed to by Letter.—He *vetoes* Cardinal Salviati.—Election of Del Monte, as Julius III.—His Character.

I HAVE given in a former chapter my reasons for drawing a line of division at the death of Paul III. Ranke says,* that the sixteenth century was especially marked by the spirit of religious creation. Even yet, in our own days, we are living on the struggles between various creeds which first broke out in that age. But if it is desired to fix with greater precision the epoch at which the separation of the creeds was consummated, we must not fix it at the first appearance of the reformers. For their opinions did not so soon succeed in establishing themselves; and for a long time there was room to hope for an agreement on the controverted points. But

* Hist. Popes, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Book iii.

it was about the year 1552 that all attempts at conciliation were seen to have completely failed. A little farther on he remarks, that the most immediate obstacle which the Catholic Church had to contend against, in the effort to effect such a renovation of itself as should avail to stem the advancing tide of reformation, arose, at the very first, from the Popes themselves, from their character and their policy. And it is impossible to take even the most cursory view of the reign of Paul III. without arriving at the conviction that he, though not wholly opposed to the Council of Trent, and not by any means altogether without care for the spiritual interests of the Church (though he was far more prone and more fitted to consider its temporal affairs), must yet be counted among those Popes whose character and policy formed a terrible obstacle to any such renovation.

Nor can it be said that the successor of Paul III., Julius III., in any degree deserved a place in that series of Popes whom I have grouped together, as the subject of this division of my story, under the denomination of The Zealous Popes. In truth Giovanni Maria Del Monte, who became Pope as Julius III., was one of the last of the Popes who could be called "zealous" in any sense. And if I had been writing a compendium of the history of the Popes, with reference to that remarkable tendency to group themselves into series which I have before spoken of, I should certainly have assigned him his place as the last among the preceding group, though he cannot be said to have belonged to the series of sovereign-family-founding Popes. But inasmuch as our business is more especially with the Conclaves that

elected the Pontiffs, than with the Popes themselves, and as the rising spirit, characterised by Ranke in the above-cited passage, may be plainly discerned in the Conclave which elected Julius III., I have preferred to draw my dividing line at the death of that great and memorable Pontiff, Alessandro Farnese, Paul III.

The conclavist indeed, who has left a narrative of the proceedings of the Conclave which elected Julius, represents the motives of all concerned to have been exactly of the old sort, purely and exclusively worldly, and proceeding from low personal ambitions and enmities. He was doubtless an old hand; had probably held a similar position in other previous Conclaves, and, as one can imagine readily would be in such case the result, was utterly incapable of conceiving any other motives, or any other scheme of conducting a Papal election. But we have an account of this Conclave by a very different sort of person; who, if he made no part of the little Conclave world, and had therefore not the means of observing, as the Conclavist had, every conversation and every report, and spying every wish, was able to take a much larger and higher view of the entire matter, to interpret in a more just, as well as in a more liberal, spirit the motives of the chief actors, and to comprehend the forces which influenced them. The person in question was the old and experienced Venetian statesman, Matteo Dandolo, who had been sent by the Senate as ambassador to Paul III., and who remained at Rome during the Conclave which elected his successor. The "relation" or report of his embassy, which he read before the Senate in accordance with Venetian law, on

his return, is an extremely valuable and interesting document, and is printed in the third volume of the second series of Sign. Albéri's collection.* It has been much used by Ranke. Now, that improvement in the spirit of the Conclave, which was invisible to the conclavist, is unmistakably to be read in Dandolo's account of the election of Julius III.

Paul III. died, truly broken-hearted at the misconduct and treachery of those relatives for the aggrandizement of whom he had risked everything and sacrificed so much, on the 10th of November, 1549, having reigned fifteen years. An unduly long time elapsed before the cardinals entered Conclave at the beginning of December; the cause of the delay having probably been that some of the absent cardinals, especially the French, were waited for. Nevertheless some of these had not arrived when the Conclave commenced. The Venetian ambassador reports that the interregnum was an unusually orderly one; so much so that "save during the first days, when the shops were all shut, and some murders were committed, all passed in the quietest manner, as though the See were not vacant!" Seven thousand good troops, the same authority tells us, brought for the most part from Perugia, kept the city in order.

As the procession of cardinals passed to the Conclave, says Matteo Dandolo, the marked deference shown by all of them to the Cardinal of England (Reginald Pole) was much commented on; and the opinion was very

* It may be useful to students referring to this report, to mention that a very misleading misprint of "Paul IV." for Paul III. occurs twice in the index to this volume.

common throughout the city that he would be the new Pope. The Conclave was mainly divided into three parties. The first consisted of those who were partisans of the Emperor (Charles V.); the second was composed of the friends of the French King (Francis); the third, perhaps the most powerful of the three, consisted of the "creatures" of, *i.e.*, the cardinals created by, Paul III. Inside the Conclave the opinion was, that the making of the new Pope would, at the upshot, lie with the members of the latter. Nor was this party altogether averse to the election of Pole. So that, at the beginning of the Conclave, it was calculated that, if the election were made instantly, it would be found that the English Cardinal had three votes more than were sufficient to make the requisite two-thirds' majority. Cardinal Farnese, the recognised leader of the third of the above-named parties, and certainly the man of by far the greatest influence among the members of it, had made up his mind to elect Cardinal Pole. The Venetian ambassador gives three reasons for that determination of his; in the setting forth of which he amusingly places last that, which few, and least of all the ambassador, could fail to recognise as, not only the first, but in truth *the* reason that motived his decision. He had made up his mind to place the English Cardinal on the throne, says the Venetian, "because of the remarkable purity of his life and morals; because also of the great degree of authority he enjoyed, having been a cardinal for many years; and, lastly, because of the hope he had that the English Cardinal, if he became Pope, would be disposed to secure to him the dominion of Parma." In fact,

Farnese seems to have made the latter point the ruling motive of his conduct in the Conclave; for there is no trace of his having attempted to secure the Papacy for himself, to which his position in the College might have well justified him in aspiring. To be sure, such an election would have been as scandalous an one as any of those of the days, which were already beginning to be considered at Rome as the good old times. And the fact that Farnese does not seem to have conceived any hope or plan of the sort, may be accepted as an unmistakable indication of the improved spirit of the times.

But there were still plenty of men in the College, to whom the sanctity of life of the English Cardinal was no sufficient recommendation. The Cardinal of Ferrara, immediately on the opening of the Conclave, made an effort to prevent an election which seemed imminent, by making overtures to the Cardinal di San Giorgio, who was an intimate friend of Farnese, to the effect that he, Ferrara, was ready to make Farnese Pope, if he would, for that he could bring a sufficient number of the French party to concur in such an election, as, joined with the "creatures" of Paul III., would make it a certainty. But he only got a snubbing* from Farnese for his pains. He then went off to two others of the Paolini party with similar proposals, which were equally ill-received by both of them. And therewith his power and that of the French party to nominate the Pope by a coalition with the Paolini "creatures" was at an end. For after the loss of three votes out of the latter party, any such

* "Lo ribattè con accorta risposta."—*Ven. Relat.* Vol. iii. Series 2nd. p. 346.

coalition would have had one vote less than was requisite.

Meanwhile Farnese was endeavouring to unite all the Paolini and the Imperialists in favour of Cardinal Pole. It was proposed to elect him on the spur of the moment by adoration; and there can be little or no doubt that the attempt would have succeeded, and all the subsequent course of European history have been most importantly modified, if it had been made. The ambassador of Charles V., Don Diego Mendoza, "had," says the Venetian reporter, "the strictest, most resolute, and most efficacious orders from the Emperor, that his friends should consent to no election save that of the Cardinal of England.* So that when on the night of the election thousands of voices were shouting *Monte! Monte!* † I believed rather in the one voice, which cried *England;*" the voice, that is to say, of the Emperor's ambassador. But the result was a notable instance of the proverbial impossibility of foretelling, under any circumstances, the most probable upshot of a Conclave. The Emperor, his ambassador, the Venetian resident, and the whole of the Imperialist party were on this occasion mistaken.

Within the Conclave, in the meantime, what had been going on was certainly of a nature to throw out the previsions of the old hands. When the proposal to secure the election of Cardinal Pole, by proceeding to a sudden adoration, was made to him, and his supporters wished to hurry him into the chapel for the purpose, he could not be persuaded to accompany them, saying that

* Relat. Ven., *ib.* p. 147.

† In anticipation that the Cardinal Del Monte would be elected.

"he did not wish to enter by the window, but by the door, if it should please God that he should do so."* The conclavist, however, who has left us a narrative of the proceedings of this Conclave, says that the proposed adoration of Pole was deferred until the following morning, because the Cardinals St. Marcello and Verallo, belonging to the Imperial party, were ill, and it was deemed necessary to wait for their concurrence in the election. So the cardinals of the Paolini and Imperial parties went to bed with the understanding that His Eminence of England was to be elected on the following morning. But the upshot showed the value of the Italian proverb, which tells you that you may give your enemy anything rather than time! Some members of the French party learned the fact that all had been arranged for the election of the Cardinal of England the following morning, and spent the night in going privately from cell to cell, and endeavouring to persuade a few—some two or three would suffice—of the coalesced parties to desert their friends. And this they succeeded in doing. So that the next morning it was found that, whereas thirty-three votes were needed for an election—the entire number of cardinals in Conclave being forty-nine—Cardinal Pole had only twenty-six! The opportunity had been lost, not to return again. After this failure the votes became more and more scattered at every succeeding scrutiny; and there was scarcely one of the older cardinals who did not conceive hopes, and put forward pretensions of his own. Scrutiny after scrutiny followed unavailingly, and there seemed little prospect of coming

* Relat. Ven., *ibidem.*

to an election. Amid all this, however, there was one man who remained unalterably firm in his determination to elect Pole if it were possible. This was the Cardinal di San Marcello, who became Pope, as Marcellus II., in the next Conclave. And the circumstance is worth mentioning as a testimony in favour of Reginald Pole; for the Cardinal di San Marcello was in all probability by far the best man in that assembly, and was undoubtedly one of the best who ever sat on the Papal throne.

This state of things, says the conclavist, enabled also the Cardinal Salviati to make an attempt for himself, for there were many who were ready to vote for him. His friends accordingly went to Farnese to see if he could be got to support such an election. Farnese showed himself much averse to it. But on the Cardinal Sforza going to him on the same errand, he got him to promise that if they would write to the Emperor and obtain his approbation, he (Farnese) would make no further opposition. So the Cardinal of Mantua, one of the Gonzagas, who was a warm supporter of Salviati, wrote to King Ferdinand, the Emperor's brother, begging him to use his interest with his brother to induce him to consent to the election of Salviati. Ferdinand did write to the Emperor on the subject, but received so bitter* an answer, that he wrote back to the Cardinal of Mantua that he could not favour the election in question in any way. So there was an end of Salviati's hopes and candidateship! All which is curious as showing the sort of way in which the elections were carried on in that day, and how very far the Conclave

* "Fù così acerba la risposta."—*Conclav*, vol. i. p. 227.

was from being impervious to communications with and from the outer world! A cardinal's dinner was to be examined, lest some written communication should be introduced into the Conclave hidden in the interior of a capon; and letters were openly addressed to and received from the potentates of Europe. It will be observed, however, that nothing is heard as yet of any regularised and formal *veto*.

Gradually, in sheer despair apparently of coming to any more satisfactory election, an increasing number of votes began to drift towards the Cardinal Del Monte. Cardinal de Guise, however, did his utmost to oppose him, pointing out his defects, which were generally supposed to be a quickness to wrath and passion, and writing to France to warn the King that if his friends concurred in such an election, "he would directly he should be Pope give everything to the Emperor, to the great prejudice of his most Christian Majesty." The Cardinal de Guise, too, made an attempt on behalf of his uncle, the Cardinal of Loraine, and obtained a promise of support from Farnese. But the leaders of the Imperial party, getting scent of this conjunction, rushed off to Farnese, and pointed out to him so strongly the objections of the Emperor to such an election, that Farnese withdrew his promise. Here again there is no sort of mention of any *veto* on the part of either the Emperor or the French King; yet the one was evidently anxious to exclude Del Monte, and the other to exclude de Guise.

It was not till the 8th of February that the cardinals could agree to an election. And then a sufficient

majority was found to make the Cardinal Del Monte Pope by the name of Julius III. His election was caused wholly by the apparent impossibility of making any other. It was by no means because any party of those who concurred in the choice considered him to be the most fitting man among them for that supreme position, but because he was deemed the least objectionable of those whom it was possible to elect. The electors might fairly answer to their own consciences that, if they had not placed on the throne any one of the men, who might have been supposed to be the most fit man to be chosen, if in truth the Holy Ghost were the veritable controller of the election, they had endeavoured but had found it impossible to do better than they had done. And the election does not seem to have been vitiated by simony. It is related, indeed, that on one occasion, when a knot of cardinals, of whom Del Monte was one, were standing around the altar, after an unsuccessful scrutiny, discoursing of the apparent hopelessness of the effort to come to any election at all, Del Monte said, "Well! make me Pope, and the next day I will give you as a colleague my *Prevotino*"—a sort of clerkly official and intimate attached to a cardinal—words which seem to have been uttered jestingly, and to indicate, if they can be considered to indicate anything, that the speaker had little thought of being taken at his word.

Julius III. was placed at the helm of St. Peter's barque when it was struggling in a very troubled and tempestuous sea; and he was utterly inadequate to assume the management of it. The duties he was en-

trusted to do in that state of life to which he had been called would have been very terribly arduous ones to any man. Julius cut the knot by doing nothing! He assuredly has no place, by his own right, in a series called that of the "zealous Popes!" There has hardly, perhaps, been one of the long line to whom such title would less apply! But, as has been explained, our division has been adopted as much with an eye to the Conclaves as to the Popes. And the Conclave which elected Julius was a great improvement on its predecessors. Earnest attempts had been made to elect the truly best man there. They had miserably failed. But we shall see that the next Conclave shows a further improvement, and marks clearly enough the change that was coming over the spirit of the Church.

## CHAPTER II.

Marcellus II.—His Character.—The Conclave which elected him.—The Choice lies between him and Cardinal Caraffa.—Hostility of the Imperial Party to the Latter.—The Meaning and Practice of "Adoration," "Acclamation," or "Inspiration."—Anecdote of intrusive Conclavist at a Scrutiny.—Election of Marcellus II.—His Death, and Conduct at the Council of Trent.

MARCELLUS II. was the first of a very remarkable series of "zealous Popes"—of Pontiffs, that is to say, who, if their conceptions of the functions, duties, and position of a true and supreme bishop of souls was still such as might have made philosophers smile and angels weep, were yet true and faithful Popes in so far as the main and earnestly pursued object of their lives was the prosperity, welfare, and advantage of the Church, as they understood the nature of these things. Marcellus was the first of these; but he, and he alone, was something more. Marcello Cervini, of Montepulciano—for his baptismal name was Marcello, and having the precedent of a predecessor of that name, a Pope and martyr at the beginning of the fourth century, he declined to change it on his elevation—was not only a zealous Pope, but a true, faithful, and pious bishop, and exemplary man and Christian.

"After the death of Julius III.," says Ranke, "the religious party, composed of the defenders of strict

principles of duty and conduct, for the first* time exercised an influence on the election of a Pope." "It was an election," he adds, "which already manifested the change of spirit that had begun to be dominant in the Church." And any one who reads the notices of the election which have reached us, with a somewhat larger appreciation of men and things than a conclavist can be supposed to have possessed, will hardly fail to recognise that such was the case. But the same remark has to be repeated here which was made on a former occasion with reference to the conclavist's narrative. He is evidently an old hand; and such a person would be one of the last of mortals to comprehend or admit the existence of any such changed spirit. Reformation in such a matter, if it may be said, looking largely over the face of Europe and the progress of the world, that it came, and had to come, from below as regards the social superiorities and inferiorities, yet in Rome, in clerical Rome, and in that inmost heart and sanctuary of clerical Rome, the adepts of the Curia and the Conclave, clearly had to percolate from above. Little trace, accordingly, will be found of any other feeling than the old traditional notions of intrigue, cunning, bargaining, and interest in the narration of the conclavist who has recorded the incidents of the Conclave that elected perhaps the best and purest man in the long line of Pontiffs.

It is not to be imagined, however, that improvement

* I have said that to a certain degree a similar improved tone and feeling may be observed to have characterized the motives of the electors in the preceding Conclave. The manifestation of the improved spirit of the time was, however, undoubtedly, far more marked in the Conclave which elected Marcellus.

had yet proceeded to the extent of inducing the members of the Sacred College to place the consideration of their duty towards God before that of their deference for the Emperor or the French King; but there was a disposition to elect the best and fittest man, should it turn out to be impossible to do that which the Emperor or the King desired—for, as may be supposed, the desires of King and Emperor were in diametrical opposition to each other. The Cardinal of Ferrara was the head of the French faction in the College, which was very numerous; and when the cardinals went into Conclave the general opinion was that he would be Pope. But the more authoritative cardinals were attached to the interest of the Emperor; and many of the Italian cardinals took part with his Eminence of Ferrara, considering, as the conclavist tells us, that "however the matter went they would be clear gainers by doing so; since, if they should fail of making him Pope, they would at least profit by this demonstration of their good will, as they would have merited the favour of the King, from whom they might expect various marks of recognition." But such supporters were of course likely to fall away as soon as ever it became evident that the cause they had espoused was not going to be the winning one.

I borrow the following statement of the result from Mr. Cartwright's book on Papal Conclaves.*

* I do so because the author seems to have had an ampler narrative than that before me, which is in the collection of such relations by Gregorio Leti. The narrative quoted by Mr. Cartwright is evidently the same as that which I have, for he cites certain passages which are almost—not quite—word for word the same. Yet he gives several particulars not to be found in my copy of the old conclavist's story.

"On this occasion the cardinals appear to have had special grounds for being on their guard against the possible presence of unqualified conclavists" (Mr. Cartwright means unqualified *persons;* if they were conclavists they were qualified), for the day after the closing of the gates and the formal expulsion of strangers they proceeded to an exceptional scrutiny of all who had remained within. The whole population of the Conclave was got together in the Pauline Chapel, at the door of which the three cardinals, *Capi d'Ordine* (*i. e.* the Dean of the College, who was the senior of the cardinal bishops, the senior of the cardinal priests, and the senior of the cardinal deacons), with the Cardinal Camerlengo, took their seats and scrutinized each individual as he passed out singly before them, the result of the inspection being the ejection of fifteen interlopers. . . . After an unusual and unexplained delay, the cardinals, who had formally entered Conclave as long ago as the 5th, proceeded to a first ballot on the 9th of April, when the suffrages were found divided between Caraffa (who subsequently became Paul the Fourth), the Cardinal of Chieti, and Cervini, Cardinal of Santa Croce. The first of these three was particularly obnoxious to the Imperialists; but his following was considerable, his influence formidable; and his elevation to the Papal chair, out and out the result most deprecated from an Imperialist point of view, seemed not merely possible, but was considered likely to be assured, if the election were protracted another four-and-twenty hours. To defeat Ferrara's chance of success became accordingly the object above every other of the efforts of those

cardinals who had at heart the Emperor's interest. To this end they quickly concerted to throw their influence without loss of time on the side of Cervini, as the most generally popular candidate" (this hardly states the matter correctly. Cervini was in no wise a candidate at all, save in so far as he was a cardinal; nor was the resolution of the Imperialists so immediately taken. Other attempts were made first, but Cervini was found to be the man on whom most votes could be united among those who might be supposed not utterly distasteful to the Emperor), "even though there were grounds why he could not be specially agreeable to the Emperor, whom he had displeased during his presence as legate at the Council of Trent. But the danger of Ferrara's elevation was so imminent, that a sacrifice had to be made without loss of time. Under these circumstances it was resolved to carry the election by surprise before Ferrara and the French party had the opportunity to counteract the move the next morning. Accordingly Cardinals Madruzzi (Trent) and Caraffa stole privately to Cervini's cell to prepare him for what was coming, while the cardinals were assembled within the Paoline Chapel in debate, which became eager and hot. Suddenly up jumped Cardinal Crispo, a confederate, and exclaimed, 'Up! and let us be going; I, for one, will not rebel against the Holy Ghost!' and with these words he led the way, followed by most of the cardinals, to the cell of Cervini, who was carried forcibly into the chapel amidst the vociferous acclamations not merely of his supporters, but even of most of his opponents, when they saw the day lost for them. 'Still

success had been snatched so far only by a bold stroke; and to confirm the adverse party in disorganisation, the conclavists were employed to make the fact of Cervini's election known at once in the city, with the view of eliciting popular demonstrations that might effectually suppress any awakening tendency to opposition. For what had occurred, though of unmistakable force, was yet quite informal, and before the acclaimed Cervini could legitimately call himself Pope, it was still necessary to go through certain elaborate and punctiliously enjoined formalities.' "

The above passage, which is marked as a quotation, contains of course a statement of Mr. Cartwright's own views, and not the substance of any information given by the conclavist. And the view expressed in them is an entirely erroneous one. After the acclamation described, one thing, and one thing only, was needed to make the election complete, final, irrevocable, and canonical—the acceptance of the individual so acclaimed. Mr. Cartwright seems to fall into the same error when at another page of his usually accurate book (p. 152, note) he says, after citing the names of sundry Popes, whom the ecclesiastical writers consider to have been elected by "inspiration," "acclamation," or (more properly) "adoration," among whom Marcellus II. figures, "this list confounds acclamation, such as might follow discussion, with the little shout of miraculously spontaneous unanimity exacted by canonical prescriptions for an election by inspiration." The list rightly and properly "confounds" *acclamation* with *inspiration.* The two words in Conclave language mean the same

thing; but the term "adoration," still meaning the same process and the same thing is preferred by the best authorities. It is quite true that such a spontaneous unanimity as the canons contemplate for an election of this sort would be, not "little short of," but clearly "miraculous," and the Church considers it as such. It is quite true, further, that an unanimous *acclamation* or *adoration* following and produced by discussion and planned arrangement is a very different thing, and need have nothing at all miraculous about it. But it would seem to argue an ingenuousness, which a small amount of ecclesiastical reading would, it might be thought, dissipate for ever, to suppose that, because a plotted acclamation can, in truth, have none of the essential characteristics and qualities contemplated by the canons as constituting the real meaning and virtue of an election by adoration, therefore an election brought about by such planned and plotted acclamation cannot be the same thimg as that intended by the "inspiration" recognised by the Church. Of course there never was an election made by sudden and spontaneous unanimity of choice. That is the theory of what might conceivably be. The practice has always been to bring about these supposititious sudden impulses by previous plotting. It is true that *unanimity* is necessary to the validity of the process; and it may at first sight seem to the uninitiated that if the members of the College in Conclave are or have after discussion become unanimous in their choice, there can be no need for plotting, and it can matter little by what process the votes of the electors are expressed. But the expression of such a notion

would cause a smile of a very significant character to be visible in the eyes at least of every old conclavist. The proper and skilful management of the vote by adoration was one of the most delicate, subtle, and difficult portions of the science of a conclavist; and an explanation of the methods in which it was worked, and of the nature of the dangers and difficulties which surrounded it, will be found at a subsequent page, where the doings of the Conclave which elected Paul V. are described at length. The necessity of a further and more orderly process in the case of Marcellus, whom nevertheless the Church has always considered to have been one of the Popes elected by "adoration," was doubtless occasioned, not by any fear that the validity of the election by adoration might be endangered by the fact that it was planned and not spontaneous, but by doubts respecting the unanimity of it.

Mr. Cartwright proceeds: "In the heat of the moment the proposal was indeed heard to hoist Cervini without more ado into the Papal chair, and to proceed forthwith to the act of adoration; but Medici, though a warm supporter, interfered, and drew attention to the necessity for observing carefully in this case every enjoined prescription, as a safeguard against later challenge of the election. At this admonition the cardinals calmed their excitement, and relapsing into a proper air of gravity, proceeded to their seats, while the conclavists were ordered out of the chapel. 'I alone went behind the altar,' writes the anonymous conclavist, 'when the others were being driven out, and after the door had been closed came back again and put myself

behind the Pope's chair, without anything being said to me, though I had been perceived by cardinals; and so, all of them being seated, the Cardinal of Naples (Caraffa), as Dean, stood up and gave his vote *vivâ voce* for the Cardinal of Santa Croce; and in the same manner did the others give their votes, a secretary writing down each like a notary, when, just as they had finished, the Ave Maria sounded, which having been repeated by all, as if in thanks to God for the consummation of the election, the Pope rose and made a little Latin speech, thanking the College for its choice, and expressing his resolve, though conscious of unworthiness and insufficiency for such a charge, to do his duty, with an engagement to attend to no private interest, but only to the good of all, and several other words very much to the point, and of great gravity. Hereupon the Cardinal of Naples as Dean got up and said, that, in observance of the ancient rules, a ballot should be taken the following morning, with the voting papers open, in order that his Holiness might see the good affection of all towards him, and this without prejudice of the present election, which was approved by all, who unanimously would have the Pope speak the words, "Acceptamus sine prejudicio præsentis electionis." After this all the cardinals kissed the Pope; and, the doors having been opened, I was the first who kissed his feet, which he would not have me do, saying that it would have been better next day. Nevertheless I did kiss them, and then all left the chapel, attending the Pope to his cell, which he found so thoroughly gutted by the conclavists that he was forced to betake himself into that of the

Cardinal of Montepulciano, when he at once resolved on getting crowned next day in St. Peter's. While all this noise was going on, the gates of the Conclave were forced and a mob entered, so that, but for Messer Antonio Cornia,* the whole Conclave had a chance of being gutted. As soon as he had come in measures of precaution were, however, taken for everything, and no one entered more but a few prelates, who came to kiss the feet of his Holiness. All that night long one slept but badly from the sound and noise made by those who were removing their goods out of the Conclave. Next morning, Wednesday, the 10th, the Pope and cardinals entered the chapel an hour before day, according to the regulations; and mass having been read by the Sacristan, all gave their votes open in behalf of the Cardinal of Santa Croce, who, not to vote for himself, gave his vote for the Cardinal of Naples. After this he was adored by all; and Cardinal Pisani, as senior deacon, went, according to custom, to a window, and said to the people, 'Papam habemus'—his name being Marcellus II., which he bore before, and would by no means change."

Marcellus II. reigned twenty-three days only! Men applied to him the words of Virgil with reference to another Marcellus, and said that earth not being worthy of him, Heaven had but shown him for a moment to the world! How infinite might not the consequences have been had it been otherwise? He came exactly at the moment when such a man in Peter's seat was most wanted, and when the consequences of its occupation by such an one might have been most momentous. Look-

* The "Custode" of the Conclave.

ing at his character, opinions, and conduct previously to and at the Council of Trent, it is hardly too much to suppose that, had the guidance of the Church remained in his hands as many years, as, from his age, might have been hoped, the divisions which have torn the Church might even then have been healed, and the great schism avoided!

But worn out by previous travels and labours, and called on immediately after his elevation to perform his laborious part of the functions of the Holy Week, which, though suffering much, he would in no degree spare himself, he was attacked by a new access of fever, which assailed him while he was in the act of washing the feet of the thirteen pilgrims according to custom, and put an end to his life, on the twenty-third day of his pontificate, on the 1st of May, 1555, in the fifty-fourth year of his life.

## CHAPTER III.

The Conclave which elected Paul IV.—Imperialist Party.—Cardinal Pole. — Results in practice of the requirement of a two-thirds majority.—Cardinal Carpi excluded by Cardinal D'Este.—Cardinal Morone.—Objections to him.—Cardinal Pozzi.—Management of Farnese.—Election of Paul IV.—Anecdote of the feeling of Rome on the occasion.—Character of Caraffa, Paul IV.—Imperial "Veto" disregarded in this election.—Saying of Caraffa respecting his own elevation. — Estimate and description of Paul by the Venetian Ambassador. — Giovanni Angelo Medici: his Family, Brother, Early History. — Character and personal appearance of Medici, Pius IV.—The Inquisition.—Signs of the times.—Practice of giving complimentary votes.—Anecdote of the craft of a Conclavist.—Cardinal Carpi again.—Why he was objectionable to D'Este.—Medici suddenly elected as a *pis aller*.

THE Conclave which elected Paul IV., who ascended the Papal throne as successor of Marcellus on the 23rd of May, 1555, was in fact little other than a continuation of the Conclave which elected his predecessor. The three and twenty days which separated the two were insufficient to have changed any of the conditions or removed any of the difficulties which existed when they were solved by the election of Marcellus. They were increased by the removal of that solution of them. The Imperialist party had made the last Pope, and their authority and influence having naturally been increased by that success, it was supposed that the creation of his successor would lie mainly in their hands. Their party was rendered yet further the more powerful, and had the greater chances of success, in that the most proper

and fitted persons in the College—the most *papabili* in Conclave slang—belonged to their faction. Reginald Pole, who had been so nearly elected in the penultimate Conclave, was still a member of the Sacred College. The Cardinals Carpi and Morone were also among the most *papabili* of the College, and were either of them acceptable to the Imperialists. But Pole had been present on the former occasion, and he was now absent—a very important and significant difference. It was felt, moreover, that the lapse of time that must occur before he could be expected to reach Rome, should he be elected, might be prejudicial to the interests of the Church. As for Carpi, his election was specially objected to by the Cardinal d'Este (Ferrara), the recognised head of the French party. And the fact that this circumstance constrained the Imperialists to pass him over in their plans for filling the Papacy with one of their party is a good illustration of the manner in which party politics worked in the papal elections.

If, indeed, the Imperialist party had been strong enough to elect a candidate of their own without any reference to their adversaries—if, that is to say, they could securely count on constituting a two-thirds majority of the electors—then, of course, none of the considerations in question would have come into play. But this was rarely the case. One party, for instance, might number, say, twenty-eight votes out of forty-five. Their adversaries would have the command of seventeen. Thirty votes are needed to make an election. It is clear that if every man is perfectly true, and all of them perfectly obstinate, no election could ever take place. And

it is an approach to such conditions that has caused some Conclaves to be dragged out to such inconvenient lengths. But their Eminences are not perfectly obstinate, and still less are they all and each of them perfectly true to their party engagements, not to mention that there may be some who have never assumed any party engagements. Then it is of course exceedingly easy to understand that a variety of other secondary considerations must exist to modify the individual wishes of each member of a party. His Eminence A, we will say, desires that some one of, say, the Imperial party should be made Pope. But seeing that that cannot be accomplished, he makes up his mind to vote for a member of the opposite faction, but not for *any* member of it. He can be induced to vote for B because he is the nephew of the Pope who created himself a cardinal, or for C because there is a connection between their families, &c., &c. But nothing will induce him to vote for D. When, therefore, a party, not quite strong enough to elect their own man, are determining who shall be the candidate to be put forward by the party, it behoves them to consider with the most minute and detailed care all the causes that may exist for rendering this or that man among the opponents likely to yield so far as to give his vote for such a candidate, whereas he would by no means desert his party for another. Sometimes also it will occur that, although a man may wish that some member of his faction should be elected, he will prefer that a member of the opposite party should be made Pope rather than some one particular member of his own party. And all such motives have

to be carefully considered by the party leaders who would avoid desertions among their followers at the critical moment.

Now, in the present instance, Cardinal Carpi was known to be especially objectionable to the Cardinal D'Este, the head of the French faction. And this was quite sufficient to prevent the leaders of the Imperial faction from selecting him as the candidate of the party. In the language of the Conclave, he had an *esclusiva* from the Cardinal di Ferrara, and it was therefore useless to attempt to elect him.

There was a difficulty, too, about Morone. There had been whispers as to the soundness of his orthodoxy. The awful word *heresy* had been heard in connection with his name, and these were times when such an accusation could not be disregarded—when, indeed, any mere suspicion of a tendency to laxness on any of the points that were then making the dividing line between orthodoxy and the tenets of the sectarians would have been quite sufficient to prevent the greater number of the assembled cardinals from giving a vote to one labouring under such an accusation. Curious enough to mark how far both the accusation and the importance of it shows the Church to have floated down the stream of time during the last hundred years. Fancy anybody accusing Leo X. or Julius II. of heterodox opinions, or of his finding anybody to listen to him if he had done so!

Under these circumstances the leaders of the Imperialist party cast their eyes on Cardinal Pozzi, a moderate man, who was esteemed by all parties, and who,

being a man of low birth, would not give any cause of jealousy on that ground to his princely fellow-cardinals. It seemed as if the election was as good as made; and so it probably would have been, had not Cardinal Farnese, who, as the conclavist remarks, had been accustomed in so many Conclaves to dictate the law instead of being dictated to, suddenly taken offence at a decision having been come to, as he fancied, without due reference to his views on the matter. He immediately went into the Paoline Chapel, where the French party were assembled, very much out of heart and despairing of preventing the election of Pozzi by their adversaries, and offered to lend them his aid to elect Cardinal Fano. There were reasons, however, why the French leaders could not accept that proposition. Whereupon Farnese at once proposed to them the Cardinal of Chieti (Caraffa), who was accepted by them, and was, by a coalition of the Paolines, or creatures of Paul III., under Farnese and the cardinals in the French interest, elected Pope.

The Cardinal of Chieti (Caraffa), who became Pope under the name of Paul IV., is on the list of those who are recorded to have been elected by *adoration* or *acclamation*. And, in truth, it would seem as if their Eminences had been "inspired," or hurried into doing what they would hardly have done in a calmer manner and after more reflection. For the conclavist concludes his narrative by the remark, that "it is beyond belief what a melancholy fell, not only on all Rome, but on those who had themselves done the deed, as soon as ever it had become irrevocable!" Their "melancholy" was not perhaps wholly unreasonable, or, at least, was not unin-

telligible. For this Giampietro Caraffa, who was now Paul IV., came to his high office with at least a sufficiently high conception of its importance, and a stern determination to do his duty, as he understood it, in the state of life to which God had called him! And he had, perhaps, more excuse for believing that he had been so called in a special and extraordinary manner, for he had gone into Conclave banned by the especial *veto* of the Emperor Charles V. Of all the cardinals composing the Sacred College, this was the one man whom the Emperor would be least willing to see Pope! The *veto* had not yet come to be exercised with the regular forms and in the matter-of-course manner which prevailed a few years later. It was abusively growing into an admitted custom. And the failure of the Emperor's especially urged *veto* on this memorable occasion is a notable proof that the growth of the thing was abusive. Very highly characteristic of the man Caraffa, too, was his reply, when it was signified to him, before the commencement of the Conclave, by the Emperor's ambassador, Mendoza, that his master could not consent to his elevation to the Papacy. "If God wills that I should be the Pope," said Caraffa, "the Emperor cannot prevent me from becoming such. And should I become such, I shall be the better pleased to have done so despite the imperial *veto*, because it will be the more clear that my elevation will have been the work of God alone!"

It can hardly be doubted, looking at the matter from any standpoint of merely human policy and wisdom, that the sagacious old Emperor was right in his estimate

of the character of the man, and of the results that would be likely to follow from his elevation to the Papacy. If it is not unreasonable to conjecture that a prolongation of the reign of Marcellus II. might not impossibly have healed the great schism which divided the Church, it is at the least equally permissible to hold the conviction that Caraffa's mode of wielding the power of the keys and governing the Church finally destroyed any hope of such a consummation. Ranke* says of him: "If there was a party which proposed to itself the restoration of Catholicism in all its severity, he who now mounted the Papal throne was, not a member of, but the founder of that party. Paul IV. was already seventy-nine years old; but his deep-set eyes still burned in their sockets with the fire of youth. He observed no rule in his daily life, often sleeping by day and studying all night. And woe to the servant who entered his room when he had not called him! He was very tall, very thin, and his carriage and movements were full of vivacity. He seemed to be all nerves! In everything he obeyed the impulse of the moment. But these impulses were dominated and produced by sentiments which had been developed in his mind during a long life, and which had become a part of his nature. He seemed to know no other duty, no other occupation, than the re-establishment of the ancient faith with all the absolute supremacy which it had ever enjoyed." And the means which appeared to him most fitted for the attainment of this end were always of the most violent kind, and

* Ranke's description is taken mainly from the relation of the Venetian ambassador, Bernardo Navagero.

the freest use of both the spiritual and the material sword. He reigned somewhat more than four years, and died specially recommending to the assembled cardinals whom he had called about him the Inquisition, which he had re-established and armed with new and more terrible powers!

It is a noteworthy indication of the efficacy of the spirit of the time in fashioning the characters and qualifications of the Popes, thus causing that tendency observable in their history to group themselves into series, that the man who succeeded to Paul IV. also deserves to be ranked among "the zealous Popes," although it is impossible to conceive two men more completely contrasted in temperament, character, opinions, and habits. This successor to the ferocious bigot Caraffa was Giovanni Angelo Medici, no recognised relative of the great Florentine family of that name, though doubtless the unknown adventurer, Bernardino Medici, who settled in Milan, and there acquired a small fortune as a farmer of the taxes, was a member of it. This Bernardino had two sons, Giovanni Angelo, who became Pope, and Giangiacomo, who, beginning life as a "gentleman's gentleman," found means subsequently to thrust himself into positions yet more incongruous than that of own brother to a Pope! His first essay towards "bettering himself" was to become a *bravo*. He hired himself to certain persons of high position in Milan as an assassin to murder a certain Visconti, which he duly accomplished. Thereupon his employers, desirous of making away with him too, sent him with a letter to the governor of the castle of Mus, on the Lake of Como, the tenor of which

was an order to that functionary to put the bearer to death. But Giangiacomo, conceiving certain suspicions as to the nature of his errand, opened the letter, and having thus obtained an accurate comprehension of the nature of the position, formed his plans for making himself master of it with all promptitude. He collected a band of desperadoes like himself, presented himself at the castle, and having by means of his letter obtained admittance, overpowered the governor and his garrison, seized and held the castle for himself; and commenced life as an independent chieftain, supporting himself and his men by raids on the Milanese, the Venetians, and the Swiss in the true spirit of an old border moss-trooper! Getting tired of this after a while, he assumed the "white cross," and entered into the service of the Emperor, who made him Marquis of Marignano, and sent him to conduct the siege against Siena. In the imperial service he distinguished himself as the right man in the right place. As prudent as audacious, and as implacable as either, he was fortunate in all his undertakings, and did thoroughly the work he was sent to do. There was not a tree in the vicinity of Siena on which he had not caused some wretch, who had attempted to convey provisions into the leaguered city, to be hung; and it was calculated that five thousand persons had been put to death by his orders! Such was the worthy whose rising fortunes formed a stepping-stone for his clerical brother to the Papacy. For when the Marquis of Marignano married an Orsini, who was the sister-in-law of the infamous Pier Luigi Farnese, the connection obtained for his brother a cardinal's hat!

Giovanni Angelo, however, must have well seconded his fortune by his own merit. He is found constantly employed in the government of the different cities of the ecclesiastical States, and everywhere winning golden opinions by his prudence, ability, and the goodness of his disposition. Paul IV. alone could not endure him; and it is intelligible enough that the contrasted nature of the two men must have made them antipathetic to each other; and when Caraffa mounted the throne, his destined successor deemed it prudent to absent himself from Rome. He lived at Milan or at the baths near Pisa, in both which places he beguiled his exile with literary occupations, and in the employment of his means in works of beneficence on a scale which, in either place, obtained for him the title of "father of the poor!"

Such was the man who followed the terrible Caraffa in the Papal throne. But the striking contrast between the two men was completed even in their personal appearance. "Picture to yourself," says Ranke, drawing as usual from the Venetian ambassador, "an old man of extreme corpulence, but so active withal that he arrives at his country villa before the dawn of day. Serene of countenance, bright of eye, conversation, the pleasures of conviviality, and witty discourse are his favourite recreations. As soon as ever he is recovered from a dangerous illness we find him on horseback, and out at the favourite house which he had occupied when a cardinal, briskly running up and down the stairs as he chuckled to himself, 'No, no, no, we are not going to die yet!' He was as easy, as simple in his manner, as

affable, as accessible to all, as his predecessor had been the reverse of all this. And although the sentence of death passed by him on the infamous nephews of Paul IV., whom their uncle himself had been forced to drive from Rome and to deprive of all employment, showed that he could be severe when his duty required it, he was to the utmost of his power kind and indulgent to all. He hated the Inquisition, blamed the monkish narrowness and hardness of its proceedings, and very rarely attended any of its sittings. But '*he did not dare*' * to attack it! He used to say that he understood nothing about it; that he could not call himself a theologian; and in fact he left it with all the power that Paul IV. had attributed to it."

It would not be easy to conceive a more striking testimony to the change that had come over the spirit of the times, than that statement that the Pope, little as he liked it, *dared* not to stretch out his hand against the ark of the Inquisition! The Church had become once again a Church militant. Wicliff, Luther, and the consequences of their work had done the Church this altogether inestimable service. The days of struggle, of competition, had come back again with all their purifying, animating, arousing properties. Therefore it was that easy-going, jovial-tempered Pius IV. *dared* not move a finger against the Inquisition; and therefore that, though his natural temper and disposition would have tended to make of him a second, more kindly-tempered, more refined, more conscientious Leo X., it was still, as the Venetian ambassador tells us, "the

* These are the words of Ranke.

inmost and dearest thought and desire of his heart to exert all his power for the good of the Church;" therefore he "hopes, by the grace of God, to accomplish some good in the world."

The election of the Cardinal Medici, however, as Pius IV. was, as that of his predecessor may be said to have been, a *pis aller*, resulting from the same difficulties as those which had perplexed the former Conclave but a few days previously, arising from the opposing interests of the Imperialists and the French parties. Of course these were complicated by a host of personal sympathies and antipathies, and were further intensified by the newly arisen necessity of thinking also of the fitness of the man chosen for the duties to be entrusted to him.

It was soon seen that the Conclave was, under these circumstances, likely to be a long one. And "you must know," writes the conclavist who has left us a narrative of this Conclave, "that it is customary in the Conclave, when it is clearly seen that the election will be a long business, for the cardinals to give each other a good number of votes, not with any intention of arriving at a real election, but merely as a complimentary distinction, and a means of showing to the outside world that the persons so honoured were held in consideration by their colleagues."* It thus came to pass that the Cardinal di Cueva, who was a man of pleasing manners

* It will be observed, that the conclavist who writes this contemplates the number of the votes given in each abortive attempt at an election being perfectly well known as a matter of course outside, despite the burning of the voting papers and the sworn secrecy of the Conclave.

and popular in the College, though very far from possessing any such qualities as would fit him for being made Pope, sent his conclavist, Fernando di Torres, to ask sundry cardinals, both of the Imperial and the French party, to pay him this compliment. But Torres did his work so well and zealously, going round to each of the cardinals privately in his cell, that he obtained the promises of a number of votes sufficient to make the election, while each of those who had promised him theirs did so in the firm persuasion that nobody had the slightest idea of electing Cueva, or that there was the remotest chance of such a result. It was, however, the merest chance that prevented such a result from having been realised! On going into the chapel for the scrutiny, the Cardinal Capo di Ferro in an otiose sort of manner asked those who chanced to be next to him for whom they were going to vote, which he would by no means have done if it had not been perfectly well understood on all sides that the business in hand was not serious, but merely a formal and complimentary voting. "Oh! I am going to vote for Cueva!" said the man asked. "So am I!" said the man on the other side of Capo di Ferro! "Per Bacco! And so am I!" cried Capo di Ferro. And a sudden suspicion darted into the minds of all three, that if they did not mind what they were about, that might happen which so very nearly had happened! The three cardinals, whose chance communication had thus saved the College from doing what it had not the smallest intention of doing, instantly destroyed the voting papers they had prepared and made new ones, openly declaring their reasons for

doing so amid the general laughter of the assembly, in which his Eminence Cardinal Cueva heartily joined!

"Many other kinds of tricks were tried," says the conclavist, some of which being in connection with candidates qualified to aspire in earnest to the Papacy were much praised,* and carefully recorded of the authors of them. Such was the plot of some of the leaders of the French party with a view to the election of Cardinal Tournon, a man, says the conclavist, very worthy of being elected by reason of his exemplary life, prudence, discretion, and administrative abilities, especially (as he notably adds) now that the fear that a French Pope might again take the Roman Court to Avignon has vanished. Now the French party were able to muster about twenty-four votes among themselves; and they had reason to think that they could rely on four or five "accessits"† from among the Imperialists. But still the twenty-eight or nine votes thus obtained were not enough to make an election—all which calculations were perfectly well known to everybody in Conclave. Their plan was therefore to obtain the *secret* promise of some four or five *accessits*, besides those which they could count upon as merely complimentary and given by men who were convinced that no election would be the result, which might be given unexpectedly at the last, after the others had been recorded, and thus an election

* It is fair to say that the word *lodate* is often used in such a manner as to justify the translation of it as simply "talked about," chiefly in the use of "sulodate" in the sense of "aforesaid."

† The exact meaning of this term, and the method of proceeding to the "accessit," will be described at a future page. After each scrutiny the voters were at liberty to change the vote they had just given for an "accession" to the numbers of those who had voted for another.

be attained. But they failed in getting enough of these secret promises; and therefore, for the sake, as the conclavist says, of not exposing their candidate to such an indignity as the discovery of an *unsuccessful* trick, did not make the attempt.

Of those whose election was openly and avowedly put forward and canvassed, it was thought at the beginning of the Conclave that the Cardinal di Carpi was the most likely to succeed. He had been the only cardinal who had lived on terms of intimacy with the late Pope; and as there was not a member of the Sacred College who was not in continual fear of the ever-vigilant severity of that terrible Pontiff, so there was hardly one who had not striven to be on good terms with Carpi; and, "inasmuch," says the Conclavist, "as nothing is so pleasing to an old cardinal as to give him to understand that you wish him to be the living Pope's successor," all the members of the College living in Rome had more or less promised him their votes. He himself thought himself sure of the tiara. But it was a great blow to Cardinal D'Este, the head of the French faction—who, being on bad terms with Paul IV., had long been absent from Rome—to hear that Carpi was likely to be Pope; for that cardinal, so called from the name of his native city, which had once been an independent principality, but was now part of the domains of the D'Este family, was exceedingly anxious to restore the separate independence of Carpi, and was therefore a special enemy of the Duke of Ferrara, the brother of the Cardinal. In this danger the Cardinal Ferrara wrote to the Duke of Florence, who had recently become connected with the Duke of

Ferrara by marriage, promising that if he (the Duke) would induce the Cardinal Camerlengo, who was the leader of the Imperialist party, to oppose the election of Carpi, he (the Cardinal of Ferrara) with all the French party would give their votes to the Cardinal Medici. The Duke of Florence accepted the offer, and forthwith opened negotiations with the Cardinal Camerlengo, whom he found well prepared to fall in with his views, from a cause which, as the conclavist remarks, might at first sight seem likely to have had quite a contrary effect. This was, that negotiations for a marriage (*secret* negotiations, the narrator says, though it is difficult to understand why they should have been secret, save from the general tendency of those classes of people and those times to be secret in everything!) had been going on between the brother of the Camerlengo and the sister of Cardinal Carpi. For the Camerlengo argued that Carpi, "being a man of a very proud disposition," would, if he became Pope, assuredly break off the marriage, for the sake of making some grander match! The Camerlengo, therefore, and Ferrara found themselves agreed in the determination to exclude carpi. The former, indeed, seems to have had some difficulty in finding any valid reason to give him for declining to support his candidature. He told him, says the conclavist, that if he was observed to show marked anxiety for his success, the secret of the proposed connection between their families might be suspected! Really this puts one in mind of the French burlesque of a melo-dramatic mystery, "Feignons à feindre, à fin de mieux dissimuler!" And the incident is only worth

mentioning as a good example of the sort of considerations that often influenced the elections, and of the motives of their conduct which were put forward in the discussions between the electors.

However, so large a number of cardinals were more or less hampered by the promises they had given, or at least the expectations they had held out, to Cardinal Carpi, that even after the coalition between the Cardinal D'Este and the Camerlengo the way to the election of Medici was by no means clear. And it was once more the veteran Farnese who took the matter in hand, and was finally the maker of the new Pope. "At last," concludes the conclavist, "the Cardinal Farnese, seeing all the confusion, and the struggles it gave rise to, resolved energetically to end the business; otherwise the Conclave would have lasted much longer. He therefore threw all his weight and that of his friends into the scale in favour of Medici, who by virtue of this powerful assistance was elected all of a sudden, on the 23rd of October, 1559, at eight o'clock in the evening;" being thus the third Pope in succession elected by "Acclamation" or "Adoration."

## CHAPTER IV.

Death of Pius IV.—Closing of the Council of Trent.—Ranke's Remarks on the work of the Council.—Action of the work of the Council on the Character of the Popes.—Anecdote of a plot to assassinate Pius IV.—Michael Ghislieri : his antecedents and character.—Character of the Election.—Conclave which elected Pius IV.—Rivalry between Cardinals Farnese and Borromeo.—Representative of the old and of the new time.—Cardinal Altemps.—Anecdote of Borromeo at Florence.—Conclavist's View of Borromeo's character.—Moroni's imprisonment and acquittal on Charge of Heresy held in Conclave to be sufficient reason against his Election.—Borromeo wishes to elect him.—It is found impossible, however, to elect him. Duplicity of Farnese towards Borromeo.—Cardinals Ferrara and D'Este hostile to Morone, and why.—Farnese and Borromeo agree to the Election of Ghislieri.—Dismay in Conclave at the result accomplished in the Election of Pius V.

Pius IV. reigned very nearly six years. He died on the 10th of December, 1565, having had the great pleasure and triumph of closing the Council of Trent two years previously. It has often been said that the work accomplished by the great Council was a fatal one for the Church. It was called for the reformation of abuses which it failed to reform; and it finally fixed and clenched doctrines which must ever act as a burning of their ships by the heads of the Church. The Council has cut off the possibility of retreat from positions which the Church has assumed; it has consolidated and fixed doctrines which must sooner or later be exploded and abandoned; and it needs but a sufficiently far look into futurity to see and understand the justification of those

who maintain that the work of the great Council was, and will in time be seen to have been, suicidal. But for the time being it unquestionably strengthened the Church. There had ever been, as Ranke well remarks, a certain alloy of Protestantism within the Church. The Council expelled that virus. If it failed to accomplish aught towards healing the schism which had cut Christendom in half, but had on the contrary made the gulf between the two halves so wide that it seemed impossible to the men of those days—and might well so seem—that any one should pass from the one bank to the other, it at least marked out the frontier lines of the Church's dominion with no faltering or uncertain tracings, and thus enabled the rulers of the territory within the lines to govern it with a firmer and more vigorous sway and a more perfect uniformity of discipline. It also left the Church at peace and accord with the civil powers of the countries which remained faithful to it; and though this prepared the way for the sleepy epoch, when zeal was once more to run low, the more immediate effect was to leave the Popes free to labour for and to stimulate them in the work of more and more completely catholicizing the Church, and enabling their clergy to fasten a surer and tighter grip on the social life of the people.

The results of this intensification of Church action and Church feeling made themselves very sensibly felt by, and were very unmistakably visible in the conduct and fortunes of, the Popes and the makers of them. Pius IV., the third "zealous" Pope in succession, was already found not to be up to the mark. A Roman

fanatic, conceiving himself to have a mission from God to give the world a worthier and more vigorous Pope, and consequently, to make way for such by removing the occupant of the throne of St. Peter, had determined to assassinate Pius IV. He found an accomplice; and the two men—their names were Accolti, the principal, and Canossa, the assistant—armed took up their positions in a spot which the Pope was about to pass in a procession. Pius, unguarded, and wholly unsuspicious of any man in a city, to all whose inhabitants he had ever done good and not evil, came on tranquilly walking in the ranks of the procession. Nothing could have been easier than to strike him down. But the majesty which hedges a Pope was too much for the intending assassin. He trembled, turned pale, and stood as if paralyzed, while the Pope passed unharmed and unconscious. But Canossa, the original fanatic's recruit, was not only unnerved by the Pope's presence, but was moved afterwards by his conscience to confess the design; and both he and Accolti perished on the scaffold. The value of the anecdote consists only in the indication afforded by it of the religious temper of the time, which had been heated to such a pitch of fanaticism, that the religious zeal of a Pope who, eager for the interests of the Church as he was, disliked the Inquisition, and would fain have persecuted no man, was not enough to satisfy it.

The next Conclave found the means of contenting the temper of the times, for it gave as the fourth in the series of zealous Popes, and the culmination of it, one whom the Church has canonized—the last Pontiff whom

she has yet enrolled in her list of saints, perhaps not the last whom we may see so enrolled.

This was Michael Ghislieri, who ascended the Papal throne in 1572 as Pius, now Saint Pius V. In this man the rigorous and ascetic party in the Church, then by so remarkable a return of the oscillating pendulum of public feeling in the ascendant, saw with delight and triumph a resuscitation of the spirit of Paul IV. Born of humble parents in the village of Bosco, near Alexandria, in Piedmont, he had entered a Dominican convent at the age of fourteen, and had from the very beginning of his career given himself body and soul to the most rigorous practice of all the austerities, and heart and mind to the assimilation of the sternest and most unbending maxims of the most fiercely intolerant of all the orders. This was at the time when the doctrines of the reformation were beginning to make some little show of progress in Italy—when an Olympia Morata had to fly across the Alps, and a Vittoria Colonna might have had to accompany her had heresy been as easy in a palace as in a professor's garret, or had the *velléités* of a princess been scrutinised as closely as those of a poor professor's wife; and it was to do the work that had to be done in such times that Michael Ghislieri, while yet at an early age, was deemed the fitting instrument, and was intrusted with the terrible powers of an Inquisitor. Called on to exercise his functions in the districts around Como and Bergamo, where the communications of the people with the Swiss and Germans made the task an especially arduous one, he allowed no consideration to interfere

with the uncompromising discharge of his harshest duties. No danger to life, often imminent, ever caused him to pause or spare to strike. And when the cause he thus supported became the victorious one, when the last spark of free thought was quenched by faggot and sword in Italy, Michael Ghislieri was naturally carried upward by the rising fortunes of his party. He was named Commissary of the Inquisition in Rome; and that kindred spirit, Paul IV., was not slow to perceive that Fra Michele was in truth a great servant of God, and worthy of being called to the high places in his Church. He named him Bishop of Nepi, and in 1557, Ghislieri being then fifty-three, made him a cardinal. In the purple he in no degree relaxed the poverty and austerity of his life, telling those of his household that those who lived with him must live as if they were in a convent, and giving his own life wholly to ascetic practices and the duties of his position as inquisitor.

Such was the man whom the Conclave which assembled on the death of the kindly Pius IV. set over themselves and over Christendom. And it was certainly one of the few elections to which the historians of the Church may point in justification of their theory, that the results of them are overruled by the special providence of the Almighty.

More than fifty cardinals went into Conclave after the death of Pius IV; and it was thought that a number of electors so unusually large for those days would have made the election very difficult, and the Conclave consequently a long one. But those, remarks the con-

clavist who has left a narrative of this Conclave, who so judged did not consider that "in these Conclaves, at least as far as has hitherto been seen, the Popes have always been elected by the heads of parties," and the other cardinals, be they as numerous as you will, have followed their lead. And the reason of this has been, either because the less distinguished members of the College have been in some way bound to the leaders of it or have feared to separate themselves from them, or because they have found that united in groups they were strong, but were powerless when isolated. The greater or less length of Conclaves has thus been seen to depend, says the conclavist, not on the larger or smaller number of the cardinals, but on the greater or lesser resolution and obstinacy of their leaders.

The present Conclave, he goes on to show, was remarkable as having been wholly uninterfered with by any power or influence foreign to it. It was not surprising, he says, that neither the Emperor nor the King of France took much heed of what was being done in Rome, for both were too much occupied by the troubles and difficulties which surrounded them. But it was strange that Philip of Spain, the son of such a father as Charles V., who had always so well understood the importance of keeping a watchful eye on the papal elections, being, too, as the conclavist says, free from trouble at home, and, moreover, having such large and important interests in Italy, should have made no attempt to meddle with the election in any way. Those who are now better acquainted with Philip II. and his doings than the conclavist could have been, will pro-

bably not agree with him in supposing that Philip did not interest himself in the result and management of the election, however little his hand may have been seen in it at Rome.

The leaders of parties, to whom the conclavist attributes all the responsibility of the election, were on this occasion two, who were such in a more marked and special degree than usual. These were the Cardinal Farnese, whom we have already seen as the controlling spirit of so many Conclaves, and Carlo Borromeo, the celebrated Archbishop of Milan, and still more celebrated Saint Charles. It would be difficult to imagine to oneself two men more strikingly—one might say more picturesquely—contrasted than these two. They were so not merely, perhaps even not so much, by reason of their own distinctive characters, though these were dissimilar enough, as by the position and surroundings in which the circumstances of the time had placed them. Farnese was markedly the representative of the old, and Borromeo of the new day, and that at a period when the change in the spirit of the time had been most rapid and most strongly marked. One might wish that Landor had thought of giving us an "Imaginary Conversation" between these two men. How wonderfully he would have brought before us the contrast between the two representatives of epochs so near to each other, and yet so far asunder! How strange, how new-fangled, how pitiably enthusiastic and fanatical, must Borromeo's ideas of the business upon which they were met have seemed to the old veteran of so many Conclaves, saturated from his earliest youth upwards with the very

quintessence of thoroughly mundane policy and intrigue, which had in his day made the social atmosphere of Rome! It was hardly possible that there should not have been some bitterness in the smile with which he saw this saintly young archbishop from the north come to upset all the old Roman ideas, and turn the Roman world of his day upside down! Farnese's day was nearly done now; and we can fancy him saying to himself that it was well that it should be so!

The position and authority of these two most influential cardinals in the Conclave was analogous to that which their age and circumstances had caused them to exercise in the world in general. And Borromeo's influence was by the nature of it the more powerful of the two. His following, consisting mainly of the younger men, the "creatures" of Pius IV., who was his uncle, of his own cousin, the Cardinal Altemps, also a nephew of the late Pope, and *his* friends, were disposed to be led by him implicitly. The old cardinals, who were attached to Farnese, many of them men of high and princely birth and station, were so mainly by virtue of old ties and friendships, of habitual respect for the great Farnese name, and from having acted with him on many another occasion, rather than from any of those more active motives which are connected with plans and ambitions and hopes and fears. And it is evident that such a following could not be led with that assumption of authority and certainty that Borromeo could exercise and count upon with regard to his own party. The passage of the conclavist's narrative in which he sums up the value in the Conclave of these differences is not

a little amusing, as showing how far the new ideas and feelings which were moving the world were from having yet penetrated to that inmost sanctuary of the old, in which a Roman conclavist lived and breathed and had his being. "But if Borromeo," says he, "was thus superior to Farnese in his authority over his followers, the latter far excelled him in calmness of disposition, in resoluteness of will, in abundance of connections, and in having been in many Conclaves, and well accustomed for many long years to the various accidents of fortune, and all the difficulties incidental to the government of men. Borromeo, besides the want of dexterity which always accompanies the novice in any business, was of a subtle mind, and by nature extremely obstinate, which made negotiating and acting with him very difficult; and all the more so because his designs were fixed and rooted in a rigorous zeal for religion, making, as he did, open profession of an excessive goodness in such sort that it was impossible to move him from any impression he had received, either by persuasion or any regard for civil considerations." Evidently a very impracticable fellow to deal with! When he was coming up to Rome from Milan on the news of the Pope's illness, with the probability that he could not recover, he had an interview with the Duke of Florence; and it would have been natural and proper, says the conclavist, seeing that the Duke was on terms of intimate friendship with the King of Spain, whose subject Borromeo was, that the latter should have consulted with the Duke respecting the election to be made when the vacancy of the Papal throne should occur. But though he had every oppor-

tunity, and though news reached him at Florence that the Pope's condition was desperate, he would not speak a single word with the Duke respecting the coming election. "And this, it is said, was because there is a Bull prohibiting, under pain of excommunication, all negotiation or consultation respecting the election of a new Pope before the death of his predecessor." Such nonsense, you know! we cannot help hearing the old conclavist muttering to himself as he wrote. "When he got to Rome, and when the Pope was dead," continues the narrator, "he showed the same harshness to Signor Marc Antonio Colonna, whose son had married his sister. Signor Marc Antonio was so offended by his harshness and ways of going on, that he left Rome and went away to Marino. Afterwards, however, being apparently ashamed of himself, the Cardinal begged him to return, and told him what he purposed to do, not to consult with him, as any one would have said was due to Signor Marc Antonio's intelligence and knowledge of Rome and its affairs, but simply to pay him the compliment of showing confidence in him."

How are you to deal with a fellow whose crabbed harshness is such that he takes the threatenings of a Bull menacing excommunication *au serieux*, and declines consultation with his lay family connections as to his vote in the Conclave?

Borromeo seems to have gone into Conclave with the intention of giving all his support to Cardinal Moroni, and the general opinion was that he would be the new Pope. Moroni was, indeed, a man with probably higher claims to the suffrages of the electors, his colleagues,

than any other member of the Sacred College. He had spent a long and laborious life in the administration and diplomatic business of the Holy See, had shown himself an able and indefatigable servant of the Church, had been remarkably successful in all the important affairs entrusted to him, including the very difficult, very delicate, and thorny task of presiding as legate * at the great Council, and was a man of irreproachable life. But, as it is very easy to conceive might have been the case, especially as the result of the position in which he had been placed, the envious tongues of more narrow-minded and bigoted men had raised against him an accusation of heresy. And a whisper of the sort, when the terrible Paul IV. was sitting in St. Peter's seat, was sufficient to hurl down any man from any eminence, however high and however deservedly occupied. Paul threw the Cardinal Moroni, who had been his nearly successful rival in the Conclave which elected him, into prison in the Castle of St. Angelo, in 1557. Four cardinals, one of whom was the rigid and inflexibly severe Ghislieri, who became Pope as Pius V. in the Conclave we are now describing, were appointed to examine the accusations, and him with reference to them. The Inquisitor examined him most rigorously on twenty-one articles (which may be seen printed in the "Literary Amenities" (!) for the year 1729, vol. xii., printed at Leipzig),

* It had originally been intended that he should have opened the Council as legate at the commencement of it. But when the Council was after some delay assembled, this purpose was changed, it is not known for what reason, unless, perhaps, it may have been that some difference of opinion arose between him and the Emperor Charles V. at a conference which took place between them at Innspruck.

and finally pronounced him innocent and perfectly sound of faith, and gave emphatic testimony to that effect to Paul IV. Paul thereupon said that he might leave his prison. But Moroni refused to do so till he should be formally and publicly absolved by Paul from the charges brought against him. This, to his eternal disgrace, the savage bigot would not do, but left him in prison till his own death;—perhaps, says an ecclesiastical writer, for fear of condemning himself! A sincere friendship, creditable to both of them, had always united Cardinal Medici—who became, as has been seen, Pius IV.—and Cardinal Moroni, despite their rivalry as candidates for the Papacy in the Conclave which elected the former. Pius IV., of course, at once gave him full and exemplary absolution. But, though Moroni had since that time added to the brilliant list of his services to the Church the most important one of bringing the great Council to a satisfactory close, though he was the candidate for the Papacy especially favoured by the Empire and by the Duke of Florence, and though he was supported by the whole weight of the influence of Carlo Borromeo, which was believed at the beginning of the Conclave to have been sufficient of itself to make the Pope, the taint which even the false, and proved false, accusation of *heresy* had left upon his name still so far clung to it, that even in the opinion of those who best knew the utter falseness of the charge, it was held to be a sufficient reason for not placing him in St. Peter's seat!

Carlo Borromeo was not among those who so judged. Knowing the man well, truly desirous above all things

of elevating to the Papal throne the man whom he considered most fitted in the interests of the Church and of the Faith to fill it, and deeming that the substantial issues at stake were far too important to be sacrificed or jeopardized for the sake of a shadow of a prejudice, he went into Conclave fully minded, as has been said, to elect Moroni; and for awhile it was the general opinion in the Conclave that he would assuredly be the Pope—a result that seemed the more certain when, on Borromeo's first opening himself on the subject to Farnese, the latter appeared perfectly disposed to second his views, giving as a reason why such a nomination must be acceptable to him the curiously characteristic one that, in that case, no man would ever have left a Conclave with so much honour as he should leave that one, inasmuch as he would then have seen five Popes in succession, all cardinals the creatures of his great-uncle, Paul III.

Notwithstanding all these favourable circumstances, the Conclave was not many days old before it began to be apparent that there were difficulties, perhaps insurmountable ones, in the way of the election of Moroni. He had the reputation of being a man of great intellect and "profundity of mind." And this "profound intelligence, which few had been able to fathom, led many to fear that he might have desires equally profound;" that, however affable and benignant he might always have appeared, "this might have been assumed only for the attainment of his ends, whereas it might turn out that he was in reality of a haughty and proud disposition, deep and reserved in his designs, and likely

to show himself very different in power from that which he had been when under the authority of others." And then he had been accused of heresy. In fact, the case of Moroni was a signal instance of what has been often said of the papal elections, that too eminent a reputation for ability, learning, or intellect is not a recommendation to the majority of the electors. In a word, they were afraid of him; and, as is wont to be the case with men so influenced, acting on the natural antipathy of small minds to large ones, in selecting one of their own calibre, they gave themselves a master who in very truth was one to be feared!

The first symptom of these rising difficulties showed itself in the conduct of Farnese. When first Borromeo went to him with the proposal to elect Moroni, the veteran received his overtures, as has been seen, with professions of his entire readiness to coincide with his younger colleague's views. But when, having spoken with his cousin Altemps of his confidence in their power to place Moroni on the throne since Farnese was willing to assist them, he and Altemps returned together to Farnese, they found his manner of speaking on the subject much changed. He said coldly that as far as he was concerned, he was ready to give his vote to Moroni, but that he warned them that they would find it a more difficult matter than they imagined to procure the election of Moroni. Whatever the cause may have been, he was evidently very differently disposed from what he had been a few hours ago. Either his first reception of Borromeo had been merely a specimen of the all-pervading and ever-present dissimulation which

a long course of Conclave practice had made a portion of his nature, or he had had an opportunity in the interval really to become acquainted with the temper prevailing in the Conclave, and had really arrived at the conclusion that the attempt to elect Moroni would not be a successful one. If so, the omen was a bad one for Moroni and his supporters; for if there was a man in the Conclave able to form a shrewd opinion as to the probable issue of the election, that man was Farnese.

Borromeo, however, though disappointed, would not by any means admit that it was a hopeless case; and when Farnese told him that he had reason to believe that Cardinal Medici and his friends would oppose Moroni, replied that he gave himself no concern about that, as he felt sure that Medici would rather assist him than otherwise—a sort of answer in which the young Conclave hand is very apparent! On leaving Farnese, Borromeo at once betook himself to the cell of the Cardinal of Urbino, where most of the older cardinals happened to be assembled, and had there an opportunity of discovering that they were almost to a man ill disposed towards the election of Moroni. The Cardinal d'Este and the Cardinal di Ferrara, his uncle, finding that the report that Moroni was to be the new Pope had really some semblance of truth in it, began to exert themselves to avert a consummation which, for a very unworthy reason, would have been distasteful to them. Years before Moroni had been legate at Bologna, and in that capacity had taken part with the Bolognese in a quarrel with the people of Ferrara respecting some question of water right, and had reported in the same sense to Paul III.

This letter fell, years afterwards, into the hands of the Cardinal of Ferrara, and he never forgave the writer of it! He therefore now exerted all his influence to prevent the election of Moroni. As the opposition to him gathered strength and consistence, other private grudges were remembered, and those who had treasured them up saw their opportunity for gratifying a spite which they would have been ashamed to confess the existence of had there been none others to countenance their baseness. In a word, Borromeo began to find that old Farnese's experienced tact had not deceived him when he had said that it would be found more difficult than had been imagined to make Cardinal Moroni Pope. Nevertheless, Borromeo would not abandon his hope, and was determined to push the matter to a scrutiny—evidently much to the disgust of the narrating conclavist, who, strongly prejudiced as he shows himself all through against this saintly young cardinal from the north, who "makes open profession of excessive goodness," considered such a proceeding to be foolhardy, and against all the recognised rules of Conclave strategy. He pushed his audacity to the point of demanding, too, that this scrutiny should be by open vote. But the Cardinal of Ferrara publicly objected to this, saying that it was an undue curtailment of the liberty of many who might have reason to fear the consequences of letting their votes be known. Farnese, notwithstanding his coldness and his warnings, stood true to his promise, saying that he was willing to give his vote openly or secretly for Moroni in any way that Borromeo might wish, and could only say that he was sorry if he had

been unable to induce his friends to follow him. Nevertheless, he perhaps gave his vote in the full confidence that the abstention of his friends would suffice to make his doing so useless; for it is pretty certain that Farnese was not without hope of the tiara for himself. The scrutiny accordingly took place, and the result was, that with first votes and *accessits* together Moroni had twenty-nine votes, whereas thirty-five were needed to make an election. So there was an end to Moroni's chance, and to the chance which had been offered to the Church of escaping from the iron sway of one of the most ferocious bigots who ever made the pretensions of Romanism hateful to humanity.

Some further attempts on the part of the friends of Farnese to make a Pope from among their own faction only served to show that, if Borromeo could not effect an election without the aid of Farnese, so neither could Farnese make the Pope without the aid of Borromeo. The result was that those two leaders in concert cast their eyes on Ghislieri—the Cardinale Alessandrino, as he was called, from Alexandria, near which was his native place. Borromeo made a point of consulting Moroni before giving in his adhesion; but finding his friend altogether well inclined to such an election, assented. The Cardinal Alessandrino was suddenly proposed by the leaders, and was elected by adoration almost before the electors knew what they had done. Never, perhaps, was a Pope elected so much by a leap in the dark, so entirely by the operation and will of two or three members of the Conclave alone, as in this case. It was a result that could not have been brought about by any

other process of voting than that of sudden adoration—a scheme made, as if purposely, for the facilitation of elections made by surprise, and without wisdom or consideration. In this instance the cardinals were frightened at what they had done the instant the act was completed! And well they might be! For Pius V. was the man who, when the crop of condemnations by the Inquisition was small in any district, immediately drew the conclusion, not that the faith was pure and heresy rare in those parts, but that the inquisitors had been slack in doing their duty!

Borromeo had in all probability, as the conclavist who narrates the story of the Conclave plainly intimates, mismanaged the election in his inexperience of such matters. It seems probable that had he reversed the order of his tactics, and made his first proposal in favour of the Cardinal Alessandrino, reserving his efforts in favour of Moroni till the results of the struggle in the Conclave should have demonstrated the impossibility of arriving at any election without a cordial agreement between him and Farnese, Moroni might have been Pope, for Farnese had no special objection to him.

## CHAPTER V.

Character and Disposition of Ugo Boncompagno is dominated by the Spirit of the Age.—Felice Peretti, Sixtus V.—Saying attributed to him.—Urban VII.—Sfondrato, Gregory XIV.—His Character and Practices.—Fachinetti, Innocent IX.—Aldobrandino, Clement VIII. —His Character.—Characteristics of the Conclaves that had elected these Popes.—Camillo Borghese, Paul V.—Conclave which elected him. —Principal Parties in it.—Their relative Strength, and the Manner in which it operated.—Attempt to elect Cardinal Saoli.—Anxiety of Aldobrandino's Party. — First Scrutiny. — Cardinal Bellarmine.—Cardinals Baronius and Borromeo.—Motives for putting forward Bellarmine.—Negotiation between Baronius and Aldobrandino.—Cardinal Montalto at Supper.—Cardinal Camerino put forward, and dropped.—Cardinal San Clemente put forward. —Threatened "Esclusiva."— Cardinal Tosco put forward.—Meeting of Cardinals for the exclusion of San Clemente.

Ugo Boncompagno, of Bologna, succeeded Pius V. as Gregory XIII., after the latter had reigned six years, in 1572. He was a man diametrically opposed in character and disposition to the ascetic Pius, his immediate predecessor, and much of the same nature as the penultimate Pope Pius IV. Though a good and conscientiously religious man, he loved life and its enjoyments, and was of a cheerful disposition. But, as Ranke well remarks, Gregory was a very notable instance of the power over individuals of the dominant spirit of an epoch. An hundred years earlier he would have lived and ruled after the fashion of an Innocent VIII. As it was, he was subject to the tendencies of the time; his mind was dominated by the

ascetic atmosphere of the men about him—the Jesuits, the Theatines, and such men as Frumento, Cornaglia, Tolet, and Contavell; and the jovial-tempered Gregory takes his place deservedly in the list of the "zealous Popes." Those who followed him did less violence to their natural dispositions in classing themselves in the same category.

The celebrated swineherd, who became Sixtus V.—that Felice Peretti, whose reply to some blockhead reproaching him with his humble origin, "Yes, but if you had ever been a swineherd, you would have been one still!" has been preserved—had a more marked character of his own—one of those, indeed, which unmistakably stamps its possessor as a ruler of men. He was very far from being a mere monastic ascetic or narrow-minded bigot; but he, too, very incontestably deserves a place in the group of zealous Popes.

Urban VII. (Giambattista Castagna) was a man more of the kind of Pius V., without his force of character. But he reigned only thirteen days. The Conclave which elected him and that from which his successor, the Cardinal Sfondrato, came forth as Gregory XIV., may be considered to have been one and the same assembly. Sfondrato was also, as the Popes of this period seem to have almost all been by an invincible law, a pious and fanatic devotee. He was a man who fasted twice a week, celebrated mass every day, constantly went through the offices in his breviary on his knees, and then spent an hour with his favourite author, St. Bernard. But Gregory XIV. reigned only ten months; and the Conclave had to begin their work, which had been

difficult enough, over again where they had left it; and again to little purpose, for Giannantonio Fachinetti, who was elected as Innocent IX., reigned only two months. When his successor, the Florentine Ippolito Aldobrandino, ascended the throne as Clement VIII. in 1592, the era of the zealous Popes had not yet closed, and Clement was such, not only as a bishop but as a sovereign. He was a man of great abilities, of great power of work, and thoroughly conscientious. His reign of thirteen years was eminently useful to all the best interests of the Church.

The characteristics of all these Conclaves had been very much alike. The main influence which had shaped and ruled them had been the struggle between the Spanish and the French interests, varied, of course, by a multiplicity of considerations arising out of mere private and personal sympathies and antipathies. In all these rapidly recurring struggles the Spanish influence had been victorious. The spirit of Philip II., and that which he had succeeded in impressing on the Spanish people, were more in conformity with those tendencies which recent ecclesiastical events had imparted to the Church than were the ideas and tendencies prevailing in France.

The often observed tendency of a long Papacy to bring about the election of a Pope antagonistic to his predecessor resumed its influence after the close of the reign of Clement; and the French interest was successful in procuring the election of the Florentine Cardinal de' Medici as Leo XI.; but he reigned only twenty-seven days, and the same men had to return to the Conclave to begin a second struggle.

The main features of all these Conclaves were, as has been observed, very similar; and the limits assigned to the present volume must have been very considerably extended for it to have been possible to give the reader as detailed an account of each of them as has been attempted in the case of the first Popes of the zealous group; while at the same time it would have been difficult to interest him in the ever-recurring plots, dissimulations, and manœuvres which make the staple of the history of all of them. But the Conclave which elected Leo's successor, Camillo Borghese, as Paul V., was a curious and remarkable one, a detailed account of which will serve well as a specimen of the way in which the business of an election was transacted in the early days of what may be called modern times—in the period of Church earnestness which intervened between the audacious scandals and overt heathenism of the Italian *renaissance* time, and the sleepy times of comfortable easy-going orthodoxy and decorous propriety which succeeded.

Such a detailed account of the Conclave which elected Camillo Borghese I have already written. And as on reading what I then wrote I do not find that I can better it, though doubtless it might be easily bettered, I may as well borrow the passage from the volume entitled "Paul the Pope and Paul the Friar," in which it first appeared.

On the 11th of May, 1605, fifty-nine cardinals went into Conclave. They were divided into no less than four principal parties. The strongest seemed to be that of Cardinal Aldobrandino, the nephew of the last

Pope, and was composed of his uncle's "creatures." Of course there was also to a certain extent a natural bond of union and sympathy between the cardinals made by the same Pope; and they naturally gathered around the man who had held the place of favourite, cardinal nephew, and prime minister during the time of their promotion. But the great and all but unlimited power which was always enjoyed by a cardinal nephew rarely failed to excite against him an immense amount of enmity and jealousy among the other cardinals of the creation of preceding Popes. None in that position had ever possessed this authority to a greater degree, during at least the latter years of the pontificate of Clement VIII., than the Cardinal Aldobrandino, who was in many respects a very able man. The creatures of former Papacies were equally naturally banded together in the Conclave against him. The strength of Cardinal Aldobrandino's party in the present Conclave was estimated at twenty-six votes.

Next in force came the independent party of his opponents and enemies. They were chiefly under the influence and lead of the Cardinal Montalto, and counted twenty-one votes.

Then there were thirdly and fourthly the cardinals wholly in the interest of the Court of Spain, and those wholly in the interest of the Court of France. The total number of votes, as we have seen, was fifty-nine. Of these, forty-seven have been already accounted for; there remain twelve. And as the conclavist tells us, though without mentioning the numbers, that these two latter parties were of equal numerical strength, we must

suppose them to have commanded six votes each; bearing in mind, however, that some of those who owed their primary allegiance to their leader in the Conclave were doubtless also attached by preference either to the Spanish or the French interest. The action of the two great Catholic Powers in the Conclave generally was exerted to secure the exclusion of certain possible candidates especially obnoxious to them. And a much smaller number of devoted adherents, of course, sufficed to attain this object, than would have availed to secure the election of any given individual. The number of votes necessary to make an election in the Conclave in question was, it will be observed, forty, that being the nearest possible approach to the requisite majority of two-thirds.

It is clear, therefore, that, if all the members of the two strongest parties had remained obstinately true to their colours, no election could be effected, even if the strongest of them, that of Aldobrandino, could have united to itself all the voices commanded by both Spain and France—a consummation entirely out of the question, inasmuch as any candidate acceptable to the one Power would be precisely the one whom the other would be most desirous of excluding. But it is not to be imagined that there was ever any chance that all the adherents of a party should remain perfectly staunch and to be trusted by its chief. Too great a number of subsidiary motives influenced different individuals, in a vast variety of ways, for this to be possible. One man would wish a Pope of his party to be elected, but not this or that particular individual; and if such a result appeared probable he

would desert his party to avert it, more especially as he could do so without detection, unless it so happened that the scrutiny in which he had done so turned out to be the successful and final one; for if the scrutiny of that voting resulted in no election, the papers containing the votes were burned without further examination. It will be readily imagined how tangled and vast a mass of hypocrisies, false promises, and cross purposes such a system, together with all the variety of motives and interests at work in those scarlet-hatted old heads, must have occasioned.

The first move in the Conclave was an attempt on the part of the allies—*i.e.* the creatures of Popes anterior to Clement VIII.—to elect Cardinal Saoli, one of their number. Cardinal Visconti, who belonged to Aldobrandino's camp, had lately, it was known, felt less well disposed towards his leader; and as Saoli was Visconti's mother's cousin, he was easily induced to enter warmly into the scheme for electing him, and he succeeded in drawing several of the Aldobrandino party with him. Moreover, San Marcello, another of Aldobrandino's friends, though adhering to him firmly in every other circumstance, had declared that he could not vote against Saoli, because that Cardinal's brother, when Doge of Genoa, had favoured the reception of the San Marcello family as patricians of that republic.

Aldobrandino, it must be observed, was very far from well at the time of entering into Conclave. It had been feared and hoped that he could not have joined it. He would not give up, however, and went in with the rest, but immediately retired to bed in his cell.

Under these circumstances the friends of Saoli thought

that there was a very good chance of carrying his election by a sudden "adoration" at the very outset of the Conclave. But the Cardinal Saoli himself was unwilling to risk it. He was fully persuaded, says the conclavist, that Aldobrandino's illness would compel him to quit the Conclave, in which case he would have been sure of his election by the ordinary means of voting. He was mistaken in his calculation, and lost a chance which, the conclavist thinks, would have in all probalbiity turned out successful by his timidity. Some whisper, however, of the projected step had reached Aldobrandino and his friends, and kept them in great anxiety all the first day and all the first night; so much so that Cardinal Cesi went to him about ten o'clock at night, and told him that he must get up, ill as he was, and go round among their friends and show himself. Had he not done so, the conclavist thinks, the attempt at adoration would have been made by Saoli's friends. The Aldobrandino faction, however, "in order to give the opposite faction something to chew," as the conclavist expresses it, in the meantime put about a rumour that very possibly an "adoration" of Cardinal Tosco, a favourite candidate of their own, would be attempted in the course of the night; and this had the effect of causing many of the allies to quit their beds and remain on the alert.

The next morning after mass, said by the oldest Cardinal, Como, the Conclave proceeded to the first scrutiny, in which, to the general surprise, fourteen votes were given to Cardinal Bellarmine.

The only names in all the Conclave that have retained any place in history, besides that of the successful can-

didate, were the Cardinals Baronius, Bellarmine, and Borromeo. All three of them belonged to the party of Aldobrandino. This unexpected result of the scrutiny puzzled the majority of the assembly exceedingly. The Conclave, says the conclavist, was all in the dark; for though Bellarmine was of the Aldobrandino or Clementine faction, that party had not thought of making him Pope. Though he was much beloved, and his character stood high, still, as our author remarks, his being a Jesuit, and being known to be "delicate of conscience," did not recommend him for the Papacy. The fact was that the motion of putting him forward had originated, not with his own party, but with that of Montalto and the allies. Sforza was his relative by the mother's side; and to Acquaviva, a nephew of the General of the Jesuits, his quality of Jesuit was a recommendation. The plan was originated by these two, who easily persuaded several of their own party to join them by the considerations that, as matters stood, there was no hope of electing Saoli; that it was certain that the elevation of Bellarmine would not suit the views of Aldobrandino; and that, let the matter turn either way, they could not but be gainers; for if a sufficient number of his own party joined them to elect him, they would have the merit of having given him the Papacy; and if, on the other hand, the attempt failed, they would in all probability cause disunion among the Clementines, and very likely obtain Bellarmine's support for their own candidate Saoli. The whole of that day was spent in the intrigues to which this unexpected move gave rise. Baronius was an intimate friend of Bellarmine, and was known to have spoken with Bor-

romeo, who was also favourable to him, of the expediency of such an election, though without any idea of realising it. Sfondrato, one of the knot of the allies who had started the candidature of Bellarmine, went to Baronius and persuaded him to go, as on his own idea, to Aldobrandino, and point out to him that if he and his friends would vote for Bellarmine, he might be sure of sufficient support from the party of the allies to elect him. Aldobrandino cautiously requested to know from Baronius his grounds for such an opinion; to which the latter replied that he might trust him, as his information was from a perfectly trustworthy source. Aldobrandino, however, divining how matters really stood, as soon as ever Baronius had left him, sent Cardinal San Giorgio to Bellarmine to assure him of his (Aldobrandino's) perfectly favourable disposition towards him; but, at the same time, to point out to him that the move in his favour was merely a trick of the other party, set on foot with the hope of sowing division among them, and to beg of him not to play into their hands, and be duped by lending any encouragement to their project. He, at the same time, sent two other of the younger cardinals round to all his adherents to warn them that the proposal to elect Bellarmine was only a trick of the adversaries, and to advise them "to go to bed and pay no attention to any rumours on the subject." All the cardinals belonging to the monastic orders were already astir, we are told, at the first report of a possibility of the election of Bellarmine, ready to exert themselves to the utmost to prevent the choice of a Jesuit Pope.

Cardinal Sfondrato in the meantime, as soon as he

had sent Baronius to Aldobrandino, as has been seen, himself proceeded to the cell of Montalto, the leader of his party, who was just sitting down to supper, and told him that intrigues were on foot in the Conclave for the election of Cardinal Como. The object of this falsehood was, the conclavist tells us, to prevent Montalto from hurrying off to prevent the election of Bellarmine if any rumour of it should reach him. But the precaution was needless, our historian assures us, "for Montalto, seduced by the sight of the good things before him, replied that they might intrigue for any one they liked, for he did not mean for his part to leave his supper!" So Sfondrato left him; but on returning to his colleagues in the attempt to elect Bellarmine found that Aldobrandino's vigilance and activity had put an end to all hopes of success. So there was an end to the chance of a Jesuit Pope, and of the first day of the Conclave.

The next move was another attempt on the part of the allies to put forward Cardinal Camerino, who, though one of themselves, was thought not to be strongly objectionable to many of the other party. Aldobrandino had a conference with Montalto on the subject, and pretended to be desirous of inducing his party to accept this new candidate. But Montalto was not deceived by his professions. He saw that the Clementines did not intend to allow the elevation of Camerino, and dropped the attempt; not, however, without determining to avenge himself by opposing any candidate of Aldobrandino to the utmost of his power.

Hitherto the active tentatives had been all on the part of the allies. Aldobrandino and his friends had as

yet contented themselves with standing on the defensive. But the real and earnest wish of the late cardinal nephew and minister was to bring about the election of Cardinal San Clemente, his intimate friend and confidant. He had begun by securing the co-operation of the French party in return for his promise to insure the exclusion of the cardinals especially objected to by France. He had next applied to the Spaniards; and as San Clemente was not among those whom they had orders to exclude they also promised their assistance. This seemed, therefore, to offer a better chance of coming to an election than any that had been yet proposed to the Conclave. But, as has been seen, all the Clementines, united to all the French and all the Spaniards, only amounted to thirty-eight votes—two short of the number requisite. If, therefore, the allies held firmly together, they could prevent the possibility of San Clemente's election. And upon this occasion they not only seemed inclined to do so, but, not content with that, succeeded in inducing Cardinal Sordi, one of the French party, to break his engagement with Aldobrandino, and join them. They determined, moreover, to take the violent step of openly and by solemn resolution excluding San Clemente, declaring frankly that it was their determination not to vote for him—a very strong and decisive measure, because the cardinals taking part in it having thus declared themselves hostile to San Clemente, were definitively bound to struggle to the last against the election of a Pope in the person of one whom they had already rendered their enemy.

Aldobrandino, therefore, was extremely anxious to

avert this threatened measure, and did succeed in causing it to be delayed for one day—a respite which he calculated on employing in putting his adversaries on a false scent. While still continuing every effort to seduce some one or two voices from the allied party, he caused it to be rumoured in the Conclave that he had abandoned the hope of electing San Clemente, and was now intent on electing Cardinal Tosco, another of his adherents. With a view to throw dust into the vigilant eyes around him, he induced the Cardinal San Marcello, who had not entered the Conclave in consequence of serious illness, to come in. One does not see how this could have been compatible with the strict prohibition of all intercourse with the world outside the Conclave. The conclavist, however, states the fact without observation; and we are left to suppose that the non-intercourse supposed to be assured by so many ostentatious precautions had become, like so many other pretensions and forms at Rome, a mere sham.

The sick man was known to be a very intimate friend of Cardinal Tosco; and Aldobrandino meant it to be supposed by everybody that San Marcello would never have thought of coming into the Conclave in his state were it not for the purpose of securing the election of his friend. Indeed, the poor invalid himself was duped by Aldobrandino, and supposed that it was really to elect Tosco that he was so urgently wanted. But if the sick man was deceived, the lynx-eyed watchfulness of the rest of the Conclave was not. Indeed, the study of these prize-matches of duplicity and cunning, in which the sciences of simulation and dissimulation were

carried to the most polished pitch of perfection, would lead us to the conclusion, that among masters of the craft the arts of defence were generally more than a match for those of attack. The unceasing efforts to deceive seem rarely to have succeeded. Unsleeping perpetual suspicion of every word spoken, and of every apparently insignificant detail of conduct, joined to life-long practice in the knowledge, estimate, and calculation of all the littlenesses, meannesses, selfishnesses, and hypocrisies of human, and more especially of priestly nature, sufficed almost invariably to guard against the strategy of a craft, every turn and double of which was familiar to the objects of it. The open dealing of an honest man might probably have thrown them out entirely.

The allies discovered that it was still San Clemente who was advancing to the Papacy under the mantle of Tosco, as the conclavist expresses it. They determined, therefore, on the next day to proceed, as they had threatened, to the open and avowed resolution of excluding him. This they accordingly did. And our conclavist's account of the meeting held for the purpose gives us a dramatic little peep at Conclave life.

The meeting was held in the cell of Cardinal Bevilacqua, one of the less notable members of the party. And their Eminences were just about to begin the business in hand when two of the youngest cardinals of Aldobrandino's party, Pio and San Cesareo, entered the cell, as if strolling in by chance to visit its occupant. They had been sent on this errand by Aldobrandino in the hope that their unwelcome presence might drive the allies assembled there to put off the

business they were engaged in, and thus gain a little time, which he might be able to put to profit. The young intruders began joking and talking on all sorts of irrelevant matters. But the veterans with whom they had to deal were not to be beaten in that manner. Visconti, Sforza, and Sfondrato turned away together for a moment, and having rapidly decided on their course returned to the general circle; when Visconti, addressing Pio and San Cesareo, said plainly that they were there for the purpose of formally agreeing to the exclusion of Cardinal San Clemente, and that if it pleased their Eminences to remain they would at all events serve as witnesses of the declaration about to be made. He then proceeded to declare, in his own name and in that of all their friends, that they bound themselves together not to elect San Clemente. He rehearsed the names of the allies agreeing in this resolution one by one. When he named Montalto, San Cesareo interrupted him, saying, "Nay, his Eminence of Montalto is present; let him speak for himself!" "No, no!" returned Montalto, smiling; "let Visconti be spokesman; I ratify all he says!" Cardinal Este, when Visconti came to his name, added, "I confirm it; and only wish that I had a dozen votes to make the exclusion more overwhelming." "And now," said Visconti, when he had finished, "we may go to bed!" "Ah, we may!" exclaimed Sfondrato, turning to leave the cell; "and your Eminences," he added, looking towards Pio and San Cesareo with a laugh as he went, "may now go and elect a Pope, if you can!"

## CHAPTER VI.

**Continuation of the Conclave that elected Paul V.—Aldobrandino determines to elect Cardinal Tosco.—Points for and against him.—Attempt to elect Tosco by "Adoration."—Montalto's Indecision.—Remarkable Scene in the Cell of Cardinal Acquaviva.—Conference between Aldobrandino and Montalto.—The Latter unwillingly agrees to the Election of Tosco, which appears all but certain.—Suspense of Tosco.—Remarkable Step taken by Baronius.—He alone by the Ascendancy of his Character prevents the Election of Tosco.—Baronius himself nearly elected.—The "Sala Regia" in the Vatican.—Party Tactics thrown into Confusion.—Tosco's Disappointment.—Extraordinary Scene in the Sala Regia and the Sistine and Paoline Chapels.—Borghese at length proposed by common Accord, and elected as Paul V.**

BITTER was Aldobrandino's anger and mortification when his two emissaries returned and made their report. He immediately collected all his own adherents, among whom might now be counted most of the French and Spanish supporters, to consider what was next to be done. The first measure determined on was to proceed to an exclusion of Cardinal Saoli, yet more solemn and formal than that pronounced by their adversaries against San Clemente—a step which would seem to have been prompted entirely by pique and anger, as the election of Saoli had already entirely failed, and there does not appear any indication that the allies had any thought of bringing him forward again. The meeting, however, to the number of twenty-two, decreed the exclusion; and then, having taken the

precaution of causing the door and outside of the cell to be so guarded by their conclavists that there was no danger that a trick should be played them, such as they had played on the meeting for the exclusion of San Clemente, they bound themselves by an agreement to give their votes unanimously to any one of those then present whom Aldobrandino might designate.

It was further determined that the whole strength of the party should be exerted to elect Cardinal Tosco, this time in earnest, and not as a blind to other designs. This was a candidature that seemed to offer much more chances of success than any other which had yet been tried. Tosco was not objected to by the representatives in the Conclave of either Spain or France. It was known that his election would be agreeable both to the Grand Duke of Tuscany and to the Duke of Savoy. He was, moreover, by no means objectionable to many of the party of the allies. The Cardinals D'Este and Sfondrato were both favourable to him; and even Montalto had promised the Grand Duke that he would give Tosco his support if he should be unable to elect any one of his own party. In short, says the conclavist, it seemed as if he had no opposing influences against him, save those of a few scrupulous consciences—especially Baronius and one or two of his friends—who objected to him that he was licentious in his conversation and negligent of his pastoral duties, so much so that, having been for many years Bishop of Tivoli, he had never once been near his see. But, as the conclavist remarks, such objections were nothing against so large an amount of favour.

Montalto, however, was by no means willing to concur at once in Tosco's election. He still nourished hopes of electing some one of his own special adherents. He did not, however, wish to take any step towards a formal exclusion of Tosco, and contented himself, therefore, with exacting a promise from the cardinals of his party that they would do nothing towards his election before the expiration of a delay of ten days, thinking that this would give him time to try the chances of his own special friends.

Having obtained this, Montalto had gone to bed on the night of the 15th, tranquil on the subject of Tosco's candidature, when he was suddenly waked by the noise of Aldobrandino, accompanied by all his adherents and the Spanish and French parties, coming into the corridor, where he was urging them to hurry Tosco at once into the chapel, and try for an election by "Adoration." In this conjuncture, those of the allies who were favourable to Tosco hurried to Montalto to press on him the immediate necessity of resolving on a line of action. There was great probability that the "Adoration" might succeed; and, in that case, would it be worth while for them to risk showing hostility to one so likely to be Pope merely to oppose an election, to which after all they had no strong dislike? The allies were gathered in the cell of Acquaviva, says the conclavist, in great trepidation, urgently pressing Montalto to come to a decision. He complained bitterly that they were breaking their engagement to do nothing in the matter of Tosco for ten days. In vain they pointed out to him that there was no hope of his

making a Pope from among his own special adherents; that they were still willing to follow his lead; but that by their present position of indecision at so critical a moment they were only risking the election of a Pope in spite of them, when it was in their power, without any sacrifice of principle, by yielding gracefully, to take their share in the election, and by so doing make the future Pontiff their friend instead of their enemy. Those, however, who thus argued were the members of the party who had themselves no hope of or pretensions to the Papacy. The three or four among the party of the allies who each hoped that he might be the man stood by, in the words of the narrator, in icy silence, while the others were thus warmly urging Montalto, and by their reserved and cold demeanour increased the irresolution of his naturally slow and hesitating disposition. At length the urgency of the case, and the approaching voices of the crowd accompanying Aldobrandino, who seemed on the point of proceeding to the chapel to perform the "Adoration," produced symptoms of a mutiny among some of the followers of Montalto. What was the use, they said, of talking about ten days, even if there were any prospect of doing anything at the end of them, when the Pope would be made there and then before their eyes in ten minutes. They should yield to necessity, they said, and join in an act they were unable to prevent. They *could* still have prevented it, if every man of them had stood firm, and if each of them could have trusted all the rest. But this was just what was impossible to them. And the smallest defection was fatal; for only a voice or

two was wanting to make those intent on electing Tosco a majority of the necessary amount.

Farnese and Sfondrato were standing at the door of the cell in which the rest of their colleagues had been enacting the scene described; and when they heard some voices of the party expressing their intentions as above, they adopted the strong measure of going instantly to Aldobrandino, where he stood in the midst of his followers, and inviting him to a conference with Montalto. The measure, it will be observed, was suddenly adopted without any authorisation from that Cardinal himself. Farnese and Sfondrato took each an arm of the hostile chief, and led him to the cell where Montalto and the allies were. Sfondrato took upon himself to be spokesman. They all ought to thank the Almighty, he said, who had providentially led them to agree in so excellent an election. All ought to join in it alike, and forget past animosities. Montalto stood leaning against a table, with downcast eyes and strongly working features, in which the agony of abandoning his own hopes and the bitterness of yielding himself to the accomplishment of those of his adversary were violently expressed. Concentrated rage contributed also to throw his mind off its balance, for he felt that he had been betrayed by his friends. He knew that if only they had *all* been true to their promises and to each other, the adversaries could not have accomplished an election. He knew also that in yielding thus tardily and reluctantly, *he*, at least, would have none of the merit of yielding in the eyes of the new Pope. Those who had made his doing so necessary might claim the merit of

their defection; but it was too clear that the Pope to be thus elected was elected in his despite.

In answer to Sfondrato's address he replied no word; nor did he raise his eyes or turn towards Aldobrandino, but he silently put out his hand to him. And they went forth together into the hall, where the crowd of cardinals, now consisting of nearly all the Conclave, were waiting to proceed to the chapel for the "Adoration." For it is observable that, notwithstanding the apparent union of the parties, the Clementines, who had prevailed, did not deem it advisable to trust to a scrutiny, but were still bent on hurrying to the quicker and more open process of "Adoration."

And now the election of Cardinal Tosco seemed certain. He himself, meanwhile, was walking up and down with the Cardinals San Giorgio and Diatristain in a distant part of the vast Vatican galleries. His companions urged him to go with them at once to the chapel; but he shrunk from doing this, preferring to wait till Aldobrandino or some of the others came to bring him thither, according to the custom in such cases. But as the minutes went on, and nobody came, Cardinal San Giorgio sent his conclavist to see how matters were going on. He came into the hall just as Aldobrandino and Montalto, hand in hand, came forth to the body of the cardinals from the cell of Acquaviva. Returning therefore in all haste, he told his master and Tosco what he had seen, and said that both the chiefs were coming with a large number of their followers to bring Cardinal Tosco to the chapel. At the same time a tumultuous crowd of conclavists came rushing towards the cell of

the Pope elect, to make booty of all that it contained, according to recognised and tolerated custom. Indeed the election seemed as good as if already made.

But now came a sudden slip between the cup and the lip, which changed the whole face of things in the Conclave, and produced as strange a scene as had ever been witnessed in any of those remarkable assemblies, which had enacted and seen so many curious dramas.

While Aldobrandino and Montalto were on the point of going to bring Cardinal Tosco to the spot where the crowd of cardinals were waiting to conduct him triumphantly to the chapel for the "Adoration," two cardinals held aloof, and were walking up and down the gallery together at a little distance, in deep and evidently not well-pleased conversation. These were Baronius * and Tarugio, an intimate friend of his, who were, as the conclavist says with an evident sneer, "professors of a scrupulous conscience," and as such could not approve of the elevation to the Papacy of such a man as Cardinal Tosco. While the negotiations had been going on that resulted in the all but certainty of his election, Aldobrandino had sent no less than seven successive messages to Baronius, urging him to join the rest of the party—and now, since the accession of Montalto and his friends, it might be said the rest of the Conclave—in the proposed "Adoration" of Tosco. This persistence on the part of Aldobrandino is remarkable. After the yielding of Montalto and his party, there could be no doubt about

* I have used here and elsewhere the Latin instead of the Italian form of the great Church historian's name, because it is so familiar to the English reader.

the sufficiency of the votes to carry the election. The abstention of Baronius and his friend could in nowise have affected the result. Yet Aldobrandino, before proceeding to the chapel, made another—the eighth—effort to carry Baronius with him. If we are to suppose that this anxiety was caused simply by respect for the high character and reputation of Baronius, and by an uneasy sense of the responsibility of proceeding to the election of the Pope despite the manifest disapprobation and silent protest of the man whose character had greater weight than that of any other there, it deserves noting as an example of conscientiousness so rare and strange in that world of sacerdotal princes, as to seem almost incredible to us, and quite so to the bystanders who witnessed it. So much so, that our conclavist guide to these mysteries declares that Aldobrandino's imprudence could only be accounted for on the supposition of an immediate interposition of Providence, thus working out its own designs for the election.

On receiving this eighth message, which begged that Baronius and Tarugio would come and confer with Aldobrandino, without any reference to the matter immediately in hand, Baronius yielded, and following the messenger to the great hall, found himself there in the midst of the unanimous assembly of nearly the whole Conclave, bent on proceeding at once to the "Adoration." Aldobrandino had evidently calculated on his not having sufficient moral courage to stand out alone and conspicuously beneath the eyes of his assembled colleagues. But his calculation had been based on an insufficient estimate of the man. Not only did he adhere to his

refusal to join in the vote, but proceeded openly to state his reasons for doing so. Their first and absolute duty, he said, was to elect a man of irreproachable character; and for his part it should be written in his Annals * that he was the last to concur in the choice proposed. It was answered by those around that the election was good and respectable, and the subject of it certainly a worthy one; an assertion which he repudiated, says the conclavist, by the most expressive gestures, "beating his breast, and shaking his head, and uttering broken words and sighs."

Conduct so frank and vehement, a manifestation of sentiments so open, public, and fearless, was almost unprecedented in that world of cautious reticence and simulation, and the result produced by it on the dignified crowd around was remarkable. Montalto first, who saw in this unexpected diversion a possibility of escaping from the election which a moment ago seemed inevitable, and which was fatal to all his cherished hopes, was, or pretended † to be, extremely agitated, and cried out that in truth it were well to lay to heart the words

* The "Annali" is the great work by which Baronius is known to the world. The conclavist makes a ludicrous and inconceivable error in his record of this declaration of the great Church historian. He protested, says the conclavist—or the printer for him—that it should be written in his *boots*,—"negli suoi stivali." The real phrase is supplied by the Venetian ambassador's account of the Conclave.

† Montalto was one of the last men in the Conclave to have been really touched by any such appeal. Here is a character of him, as he was thirteen years before the present time. "A handsome young man, luxurious, with no firmness of character, broken by debauch, with an income of an hundred thousand crowns, and debts to the amount of four hundred thousand, it was impossible that he should be his own master. His passions, his vices, constrained him to be dependent upon the courts of Europe. He had offered himself to the King of Spain, and had been accepted."

they had just heard! Sordi, who stood next to him, and who was one of the representatives of the French interest, to which Baronius was especially acceptable, cried out that a saint of God had spoken, and that the words of such a man should not be let fall to the ground. Montalto, finding himself thus seconded, "lost his head altogether," says the conclavist; and forgetting that in the last Conclave, which had closed little more than a month ago, he had especially excluded Baronius, cried aloud, "Let us elect Baronius! I go for Baronius!" Some of his own friends took up the cry; and all the French adherents shouted "Baronius! Baronius!" and the conclavists outside the circle raised the same cry. On this the friends of Aldobrandino, and several of the party of the allies, began to shout "Tosco! Tosco!" to the utmost power of their lungs. "And thus," in the words of our narrator, "all screaming together, and moving on together, divided in cry and in mind, but with their bodies closely jammed together by reason of the narrowness of the passage, they reached the Sala Regia, into which they burst confusedly, shouting more loudly than ever the names of Tosco and Baronius."

The Sala Regia is a noble hall in the Vatican, at one end of which is the entrance into the Sistine Chapel, and at the other that into the Paoline Chapel. It is necessary to the understanding of the sequel of this extraordinary scene to bear in mind this explanation of the locality.

The result, it will be observed, of the sudden gust, which had thus in a moment blown to the winds the chances of an election so nearly consummated, and had

the germ in it of so many modifications of the subsequent history of Europe, was at the moment to throw all the party arrangements and tactics of the Conclave into utter confusion. Baronius, whose leading supporter was now Montalto, was a member of the opposite party, of which Aldobrandino was the head. On the other hand, many of the allies who recognised Montalto as their chief remained firm in their resolution to elect Tosco, and thus found themselves joined with Aldobrandino against their own leader. In this state of things the confusion in the hall was extreme. Montalto and Baronius and their adherents made for the Paoline Chapel, and Aldobrandino wavered for a moment whether he should follow them. But determining, after a short pause, not to give up the game, he shouted at the top of his voice, "This way, all friends of mine!" pointing as he spoke towards the Sistine Chapel. Acquaviva also, and some others of the same party, cried out as loudly as they could, "Let all friends of Tosco come this way!" And the move, says the conclavist, was a very prudent one, "for if they had all gone in disorder into the Paoline Chapel together, it might very easily have happened that the 'Adoration' of Baronius had followed, without their being able to oppose it, amid all that confusion and mixing up of the different parties."

The extent of this confusion, and of the violence of the emotion among those holy and reverend old men, may be estimated from the circumstance that Cardinal Visconti was thrown down in the *mêlée*, and Cardinal Serapino got a sprained arm before the two factions could disengage themselves from each other. And even

then two Cardinals, Pinelli and Ascoli, found themselves on the Sistine side of the hall with Aldobrandino, whereas their intention was to vote with Montalto.

All this time Cardinal Tosco, who "deemed his greatness was a-ripening," had been awaiting the expected arrival of the cardinals to bring him into the chapel to his "Adoration;" but at last his mind began to misgive him. He sent again, therefore, the same conclavist to see what was going on, and soon received the tidings of the sudden wreck of all his high hopes at the moment when the realisation of them seemed to have been placed beyond danger. "The *good* old man," says the conclavist, forgetting what he had above written of his unfitness for the Papacy, or more probably, perhaps, deeming that there was no incompatibility between that and the epithet he now bestows upon him, "turned deadly pale;" but determining not to give up all for lost, proceeded, with shaking steps, and leaning on the shoulder of his conclavist, to the Sala Regia. "Behold the Pope!" cried the conclavist aloud as he entered the hall, thinking that even then, perhaps, the sudden announcement might lead to an "Adoration." The crowd of his supporters, who had by that time grouped themselves before the doors of the Sistine Chapel, received him among them, and, the keys being at that moment brought, they took him with them into the chapel. The other party had taken possession of the Paoline Chapel. But in the first confusion the keys of the Sistine Chapel had been missing, and the Aldobrandino and Tosco faction had been obliged to content themselves with grouping themselves before the doors.

Thus the two parties occupied the two opposite chapels as hostile camps, with the neutral ground of the Sala Regia between them. Thirty-six cardinals went into the Sistine Chapel in favour of Tosco, and twenty-five into the Paoline in favour of Baronius; for the entire number was now sixty-one, having been increased by two cardinals—San Marcello, as has been mentioned, and another who had been ill at the beginning of the Conclave, and had been subsequently able to join it.

And now an infinity of negotiations, messages, persuasions, and seductions began to be put on foot between the two opposite camps. Those in the Paoline Chapel were quite open to proposals; for though the name of Baronius had been used for the breaking up of the unanimity which was on the point of electing Tosco, and the dissentients had entered the Paoline Chapel shouting his name, no sooner had it served their purpose than they abandoned all thought of really electing him.

Visconti having risen from his fall in no very pleasant mood, and entered the Paoline Chapel with Baronius and his friends, began to vent his ill humour on the first mover of the disturbance, accusing him of sowing divisions in the Conclave.

"I neither wish to sow divisions, nor have I any desire to be Pope," replied Baronius; "only put forward some good and proper candidate."

Visconti thereupon would have left the chapel, but the others crowded around him and would not let him go.

"I protest," he cried, "that I am subjected to violence!" and turning to the master of the ceremonies bade him draw up an official protest to that effect.

"Pooh, pooh!" said Montalto; "are not my two friends, Ascoli and Pinelli, detained against their will in the Sistine Chapel? Let every one be left at liberty!"

So Visconti went out and sat down by himself in the Sala Regia, protesting that he would join in no election that day. "I would not make St. Peter himself Pope after this fashion!" grumbled he. But he had sat only for a very little time in the Sala Regia before Acquaviva slipped out of the Sistine to him, and after a little persuasion carried him off into that chapel to join the camp of the enemy.

"Gioiosa," as the Italian writer calls the French Cardinal Joyeuse, seeing that there was no chance of electing Baronius, wished to leave the Paoline Chapel to return to his allegiance to Tosco; but he made several attempts to get away in vain, for "Montalto and the others threw their arms around him and stayed him with violent entreaties."

Then Aldobrandino goes in person into the enemies' camp in the Sistine to try negotiations. Montalto promises his support to any other candidate if only Aldobrandino will abandon Tosco. This inclines the chief of the Clementine party to recur to his former plan of electing San Clemente; but when he returns to the Paoline Chapel his own party rebel against this, and insist on remaining firm to Tosco. Montalto makes a

sortie from the Sistine for the purpose of getting his two adherents, Pinelli and Ascoli, out of the Paoline Chapel. But he fails in his attempt, as these two cardinals are detained, much against their will as it would seem, in the hostile camp.

All the rest of that day was occupied in negotiations on a variety of propositions. The leaders of parties and men of most weight on either side are continually passing to and fro from one chapel to the other, trying new combinations, and gradually limiting their pretensions on either side to making sure of the exclusion of those especially obnoxious to them. But every fresh proposal finds some knot or other of cardinals sufficiently strong to secure its rejection.

There was not one of the elder cardinals, remarks the conclavist, who had not for awhile conceived hopes of being elected. But when night overtook the jaded but still busy Conclave in the two chapels, they appeared to be as far from the election of a Pope as ever. Yet both parties seemed determined not to quit their present position before the work was done.

Both the chiefs were afraid that, if they allowed their camp to break up and disperse for the night, some fresh scheme or combination would be hatched before the morning. At present, though neither party could accomplish anything, at least each held the other in check. Some of the older and more infirm cardinals retired to their cells, leaving directions that they should be called instantly should any change in the condition of things take place. Beds and supper were brought into the chapels for many of the others.

Those to whom the Sistine Chapel is familiar as it appears at the pontifical service, when it is the theatre of all the magnificent pomp of the Roman Church, with its purple dignitaries ranged in decorous order along its sides, may amuse themselves with fancying the picture presented by it, when the same holy, but cross, hungry, weary, bothered, and well-nigh exhausted seniors were picnicking and bivouacking on its pavement—here a knot of three or four snatching a makeshift supper; there a tired eminence snoring on a makeshift pallet; here a trio of the staunchest in earnest whispered talk; and there again a portly dignitary sleepily doffing his purple and scarlet in front of the altar for a few hours' rest at its foot.

At last Aldobrandino and Montalto came once again to a conference, and agreed that, as all combinations for the election of any one of the older cardinals had failed, and there appeared no hope of uniting the suffrages of the Conclave on any one of them, the only solution was to look among the younger men. Several of these were suggested, discussed between them, and for one reason or another rejected. At last Borghese was named; and both the rival chiefs agreed that there seemed to be no objection to him. He was a member of Aldobrandino's party, the "creature" of Clement VIII., personally a friend of Montalto, and was known to be acceptable to the Spanish party. It only remained to ascertain whether the French cardinals would make any strong opposition to his election; for Montalto had, in the course of the various tentatives that followed the breaking up of the regular party divisions at the time of the

proposal of Baronius, become so bound up with Joyeuse by promises and agreements, that he felt himself bound to make his acceptance of Borghese contingent on the consent of the French party.

Cardinal Joyeuse was one of the few who, tired out with the day's work, had left the battle-field of the two chapels and the Sala Regia, and gone to his cell. Aldobrandino accordingly hurried off to find him there; and meeting on his way Borghese, who was returning to the Paoline Chapel after having been to snatch a morsel of supper in his cell, told him that his present errand was to make him Pope, and conjured him to say no word of the matter till his return. Borghese, who probably put no great faith in the success of any such scheme, even supposing Aldobrandino was sincere in the statement that he intended to attempt it, composedly thanked him for his good will and passed on.

Aldobrandino was, in truth, earnest enough in the matter. It appeared his last chance of making one of his own party Pope. He fell in with Joyeuse in his cell; and finding him, though not altogether indisposed to Borghese, rather cold upon the matter, actually flung himself on his knees before him to entreat his consent. Joyeuse replied that he must first consult Montalto, and at that moment the latter entered the cell. Aldobrandino sprang to his feet, not a little ashamed, says the conclavist, at having been caught in such an attitude by his rival leader in the Sacred College. Montalto, however, joined his representations in favour of Borghese, as his election seemed to offer the least objectionable issue from the difficulties in which the

Conclave found itself. Joyeuse thereupon at once consented on behalf of the French interest; and it seemed at last—if, indeed, no such strange incident were to occur at the last moment as that which had pushed Tosco from the steps of the throne when he seemed already to have his foot on them—that the Pope was found.

And thus the history of Europe was made in that little fir-plank cell by those three old men, neither of whom was fitted by any quality of head or heart for the good and righteous government of a parish! And those Venetian interdicts—preposterous papal pretensions leading to the consolidation of a Gallican Church—Borghese palaces, Borghese gardens, Borghese galleries, the "great" Borghese family—so great as to repudiate with indignation the imputation of blood alliance with St. Catherine of Siena, all canonized saint as she is—Borghese "alliances" and princesses, with so much else—all loomed into potential existence, selected out of the many possibilities around them, as the things that *were* to be, to the exclusion of the thousand other combinations that were *not* to be, by the passions, jealousies, and low hopes, cupidities, and fears of those three narrow-hearted old men!

So, on the 10th of May, 1606, the Roman world learned that it had a new Prince and Pope; the cardinals dispersed to set their minds to new politics, new hopes and fears, new schemes, speculations, and intrigues; all Europe began to canvass the likes and dislikes, dispositions, passions, and character of the obscure Curia lawyer who had mounted St. Peter's throne, as about

the most interesting and important subject that could occupy the attention of sovereigns and their counsellors; and the crabbed, rigid, ignorant, pedantic, but in the main conscientious old lawyer himself came forth tiaraed Paul V., in his own honest belief by far, very far, the greatest man on earth.

# BOOK IV.

## THE PRINCE POPES.

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## *THE PRINCE POPES.*

## CHAPTER I.

Close of the Era of the Zealous Popes.—Characteristics of the Group which succeeded them.—Death of Paul V.—Alexander Ludovisi elected as Gregory XV. by the influence of Cardinal Borghese.—Ludovico Ludovisi, the Cardinal Nephew.—Regulations of Gregory XV. for the holding of the Conclave.—Father Theiner's Remarks concerning them.—Interregnum, Description of.—Death of Gregory XV., and Entry of Cardinals into Conclave.—Conclave expected to be a long one, and why.—Parties in the Conclave.—Cardinal Saoli again.—Cardinal Delmonte.—Borromeo.—Cardinals Bandini, Ginnasio, and Madruzzi.—The Barberini Family.—Character of Maffeo Barberini who became Urban VIII.—Cardinals Gaetani, Sacrato, and San Severino.—Illness in the Conclave of Cardinal Borghese.—He refuses to leave the Conclave.—Barberini named in the impossibility of any other Election, and elected.—Terrible mortality of Cardinals and Conclavists.

THE Borghese Pope, Paul V., with his reign of fifteen years, may be said to conclude the series of "the zealous Popes." Not that their successors can be accused of having been otherwise than anxious and vigilant for the power and greatness of the Church over which they ruled, or their more immediate successors for the extension of its territorial limits. But the Church, at least within its own bounds, was no longer a Church militant; and the result of this—invariable in the case of all churches—was that zeal for the faith, as a true faith,

slackened, and we have a series of Popes in whom the *Prince* tends ever more and more to supersede the *Theologian*. Scarcely in any Conclave since that which elected Paul V. would any Baronius have been found to protest, and protest effectually, against the election of a candidate deemed a likely man to hold his own among the crowned heads of Europe, on the ground that as a bishop he had neglected his diocese. Scarcely, on the other hand, would there have been found in any subsequent Conclave a necessity for protesting against the election of a candidate deemed *papabile* that he was licentious in his conversation. In the old *renaissance* days such a protest would never have been heard, because it never would have occurred to any man that such a matter was worth a protest. In the period we are now entering on it would not be heard, because no need for it would arise. We are entering on an emphatically decent epoch; not an epoch of improved morality, but of a higher regard for appearances; not an epoch when any Pope could have talked jovially of "enjoying the Papacy," like a Leo X., still less have turned the Vatican to the purposes of a casino, like an Alexander VI.; nor, on the other hand, an epoch when the Inquisition was encouraged to burn and persecute men for inexactitude in their orthodoxy, and ascetic practices were a recommendation to Papal favour; but an epoch when men's minds were greatly exercised in matters of court ceremonial, and the order of precedence among the ambassadors to the Pontiff was a matter capable of setting Europe at war, and when Roman society was convulsed by the question of the sort of headgear which

a cardinal should most properly wear when receiving company, and whether he should hold it in his hand or put it on his head!

This book of my narrative might have been called "The Popes of Fribbledom," but that we have not quite reached that stage yet. But it may, I think, be fairly said that we have reached the age when the Popes became princes first and priests afterwards.

Paul V., whose tall and majestic figure looked a few days before his death (as the narrator of the Conclave which elected his successor tells us) as if he might have attended the obsequies of every member of the Sacred College, had a fit of apoplexy during the procession which he celebrated in thanksgiving for the victory in the famous battle of the White Mountain, near Prague. It was not immediately fatal; but at the distance of a few days he had a second, which killed him on the 28th of January, 1621.

The Conclave which followed was not a remarkable one. Paul had reigned the, for those days, exceptionally long space of nearly sixteen years; and it resulted thence that by far the greater number of the cardinals existing at the time of his death were his "creatures," and were in the Conclave adherents of his nephew, the Cardinal Borghese. His party was also further increased by the adherents of Montalto and one or two more of the oldest cardinals who dated from before the elevation of Clement VIII. Opposed to him was Aldobrandino, our old acquaintance, still alive and busy, at the head of the survivors of the old Clementine party and of the French cardinals. But Borghese commanded

forty votes out of the fifty-two cardinals who went into Conclave, and the result could not be doubtful. The new Pope was the man of his choice, and that fell on Alexander Ludovisi of Bologna, who was elected Pope, as Gregory XV., on the 9th of February, 1621.

The selection of Ludovisi marks the tendency of the time as distinctly as that of the Caraffas and Ghislieris had marked the preceding epoch. He had been known as an able and successful diplomatist. But he was now an old and broken man, and reigned only two years and five months.

His nephew, the magnificent and splendid Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, an able, energetic man of only five-and-twenty at the time of his uncle's election, exercised, in fact, the sovereign power during the short reign of Gregory XV. Ludovisi, though a worldly and world-loving man, was not negligent of the duties of his station as he understood them. His tenure of power was marked by the establishment of the celebrated Propaganda,* and by the canonization of the two first generals of the Jesuits—both events also marking the character of the period.

The election to be now made was the first under the new regulations which had been laid down by Gregory XV. in his Bulls of the 15th of November, 1621, *Eterni Patris Filius*, and of the following

* It is perhaps hardly necessary to say that the full title of this world-famous College is the "Sacra Congregatione de Propaganda Fide." The first planning of the institution dates from the time of Gregory XIII.—but it was not effectually founded till the reign of Gregory XV., and mainly by the efforts and munificence of the Cardinal Ludovisi.

15th of March, *Decet Romanum Pontificem.* These Bulls of Gregory XV. make no change whatever in the principle and theory of the election, but only regulate the mode of procedure and ceremonial, and they form the basis of Conclave law and practice at the present time. The most important innovation made in them seems to have been that which orders that the scrutiny shall be in future secret. We have seen enough of the disorders to which the proceedings were rendered liable by the practice of open voting to appreciate the motives of Gregory's ordinance. These Bulls also repeat and renew the strictest prohibitions to the cardinals from conferring with any one, even with their own colleagues, on the Pope to be elected, or from forming factions and parties in the Conclave, or from communicating to the world outside aught that passes within it. We have seen how far such rules were observed in the Conclaves heretofore—what sign there has been perceptible that any of the parties concerned thought any obedience was due to any such rules. And it is difficult to understand how Gregory himself, who knew well what Conclaves were, could have supposed that such rules would or, one may almost say, could be observed.

Father Theiner, in his very able history of the pontificate of Clement XIV., declares that these regulations go beyond what is humanly possible. Still, as Mr. Cartwright remarks,* he makes the distinct admission that in the correspondence written from the Conclave the cardinals violated obligations by which

* "Constitution of Papal Conclaves," p. 112.

they had bound themselves. It might be added that they subjected themselves to penalties which it is incredible that they would have incurred *if they had believed in them.* "How, it will be asked," says Father Theiner, "could some cardinals venture on such an open violation of the above constitution (that of Gregory XV.) as to communicate so freely to their Court all that passed in the Conclave as was the case with the French cardinals and with Orsini?" To which the author attempts so lame an answer, that the reader can hardly help feeling that it was imprudent on the part of an orthodox writer to have asked it, or to avoid the conclusion that the true answer is, because they had no belief in the sacred nature of the command or in the punishment of the violation of it, but regarded the whole thing as a solemn sham and farce!

The constitution of Gregory enjoining the secrecy of the votes given in scrutiny was observed on the next following election, and has been the rule ever since, no doubt to the great increase of order and regularity of proceeding in the Conclaves—not that the plan is otherwise than an immoral one, and the necessity for it discreditable to the electors of the Sacred College. There should be nothing to prevent a conscientious man in that position from declaring openly in the face of his fellows the name of him whom, as before God, he considers most fitted to assume the government of the universal Church; but, as the electors are, and as the elections are, no doubt the secrecy of the voting has contributed to order and regularity.

But if the attention of Gregory had been drawn to

the expediency of providing for the better ordering of the proceedings of the Conclaves, he omitted to attempt anything towards ameliorating that terrible evil and scandal to Rome and its priestly government—the state of the city during the interregnum between one Pope's reign and that of his successor. "Let no man say that he has seen Rome," says the historian of a Conclave of this period, "who has not been there during a vacancy of the Holy See! The authority of the tribunals is then at an end, and every one is free to speak and to write and to say openly that which on all accounts at any other time it was necessary to keep concealed." The remark is very characteristic of Rome and its social atmosphere at that period; but it would have been well if the general unloosing of tongues and pens had been all the licence to which the interregnum gave occasion. Here is a passage from Girolamo Gigli, quoted by Cancellieri, who calls him a most accurate writer of the things which happened in his time, giving some account of the state of things during the interregnum between Gregory XV. and Urban VIII. It is abundantly confirmed in all respects by other writers. The interregnum in question, as has been seen, did not continue beyond the normal time. What must the state of Rome have been when the period of utter lawlessness was prolonged for months!

"Not a day passed," says Gigli, "without quarrels, homicides, and ambuscades. Many men and women were found killed in various parts of the city; many headless bodies were found, many, also headless, which had been thrown into the Tiber; many houses were

broken into by night and sacked; doors were broken open; women were done violence to, some killed, and others carried off by violence; many young girls were dishonoured, forced, and taken away. All the officers of justice who made any attempt to take any man to prison were either killed or badly wounded and maimed. The governor of Trastevere was stabbed while making the round of his district; and other governors of districts were in great peril of their lives. But many of these disorders and audacious crimes were committed by soldiers whom different lords and princes kept at Rome for their own protection. Such was the case especially with the guards whom the Cardinal of Savoy had brought to Rome with him, by whom a large number of the officers of justice, who had taken one of their band into custody, were slain. In short, the evil went on increasing from day to day, till it was thought that Rome would be brought to a bad pass indeed if the Conclave were to last as long as there was much reason to fear it might!"

Gregory XV. had died in the Quirinal Palace on the evening of Saturday, the 8th of July, 1623; and on the morning of the 19th fifty-two cardinals, after hearing mass in St. Peter's, went into Conclave in the Vatican. Three other cardinals arrived in Rome subsequently, and entered Conclave, making the number fifty-five; but Cardinal Peretti having been obliged to quit it on account of illness, the number of those who took part in the election was eventually fifty-four. Thirty-six, therefore, was the required majority of two-thirds necessary to make an election.

It was expected that the Conclave would be a long and difficult one, for the three following reasons assigned by the narrator of the story of it. In the first place, it was thought that the new rules would have the effect of rendering it more difficult to get together the necessary majority. Private and personal opinions and interests, it was urged, would have greater sway, and authority less, in an election in which the votes were given secretly. And the expectation seems a reasonable one. In the next place, there was very pronounced enmity between the two prominent and natural leaders of the Sacred College. These were Cardinal Borghese, the nephew of Paul V., and Cardinal Ludovisi, the nephew and all-powerful prime minister of Gregory XV. The two men were so different in character and disposition, as well as divided by the circumstances of their position, that it was thought that there could be small hope of their acting together. The third reason for expecting a long Conclave was that there was a specially large number of cardinals who, from their age, influence, and character, might be deemed *papabili*, or who, at all events, were such in their own opinion. Yet the objections of one kind or another which existed in the case of almost every one of them were such as, it was prognosticated, must render the choice a very difficult one.

Although the two main factions into which this Conclave (the first held under the rules of Gregory XV., which strictly prohibit the formation of factions in the Conclave) was divided consisted of the "creatures" of Paul V., led by his nephew, the Cardinal Borghese, and the "creatures" of Gregory XV., led by his nephew,

the Cardinal Ludovisi, those two categories by no means exhausted the whole College. Besides Sforza, whom nobody thought of for the Papacy, there were still surviving three of the creations of Sixtus V., since whose day no less than seven Popes had reigned! These were Saoli, whom we have met with before, Delmonte, and Borromeo; and all three were considered among the probable candidates. Saoli was esteemed a politician of much insight and judgment, but not much of a churchman. His chance was thought also to be much injured by the unreasonable amount of partiality shown by him to a certain favourite of his, who is not more particularly mentioned. The circumstance is worth mentioning only as a specimen of the sort of matters that were held to influence the Sacred College in the elections. Further, Saoli was known to be on bad terms with the Aldobrandini family, still powerful in the College in the person of a younger Cardinal Ippolito, who had inherited a portion of the influence of his elder relative, the nephew of Clement VIII.

Delmonte was known as a man of licentious life; but more injurious to him, says the conclavist writer, than this reputation, was the fact that his family was connected with that of the French Bourbons. It was also known that his election would have given a great lift to the Medici, a consideration that would have ensured him the utmost opposition on the part of the Cardinal of Savoy. Delmonte laboured also under the disadvantage —no small one on that occasion—of being somewhat over-careful in money matters. Against Borromeo there was little or nothing to be said; but it was thought that

his election would not have been agreeable to the Court of Spain, which had, on more than one occasion, in certain matters respecting which it had come into collision with him, as Archbishop of Milan, found him more uncompromising and less accommodating than it could have wished.

Among the surviving "creatures" of Clement VIII. there were also three deemed *papabili*, the Cardinals Bondini, Ginnasio, and Madruzzi. The first was generally held to be a man of great ability, much administrative experience, and brilliant natural talents. "And this reputation," remarks the conclavist very characteristically, "he had continually endeavoured to augment, very unwisely, not understanding that an exhibition of extraordinary merit, no less than demerit, is influential in removing the Papacy out of a man's grasp." He goes on, however, to enumerate a variety of causes of private enmity, which would have the effect of alienating this, that, and the other cardinal from him, which (though the enumeration of them is curious as affording glimpses of the manners of the time, and especially as indicating the minuteness and vast variety of the considerations which influenced the elections, and had to be thought of by the managers of them) would need too much space to be here developed in detail. Ginnasio, though deemed a *creatura papabili*—a possible Pope—was a man of less mark. He had against him a character for being fond of money; and it was thought that during his residence as legate in Spain he had rendered himself distasteful to the Spanish Court. Of Madruzzo of Trent, we are told that, though he strove to the utmost of his power

to get himself accepted among the Italians as an Italian, the latter would always consider him as a German. It is added that, even if he could have succeeded in causing it to be forgotten that he was an Ultramontane (*sic*), he would still have been a cardinal named by Spain, which came to the same thing as far as exclusion from the Papacy went.

The Papacy of Paul V. was so long an one—over fifteen years—and that of Gregory XV. so short—less than two years and a half—that although Gregory was the last, and Paul only the last but one, the "creatures" of Paul were still more numerous in the College than those of Gregory. The historian of the Conclave intimates that the Paoline cardinals were not only the more numerous, but the more conspicuous for merit and weight. And he enumerates no less than eleven who were considered *papabili*. Barberini is one of them. The other ten names are now as unknown as his also would have been, had he not been the one among them elected Pope; and it would be tedious to go over all the grounds of objection to each one of them, which the conclavist, who seems to have been most perfectly master of all the public and private history of every member of the College, assigns at length. We must content ourselves with noting what he and others tells us of the winner in the race.

The Barberini were Florentines, who had thriven as merchant adventurers at Ancona. Maffeo, a scion of the family, born in 1568, was taken to Rome, where an uncle had risen to a certain position in some one of the administrative departments of the Apostolic Court. The

young Maffeo had an opening made for him in the same career, and soon gave evidence of possessing considerable talent and industry. It was remarked that whatever work was given him to do was better done than that entrusted to any of his colleagues. He rose rapidly, and eventually had the way to the highest honour opened to him by being sent as legate to France. Here his tact and judgment succeeded in accomplishing the difficult task of impressing the Roman world with a high idea of his zeal for the advancement of the interests of the Church, while at the same time he rendered himself acceptable to the French Court. Paul V. gave him the purple, and at the death of Gregory, the French party in the Conclave at once conceived the idea of bringing about his elevation to the Papacy. In truth he was the man for the time. As far removed from a Leo X. or from an Alexander VI. as he was from a Paul IV. or a Pius V., he was well adapted for the purposes of the period, when the Head of the Church was taking his place in the European system as—not the Vicegerent of Heaven entrusted with the supremacy over all other monarchs—but one of the crowned heads who had to manage the affairs of Europe among them. Clement VIII., as Ranke remarks, was ordinarily found occupying his leisure with the works of St. Bernard, and Paul V. with those of the Venetian lawyer Giustiniani; but on Barberini's table might be seen the last new poems, and the drawings and plans of fortifications. It would have been well, at least for the finances of the Apostolic Chamber, if he had among his other worldly knowledge possessed a somewhat more trustworthy estimate of the

proportion his own power as a sovereign bore to that of the monarchs his contemporaries. The fortress which he caused to be built on the frontier of the Bologna district, and called Urbano, might more appropriately have been called "Barberini's folly;" and the sums he expended in fortifying the Castle of St. Angelo might as usefully have been thrown into the Tiber.

Maffeo Barberini had contrived in France to conciliate objects and interests somewhat incompatible—in gaining the favour of the French monarch and the French statesmen, and at the same time acquiring at Rome a reputation for zeal for the pretensions of the Church. And if what is told of his management of his affairs in the Conclave be true, he would seem to have availed himself then of the same order of ability. It has been said that the ultimate and the penultimate cardinal nephews, the Borghese and the Ludovisi, were at chronic enmity; and it is said that the clever Cardinal Maffeo found the means of persuading each of them that the other was his especial aversion!

The cardinals deemed *papabili* of the creatures of Gregory XV. (the Ludovisi party) were three in number, Gaetani, Sacrato, and San Severino. The first was a man of literary tastes and habits, and had had much experience in the business of courts. It is curious to find that the main objection to his election was the fact that he was a Roman baron. The time had been when that circumstance would have told in his favour. It was also against him that the Borghese, Paul V., and all the family, had been much discontented with his conduct as nuncio in Spain, where, instead of obtaining the rank

of Spanish grandee for a Borghese, as Paul had expected of him, he had done so for his own relative the Duke of Sermoneta. Further than that, he had purposely, as was believed, kept from the knowledge of Paul the fact that the Duke of Lerma had fallen into disgrace with Philip III. of Spain, and had thus caused the Pope to create him a cardinal, which he would not have done had the truth been made known to him. These were faults which none of the Borghese faction were likely to forget or to forgive! The second, Cardinal Socrati, was considered to be too young; for "though his boldness might have led to his being supposed to be older, it was known that he was little more than fifty years old." Besides that, he had never been liked by Paul V., and was therefore now opposed by the Borghese faction. The third, San Severino, though unobjectionable in all other respects, was strongly opposed by the Spanish party.

At the beginning of the Conclave it was calculated that Borghese could command twenty-four votes—not enough to make an election, but abundantly sufficient to exclude any nomination they might unite in opposing. But it soon became apparent that Borghese could not count with any security on the allegiance of all those who were deemed to belong to his party. It had been, the historian of the Conclave tells us, the constant object and effort of Cardinal Ludovisi, during the whole time of the Papacy of his uncle, to secretly detach from their party the friends of the Borghese interest; and it became evident that an unknown number of those in the Conclave could not be depended on. The Paoline party was, moreover, stricken by a great misfortune in the very

heat of the battle. Their leader, the Cardinal Borghese, was smitten by illness. It was July, and the malaria from the low-lying meadows around the Castle St. Angelo laid its benumbing hand on him! He took to his bed in his cell, and it was thought that he must have quitted the Conclave. The Gregorian or Ludovisian party were in the highest spirits, and thought themselves sure of the victory as soon as Borghese should be no longer present to overawe and hold together the body of his adherents. But he too understood but too well all that was likely to be the consequence of his absence, and determined to struggle on, dragging himself from his bed from time to time as the progress of the struggle rendered it necessary, or the alternating cold and hot fits of the fever rendered it possible for him to do so. Day by day his struggles and his sufferings were marked by hostile and calculating eyes, and day by day the conviction grew that, if he would not die at the stake, he must give up and leave the pestiferous air of the Conclave.

What! succumb! he at the head of such a body of cardinals as no cardinal nephew had ever yet come into Conclave with, and live to see Ludovico Ludovisi create a Pope! Not if he died for it! So still he struggled on. Day after day he was at his post in the Sistine Chapel, though looking as if he must have died on the benches of it. And the Ludovisians began to lose hope. If the fever would but kill him at once! But it would not! That is not Malaria's *modus operandi*, and it was evident that Borghese would strike to no force less than that of death!

Still the Ludovisians, though they could not make, could yet mar any possible election. The days dragged on in various futile attempts till all were tired out; and many feared that, if the Conclave were prolonged at that season of the year, the same fate would overtake them that had stricken Borghese.

So at last Barberini was named, as upon the whole the candidate to whom the greatest number had the least objection; and thus Urban VIII. became yet one more *pis aller* Pope. The election was so far a triumph for Borghese and the Paoline party that Barberini was among the number of his adherents; and it was in so far a triumph for the Ludovisi faction, as that they had compelled their adversaries to be content with one against whom Paul V., and, by that law of inheritance which no statute of limitations ever sets aside in the priestly world of Rome, his nephew the Cardinal Borghese, had sundry old grudges of long standing. As it was, the election was, by virtue of an understanding between the parties, unanimous, with the exception of three of the oldest cardinals, who, remaining in their cells, had been unaware of what was being done.

But this account of the result of the Conclave gives but a very inadequate idea of what a Conclave in the month of July—or August or September—was (and would be again) at Rome. The obstinacy and jealousies of the rival factions needed to be backed and sustained in their Eminences by a degree of determined tenacity of purpose which was proof against suffering of no ordinary kind, and which almost deserves to be called

heroic. The result of the Conclave, as regards the election, has been told. Here are some of the results of it from another point of view, as given in Cancellieri's gossiping and curious little volume.

"On Wednesday, the 29th of July, 1623, about sixty cardinals entered into Conclave, and were shut up that same night. But it appeared as if the election of the new Pope would be an abnormally long affair. Nevertheless the heat of the weather, in the severest (*più aspro*) season of the year, and the discomfort which the cardinals suffered in Conclave, and the imminent danger of falling ill and of dying, made them determine to despatch the business more quickly than they would have otherwise done. The see was vacant twenty-eight days. On the 4th of August Cardinals Peretti and Girardi went out from the Conclave ill. And a great many of the others, including the Cardinal Borghese, began to suffer.

"On the 6th of August, the festival of the Transfiguration, which was a Sunday, Cardinal Maffio Barberini was elected Pope, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and assumed the name of Urban VIII., and was proclaimed at the nineteenth hour (*i.e.* about three o'clock in the afternoon). As soon as they came out of conclave nearly all the cardinals fell ill; many were at death's door, and some died. As for the conclavists, they almost all died. Shortly Pope Urban himself fell ill. On the 14th of August Cardinal Pignatelli died, in his forty-third year, and his body was buried at the Minerva. He was a man of low birth, but a very clever negotiator, and therefore much esteemed by Borghese, who caused

his elevation to the purple, and whose most intimate counseller he was. On the 19th of August died Cardinal Serra, of Genoa, in his fifty-third year, and was buried at the Pace Church. On the 23rd of August Cardinal Saoli, of Genoa, the Dean of the Sacred College, died in his eighty-sixth year, and was buried at the church of La Madonna del Popolo. On the 1st of September Cardinal Gozzadino, of Bologna, died in his fifty-first year. It had been many years previously predicted to him by an astrologer that he should die from imprisonment. He was much in debt, and it was supposed that the astrologer took his hint from that. But when his uncle, Gregory XV., was elected Pope, he said that he now felt safe from the prediction. But on his death-bed he declared that the astrologer had spoken the truth, for that, in fact, the imprisonment of the Conclave had killed him; for, in truth, the Conclave was a prison, and a prison of the very worst description for him and for the others! Finally, the Cardinal Girardo died, in the forty-seventh year of his age, on the 1st of October."

The worthy gossip gives us the chronicle of this terrible mortality on the fifty-fifth page of his volume, utterly and very amusingly forgetful that he had begun his work by the statement that, "although many Conclaves have occurred during the hot months, yet no example of epidemic infection has happened in them; all those who have taken part in them having almost always come out from them without any injury to their health."

## CHAPTER II.

**Reign and Works of Urban VIII.—Change in the Position of the Popes. No more Possibility of obtaining Sovereignties for Papal Nephews. —Accumulation of wealth by the Papal Families.—Sixtus V.— Gregory XIV.—Clement VIII.—Paul V.—Gregory XV.—Urban VIII.—Amount of dotation permissible to a Papal Nephew.—Persecution of one papal family by another.—Conclave at the death of Urban.—Parties and interest at Rome much changed since the last Conclave.—Cardinal Pamphili elected as Innocent X.—The Barberini driven from Rome.**

URBAN VIII., who left so large a material mark at Rome, both by what he built and by what he destroyed, is he of whom and of whose kinsmen it was said, and is remembered, that "Quod non fecerunt Barbari, id fecere Barberini." Even to the present day it is impossible to walk through the streets of Rome without being reminded, almost at every turn, of the building propensities of Urban and his enriched family by the frequent appearance of the bees, his family cognisance. And when these same "busy" creatures are recognised on the colossal bronze canopy over the high altar in St. Peter's, we are reminded of the above-quoted sarcasm, and of the fate of the Pantheon robbed of its bronze covering to deface the nave of Michael Angelo's church by a tasteless monstrosity. But there are no bees at the Coliseum to record the irreparable mischief done by Barberini hands in carting away the materials for their modern buildings!

Urban reigned all but twenty-one years, and the conditions of the Papacy were more changed during this period than had been the case during any previous Pontiff's reign for a very long time. It was the beginning of the long down-hill course on which the power and importance of the Popes has been moving ever since, till the entire loss of temporal dominion, reached at the bottom of that long incline, has, in the opinion of many, opened the way for a return to extended power by a different path. The long hill which has been spoken of was somewhat steep in the earliest portion of it, and became very steep just before the bottom was reached. But the intervening slope was long and very gradual.

The change, of course, necessarily produced a series of prince Popes, as I have called them—of sovereigns who were temporal princes first and churchmen afterwards; for the Popes could only play a great part in European state affairs as Churchmen. The Vicegerency of Heaven had to be put prominently forward in advancing a claim to supremacy over crowned heads. From the time of Urban the Popes became resignedly the petty sovereigns of a petty state; or if, theoretically, not resignedly, their protests against being considered only such were made but for theory and form's sake.

With this decadence from a position of European importance, the completion of the dominions of the Church as they have existed in modern times coincided. For it was not till the reign of Urban VIII. that the duchy of Urbino formed part of the possessions of the Apostolic See. The family of the Della Rovere Dukes—about the

best of all the mediæval Italian sovereign families in all respects—became extinct under very unfortunate circumstances during the papacy of Urban; and the Pope was able to exercise a degree of moral pressure on the old, discouraged, unhappy, and childless Duke, which ended by inducing him to give up his duchy to the Holy Father. Urbino thus fell to the Apostolic See, and completed the Papal dominions as we of this generation have known them.

Contemporaneously with that change in the condition of European affairs which operated to reduce the power of the Pontiffs to that of mere Italian princes, the political conditions of Italy assumed a form and settlement which made it impossible for the Popes to contemplate, or at all events to succeed in, carving out from the body of Italy hereditary principalities for their families. Paul III., the Farnese, was the last who accomplished this. It is true, as has been seen, that the Papal See became possessed of Urbino subsequently under the pontificate of Urban VIII; and had that pontificate and that Pope existed a century earlier, the world would doubtless have seen a series of Barberini dukes at Urbino. But the times were changed. And to put other difficulties—which, however, would have been found insuperable—out of the question, so strong a feeling had grown up in the Church, and especially in the Sacred College, the authority and power of which was now far more able to counterbalance that of the Pontiffs than it had been in earlier times, against dismembering the territory of the Holy See, that Urban did not dare to make the attempt.

It remained, then, for the ambition and family feeling of the later Popes to find some other means for the gratification of passions, which were no less strong in them than they had been in their predecessors. And these means were found in the foundation of princely families, claiming, indeed, no higher rank than that of Roman nobles, but each striving to eclipse, and in many cases succeeding in eclipsing, the relatives of former Popes in splendour, wealth, and the accumulation of real property.

Here are a few particulars of what was accomplished by the successive Popes of the nephew-enriching group; for neither has that phase of Church corruption survived the changes of the times and of public opinion, and we do not find the family names of the more recent Popes familiarized to the world by the immensity of their possessions.

Paul III. was, as has been seen, the last of the sovereign-family-founding Popes. He died in 1549. Sixtus V. was the first of the group we are now speaking of. He ascended the throne in 1585. The interval was occupied by the "zealous Popes," whose minds were bent, as has been seen, on other things.

Sixtus V. conferred on his cardinal nephew ecclesiastical revenues to the value of 100,000 crowns a year. He negotiated a wealthy marriage for another nephew, created him Marchese di Montana, and gave him the principalities of Venafro and Celano.

Gregory XIV. reigned but ten, and Innocent IX. but two months.

Then came Clement VIII. with his thirteen years of

papacy and the Aldobrandino greatness. Pietro Aldobrandino, the cardinal nephew, already in 1599, when only the first half of his sunshine and haymaking period had elapsed, possessed ecclesiastical revenues to the amount of 60,000 crowns a year; and these were subsequently immensely increased. The Cardinal Pietro was a careful man, bought property largely, and had moneys in the Bank of Venice. All his accumulations were destined to pass to Gianfrancesco Aldobrandini, his sister's husband, who had himself, in 1599, 60,000 crowns a year from lay offices in the Pontiff's gift, and who, besides, was constantly receiving presents in cash from the Pope. Ranke tells us that he had found a statement of accounts, according to which Clement VIII. gave to this Gianfrancesco more than a million (of crowns, I presume, is meant) in cash. Gianfrancesco also was a careful and thrifty man. He bought a property which rendered to its owner 3,000 crowns a year, and shortly drew from it 12,000! He married his daughter Margherita to Ranuccio Farnese, and gave her a dower of 400,000 crowns.

Leo XI., Clement's successor, reigned only twenty-seven days; and then came Paul V. and the day of the Borghese greatness. Of course it was the object of each one of these Popes, and yet more perhaps that of their nephews, to eclipse the fortunes and the grandeur of the family of the preceding occupant of the throne; and as the scandalous nepotism and lavish expenditure of the treasure of the Church by each Pontiff in a certain sense legitimatised such practices, and rendered it pos-

sible for the next in the line to go yet a little (or not a little) further, this was not difficult of accomplishment. The ecclesiastical revenues possessed by Cardinal Borghese were valued in 1612 at 150,000 crowns. But Marcantonio Borghese was the layman to whom the transmission of the family name and greatness was intrusted. He received from the Pope the principality of Sulmona, several palaces in Rome, and many of the most valuable villas in the environs. In this case, again, Ranke has found a list of the "gratifications" given by Paul up to the year 1620. They consist in property of almost every conceivable kind, very much of it taken from the treasure-chambers and storehouses of the Apostolic Palace. But the sums in hard cash which Marcantonio Borghese is stated to have received up to 1620 amount to 689,727 crowns in ready money; 24,000 crowns of titles in the public debt, according to their nominal value; and 268,176 crowns in offices, calculated at the price for which they could have been, and ordinarily were, sold by the Apostolic Chamber! The Borghesi also bought lands on a large scale. It is calculated that they purchased about eighty estates in the Roman Campagna, sold by Roman nobles who found that they could increase their revenues by putting the purchase-money of their lands in the public funds. They established themselves also in various other parts of the States of the Church; and the unscrupulous Paul, who was so scrupulous an asserter of the rights of the Church against others, did not hesitate to damage the revenues of the State, as well as his subjects, by granting to his relatives special privileges as to the holding of

markets, and the granting remission from and levying of taxes. Upon the whole, Paul V., the Borghese, was the most unscrupulous and unconscientious of the Popes since Paul III. in his nepotism; and the Borghesi became the wealthiest and most powerful family that had yet risen in Rome. The Farnesi, Paul III.'s kin, had passed beyond those limits, and become sovereign princes, to the infinite affliction and misery of the subjects they governed.

Then came the turn of the Ludovisi. Gregory XV. had only two years and five months to work in for the enrichment and establishment of his family, but he used them to this end so energetically that the Ludovisi, from being small provincial nobles at Bologna, have ever since taken their places among that higher Roman aristocracy, every family of which has a hotbed of simony, robbery, corruption, perjury, and shameless greed at its root!

The Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi was even more absolutely master of the Pope and the Government during his uncle's pontificate than the preceding cardinal nephews had been. He received, or rather took for himself, the two greatest and most lucrative offices of the Ecclesiastical Court—those of Vice-Chancellor and Camerlengo. The Church revenues monopolized by him amounted to 200,000 crowns a year! As Ranke remarks, the very apparent probability that Gregory would not live long only impelled him and his kinsmen to a more energetic and more shameless rapidity in the work of enriching their family. The Pope's brother was made General of the Church, and received

various other very lucrative appointments. In the short space of the two years and five months which contained the whole reign of Gregory XV., the Ludovisi accumulated a revenue of 800,000 crowns on the public debt. The dukedom of Fiano was bought for them from the Sforza family, and the principality of Zagorolo from the Farnesi. Niccolo Ludoviso, the heir to the family honours and possessions, added to them Venosa by a first marriage, and Piombino by a second!

Then came Urban VIII. with his twenty years of Papacy and the day of the Barberini. Urban had three nephews, two of whom were made cardinals, while the third, Taddeo, was to be the founder of the new family. It is stated that the regular income of the three brothers amounted to half a million of crowns annually. All the most lucrative posts were in their hands. Calculations of the time show that the Barberini, during the pontificate of Urban VIII., received in one way or another the almost incredible sum of 105,000,000 crowns! Gregory himself seems to have been assailed by some scruples of conscience as to the enormity of the sums he was turning from their proper uses to the enrichment of his family. He named a commission in 1640, charged to examine into and report upon the propriety and legitimacy of the Pope's doings in the matter. As might easily have been predicted, the commission found that it was all perfectly right. In order, however, to make assurance doubly such to the most delicate conscience, Vitelleschi, the General of the Jesuits, was also consulted upon the point; and when he expressed his opinion that the Pope had not exceeded the bounds.

of moderation (!), of course there could be no further misgiving.

"Thus," says Ranke, "from one pontificate to another new families were always rising into hereditary power, and at once taking their places among the upper aristocracy of the country. It could not be but that enmities should arise among them. The struggle that had at one time existed between factions in the Conclave raged henceforth between the nephews of successive Pontiffs. The new family which had attained to power clung to supremacy with jealous tenacity, and entered at once into hostility, pushed even to the extent of persecution, against the family which had preceded it in power. Despite all that the Aldobrandini had contributed towards raising Paul V. to the Papacy, they were attacked, persecuted, and assailed by ruinous legal proceedings at the hands of the kinsmen of that Pope. The nephews of Paul V. were no better treated by the Ludovisi; and Cardinal Ludovisi was in his turn driven from Rome when the Barberini came into power."

This summary statement of facts that for several Papacies past had made up the principal part of the history and politics of the Roman Court, furnishes a very intelligible explanation of the conduct of the Barberini faction in the Conclave which was held on the death of Urban VIII. At the close of a Papacy of twenty years things were very much changed in Rome. The French interest had been dominant during the whole of that long reign; and the length of it gave reason at first sight to think that the same ascendancy might continue to prevail, for out of sixty-nine cardinals who

went into Conclave on the 18th of January, no less than forty-eight were creatures of Urban VIII., and formed the faction of his nephew's adherents. Forty-six were sufficient to elect the Pope, and Barberini might have named his own man if only he could have trusted *all* the professing adherents of his party; but his attempt to cause the election of Cardinal Sacchetti, who would have entirely suited him, soon showed that he could not so trust them. The party of the older cardinals were strong enough, if not to elect a Pope, at least to exclude any one of his proposing. Under these circumstances it was vital to them to secure, at least, the exclusion of a declared adversary. And thus the Barberini party were at last driven to consent to the election of one who was, indeed, nominally a member of their party, and who had been a "creature" of Urban VIII., but was one of the last of those "creatures" whom they would have chosen if they could have done otherwise; for the Cardinal Pamphili had shown himself inclined to favour the Spanish party, and he had been formally excluded by France. Nevertheless, he was elected on the 16th of September, 1644, and took the name of Innocent X.

But the Barberini very soon found that the modicum of success which they had achieved in the Conclave in securing the election at least of one nominally of their own party was in the result worse than worthless. Pamphili, as has been said, inclined to the Spanish interest, which, though it had been altogether eclipsed and under a cloud during the twenty years of Urban's Papacy, was by no means dead in Rome, but ready to revive and reassume its activity in every ramification of

the complicated machine of the Papal Court in the returning warmth of pontifical favour. And one of the first manifestations of this resuscitated activity was a war to the knife against the Barberini and all that was theirs. Their palaces were occupied by the Papal troops; their property was sequestered; confiscations rained upon them; demands of accounts respecting their administration of the public moneys were threatened; and Antonio Barberini deemed it prudent to fly from Rome. But for one of those sudden changes in the whole Papal sky, to which the peculiar nature of the government renders it liable, the Barberini were wholly ruined!

## CHAPTER III.

Innocent X.—The Story of his Reign stands alone in Papal History.—Donna Olympia Maidalchini, his Sister-in-Law.—Her Influence over him.—Her scandalous venality, greed, and corruption.—Scandal throughout Europe.—Innocent's futile Attempt to banish her.—Anecdote of her dealings in the last hours of the Pope's life.—Innocent's Death.—A Conclave without any leaders.—The "Squadrone Volante."—Anecdote of Cardinals Ottobuono and Azzolini.—Chigi proposed.—Opposed by the French interest.—The Barberini again.—Chigi elected as Alexander VII.—End of the story of Donna Olympia.—Pestilence at Rome.

SUCH was the punishment of the nepotism of Urban VIII. But what was the conduct of Innocent himself, who thus raged against the nepotism of his predecessor, when he was in his turn exposed to similar temptation?

The story of the reign of Innocent X. is in this respect a very singular one. It stands alone among the stories of the long line of Popes, reminding the reader of the old fables of a Pope Joan, which took their dim rise from the metaphorical accounts of the scandals of a Papal Court, not wholly dissimilar from those which Innocent reproduced in more entirely historical times.

A very singular change came over the spirit of the Papal Court. Innocent X. was guiltless of all nepotism, and yet, strange to say, after all that has been told of the Papal favourites of the preceding reigns, the pontificate of Innocent was in this matter of favouritism the most disgraceful of them all! Innocent X. was ruled by no

cardinal nephew; but he was ruled, more despotically than ever a Pope was ruled before, by a sister-in-law. This was the too celebrated Donna Olympia Maidalchini, the widow of Innocent's brother!

Fifteen centuries * of Papal government had habituated mankind to see without surprise in Heaven's Vicar on earth an amount of dereliction of duty, and an enormity of distance between profession and practice, such as has never been recorded in history or exhibited to the world in any other department of its affairs. Yet Europe was startled at the novelty of the position assumed by Olympia immediately on Innocent's elevation. She accompanied the new Pope to the Vatican, and established herself there as its mistress! No step of domestic government or foreign policy decided on, no grace, favour, or promotion accorded, no punishment inflicted, was the Pope's own work. His invaluable sister-in-law did all. 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!

The great object of her unceasing care and diplomacy was to keep at a distance from Innocent every person and every influence which could either lessen her own or go shares in the profits to be extracted from it; for this, after all, was the great and ultimate scope of her exertions. To secure the profits of the Papacy in hard cash, this was the problem. No appointment to office of any kind was made except in consideration of a propor-

* The following account of this extraordinary woman is taken from a life of her by the present author.

tionable sum paid down into her coffers. This often amounted to three or four years' revenue of the place to be granted. Bishoprics and benefices were sold as fast as they became vacant. One story is related of an unlucky disciple of Simon, who, on treating with the Popess for a very valuable see, just fallen vacant, and hearing from her a price at which it might be his far exceeding all that he could command, persuaded the members of his family to sell all they had for the purpose of making this profitable investment. The price was paid, and the bishopric was given to him; but, with a fearful resemblance to the case of Ananias, he died within the year, and his ruined family saw the see a second time sold by the insatiable and shameless Olympia! The incident only served her as a hint always to exact cash down, and not to content herself with a yearly payment from the accruing revenue. The criminal judges in Rome were directed to punish criminals of all degrees in purse instead of person, and the fines were all paid over with business-like exactitude to the all-powerful favourite.

At last the discontent of Rome, the remonstrances of the cardinals, and the contempt and indignation of foreign courts we rebeginning to render the position of Innocent and Olympia hardly tenable. One day a large medal was conveyed into the Pope's hands, on the obverse of which was represented Olympia with the pontifical tiara on her head and the keys in her hand, while the reverse showed Innocent in a coif with a spindle and distaff in his hands. Another day a report was brought to him from England that a play had been

represented before Cromwell called "The Marriage of the Pope," in which Donna Olympia was represented rejecting his addresses on account of his extreme ugliness, till, having in vain offered her one of the keys to induce her to consent, he attains his object at the cost of both of them! The Emperor again had said to the Papal nuncio, "Your Pope, my lord, has an easy time of it with Madame Olympia to put him to sleep."

Driven by these and many other such manifestations of public feeling, Innocent determined to make a great effort. He announced to Olympia, with every expression of regret for the hard necessity, that she must quit the Vatican; and knowing well what he would have to endure if he exposed himself to her reproaches and entreaties, he forbade her to come for the future into his presence.

But the weak and infirm old man had far overcalculated his moral strength. The prop on which he had relied during his years of best vigour could not be voluntarily relinquished now in the time of his decrepitude. Very soon Olympia obtained permission to make secret visits to the Vatican. These were made generally every night; and this nightly secret coming and going at untimely hours threatened to become more ridiculous, if not more seriously scandalous, in the eyes of the lampooning Roman world than an acknowledged residence in the Vatican. Besides, such an arrangement did not adequately meet the necessities of the case. Olympia pointed out to the infirm old man that her constant care and superintendence were necessary to his personal comfort—perhaps to his safety. So Rome very shortly

saw the "Papessa" once again at her old home in the Vatican; and, as from the nature of the circumstances must necessarily have been the case, her power and entire disposal of the functions and revenue of the Papacy became more absolute than ever.

But the rapidly declining health of Innocent warned her that her time was short, and prudence might have counselled her to make some preparation for the storm, which she must have well known she would have to face after his death, by moderation if not relinquishing the corrupt and offensive practices of all sorts which were daily added in the minds of the Romans to the long account against her. Her observation and reading of the world had, however, suggested to her a different policy. If more danger had to be encountered, more money would be needed to meet it. Donna Olympia's faith in the omnipotence of money was unbounded. Only let her have money-power enough, and she doubted not that she should be able to ride out the storm.

So she applied herself with more energy and assiduity than ever to the two objects which shared her entire care—the collection of cash by the most unblushing and audacious rapine and venality, and the keeping the breath of life to the last possible instant within the sinking frame of the aged Pontiff. The latter task was so important, that, both for the insuring of proper attention and for providing against the danger of poison, she kept the Pope almost under lock and key, attending to his wants with her own hands, and allowing him to touch no food that had not been prepared under her own

eyes. During the last year of his life she literally hardly ever quitted him. Once a week, we read, she left the Vatican secretly by night, accompanied by several porters carrying sacks of coin, the proceeds of the week's extortions and sales, to her own palace; and during these short absences she used to lock the Pope into his chamber and carry the key with her!

At last the end was visibly at hand. During the last ten days of his life the Pope's mind was wholly gone. And in these ten days, by rapidly selling off for what she could get for them nominations to vacant benefices and "Prelature," Olympia is said to have amassed half a million crowns! Her last transaction was with a canon, who had been for some time previously in treaty with her for a "Prelatura." He had offered fifty, while she had stood out for eighty thousand crowns; and the bargain had gone off. In the last hours of Innocent's life she sent for this man and told him that she would take his fifty thousand. He said he had dissipated twenty thousand of the sum since that time, and had only thirty thousand left. "Well!" said the unblushing dealer, "since you can do no better, hand them over, and you shall have the 'Prelatura.'" So the money was paid, and the nomination obtained from the dying Pope *in extremis*.

Innocent died on the 7th January, 1655, having reigned ten years and three months. His body remained three days utterly abandoned. Donna Olympia, who had of course left the Vatican the moment that breath left Innocent's body, said that she was a poor widow, whose means were entirely inadequate to

the expense of the obsequies of a Pope. At last a canon, who had been in the Pope's service for many years, but who had for a long time past been out of favour, came forward, and at the sacrifice of a considerable sum paid the last honours to his old patron.

For the first time for many years there had been a Papacy without nepotism, and without a reigning cardinal nephew. And though, as regarded the administration of the Holy See, the credit of the Papacy, and the general tone of morality in the Apostolic Courts, matters had, in this absence of nepotism, changed for the worse, yet at Innocent's death the change that hence arose was seen to be a very important one. The Conclave was without a natural leader, nor was there any bond which as usual banded together the "creatures" of Innocent X. An anecdote was current, which has been preserved by Ranke, that when a proposal was made that they should choose a leader—a "head" whose captaincy they should follow in the Conclave (most naturally the Cardinal Medici, who was the senior of Innocent's creatures)—some of them replied that each man had a head as well as feet of his own, and needed no other. The conclavist who has narrated the story of the Conclave that followed the death of Innocent declares that no less than twenty-two of the "creatures" of Innocent aspired to the Papacy, each for himself! The Spanish ambassador, the Duca di Terranuova, gave them the name of the "squadrone volante," and to a certain degree they seem to have acted together.

It is said that the Cardinal Ottobuono, one of them,

exclaimed at the death-bed of Innocent, "What we have to do is to elect an honest man!" "If you are in search of an honest man," replied Cardinal Azzolini, another of "the squadron," "there is one there," pointing to the Sienese Cardinal Chigi as he spoke. Chigi, in fact, in the course of the affairs, mainly diplomatical, which his life had been passed in transacting for the Apostolic See, had acquired the reputation of an upright, able, and moderate man, of blameless life, and was further known to condemn very strongly the corruptions and abuses which had characterized the pontificate that had just come to a conclusion. The way to elect Chigi Pope, however, was by no means clear. He was strongly opposed by the whole force of the French interest. Chigi had been nuncio at Cologne when Mazarin, driven from France by the *fronde*, was in Germany striving to prepare the means of recovering the power and position he had lost; and Mazarin perceived, or imagined himself to perceive, that Chigi had not given him the support which he had expected from him. From that time Mazarin was his enemy, and did his utmost to prevent his election to the Papacy.

But there was another strong influence and power in the Conclave—that of Cardinal Barberini. We parted from him and his when, vanishing behind a cloud, they went down in the first days of Innocent's Papacy. But now was the time for them to raise their heads, bruised but not crushed by the storm, once again. It might have been supposed that the least likely ofall alliances would have been one between the Barberini and the *popess* of the Pope who had so severely punished them.

But a common misfortune, like a common failing, makes one wondrous kind and forgiving. Olympia, as has been said, had an unlimited faith in the omnipotence of money. Barberini was a fervent worshipper at the same shrine. To Olympia it was all important that a Pope should be elected who should condone her past; and Barberini was deeply interested in the election of one who would not be likely to pursue and renew the severe measures against his family to which Innocent had lent himself at the beginning of his Papacy. And Olympia had contrived, it must be supposed by the influence of the god which she trusted and placed her faith in, to make a party of friends in the Conclave, mainly, of course, among the members of the "squadrone volante."

Chigi was not the man, however, that either Barberini or Olympia would have chosen could they have had their way. But though strong enough to prevent, they were not strong enough to secure the election of a Pope. And this is the most constantly recurring phenomenon in the history of the Conclaves. No party, no person, is ever able to obtain that *the* person they wish to make the Pope becomes such. Each party has to limit his hopes to the exclusion of such candidates as are especially obnoxious to him. And at last the efforts of the strongest party leader in the Conclave content themselves with securing the election of him who stands perhaps the fifth or sixth on their list drawn up in order of preference, who may probably also be sixth or seventh on the list of a rival party. Thus the majority of the Popes have been elected by force of *pis aller*.

In the Conclave of which we are now speaking, it was

discovered at an early day, to the entire conviction of all who understood the work they were about, that no Pope could be elected against the will of Barberini. The question was, not whether that will should be set aside, but to what extent it should be allowed to prevail. The French interest was powerful; and it was this struggle which caused the Conclave to be of unusual length, at least for recent times. It lasted over three months, at the end of which the "squadrone volante," with the acquiescence and help of Barberini, elected Fabio Chigi on the 7th of April, 1655.

As so much has been said of Donna Olympia Pamfili, and her influence was so largely felt in the Conclave, this chapter may be concluded by giving in a few words the end of her story. As Chigi was one of the "creatures" of Innocent, and was considered a moderate man, it was thought that he would not be likely to molest the sister-in-law, favourite, and *governante* of his old patron. It never seems to have occurred to her or her friends that the new Pope might demand a strict account from her merely from considerations of abstract right and justice. She was among the first to compliment him on his accession, and at an early day asked for an audience. The answer was not calculated to reassure her. Alexander sent her word that it was not his intention to receive ladies except on important matters of business. Still she determined not to give up the game, and repeated her application to be allowed to speak with his Holiness with increased urgency; but she only obtained the still more alarming reply that "Donna Olympia had had but too much conversation with Popes,

and that she must understand that things would henceforth be very different."

So much time elapsed, however, before any step was taken with regard to her, that Olympia began to hope that she would be left alone with her enormous hoards. But Alexander, unwilling to incur the blame of acting passionately or hastily upon the subject, was listening to the innumerable proofs of her ill-doings, and quietly making up his mind on the matter. Suddenly an order reached her to quit Rome within three days, and to be at Orvieto within eight. It came upon her like a thunderbolt, for she felt that it was the beginning of the end.

A commissary was sent after her thither to require a strict account from her of all the State moneys that had passed into her hands, immediate restitution of the jewels and other valuables carried off by her from the Vatican, and her answer to the innumerable charges against her of selling offices, benefices, and pardons. She answered by general denials, and by asserting that whatever money had passed into her hands had been paid over to her by Innocent. The next step, it was expected, would have been her imprisonment. But at this stage of the business an unexpected and terrible ally stepped in to save, not the wretched woman herself, but at least her infamously gotten wealth to the Pamfili family. This ally was the pestilence, which invaded Italy, and specially Rome, with such violence, that it threw other matters into abeyance by concentrating on itself all the care and attention of Alexander and his government.

But the pestilence, which thus saved her money-bags, did not spare her to the enjoyment of them, for on its appearance in Orvieto Olympia was one of the first victims.

No further steps were taken by the Government in the matter; and Camillo Pamfili, her son, inherited quietly the almost incredible sums she had amassed. It was said that, besides the vast estates she had acquired, and an immense amount of precious stones and gold uncoined, more than two millions of crowns in money were found in her coffers!

## CHAPTER IV.

Fabio Chigi, Alexander VII.—His character.—His modified nepotism.—Difficulty of entirely abolishing nepotism.—Changing characteristics of the Papacy.—Dispute at the death-bed of Alexander.—Rospigliosi elected Pope as Clement IX.—His Character.—The fluctuations in the population of Rome.—Curious Connection between these phenomena and the decrease of nepotism.—Mixed motive of the Electors in the Conclaves of this Period.—Complaints of the decline of religion and morality in Rome.—Qualities now sought for in a Pontiff.—Innocent XI. a really capable financier.—Conclave which elected Clement X.

FABIO CHIGI had been all his life a well-conditioned ecclesiastic, of decent conduct, doing his duty in that state of life to which it had pleased God to call him, and doing it well according to his lights and the lights of the times in which he lived. He was a well-read, active-minded man, of industrious and active habits, and had gained a reputation for moderation, practical wisdom, and sagacity. Some of these good qualities he retained as Pope. The influences of power and pomp, or the declining energies of advancing age, or both these causes, seem to have deprived him of others. His private conduct continued to be all that could be desired in a dignified ecclesiastic, and his pleasures were such as were suitable to that character. He began his Papacy, too, with all that vigour of good intentions which has been proverbially likened to the action of new brooms. He would have no nepotism! He forbade

his relatives—a brother and his sons—to come to Rome. But . . . . it was soon represented to him by those about him that such rigour was not necessary, was not desirable, was not even right as a matter of conscience; and Alexander VII. was only too well inclined to give ear to such representations. His family affections pleaded for his kinsfolk, and his own decreasing activity longed for the assistance and prop of a cardinal nephew.

The nephew came and was made a cardinal; the brother came, and had the best things that the Apostolic Court had to give to a layman; and a new family was founded. But the Chigi were enriched more moderately, and not in such a manner as to cause scandal or reprobation in that age. It is however worth remarking, as an illustration of the feeling of the time, that Cardinal Pallavicini, the historian of the Council of Trent,* writing while Alexander was still keeping his kinsmen at a distance from Rome, promises him immortality on the strength of that heroic piece of virtue. But the worst consequences of Alexander's fall into the old ruts of nepotism were seen in the increasing tendency which he manifested to throw all the burden of business on the shoulders of those about him. He became a very *fainéant* Pope, occupying his leisure hours, not discreditably, with literature and learned men, but making of those hours a far larger portion of his life than was consistent with the duty of a supreme head of the Church.

* Pallavicini wrote the *orthodox* history of that great event in opposition to the history of Fra Paolo Sarpi.

But Alexander's inclinations in this respect, and the general tendencies of the Apostolic Court and Church at that period, played into the hands of each other. The Sacred College was, day by day, acquiring a greater weight in the State, and a larger share of authority and self-assured importance. The Popes were becoming less autocratic, and more controlled and controllable by a body which was assuming the real position and conditions of a Council of State. We have lived to see the pendulum swinging back again in the contrary direction. But the Popes of the latter half of the seventeenth, the whole of the eighteenth, and the first half of the nineteenth centuries, were priests of decent life, sovereigns surrounded by, and to a great extent the slaves of, ceremonial and etiquette, and autocratic rulers rather in theory and outward appearance than in reality.

Together with propriety and decency, smallness begins more and more to characterize the doings, the interests, and the life of the denizens of the Apostolic Court and its rulers. Terrible hatreds give place to little spites. One cardinal no longer plots the murder of another because he interferes with his pretensions to sovereign power; he only plans to affront his rival because he has been himself offended in some infinitesimal question of privilege, precedence, or dignity. Alexander VII. was not deserted by his relatives and attendants on his death-bed, and no more stories of lurid horrors impart a morbidly melodramatic interest to the Papal annals. But a sharp dispute arose by the dead Pontiff's bedside between two cardinals, who quarrelled over the special privilege, which each claimed, of enacting some

particular part in the ceremonial of the obsequies. And the incident is a significant illustration of the new epoch on which we are entering.

Alexander and his nephew the cardinal were no haters or persecutors. The custom, which usage had almost erected into a law, that the family of the preceding Pope should be pursued by the unrelenting hostility of the kinsmen of his successor, was no longer observed during Fabio Chigi's pontificate. Family, indeed, Innocent had left none to be persecuted, save the layman Camillo Pamfili. But neither did any hostility arise between the "creatures" of Innocent and those of Alexander. And the "squadrone volante," which had mainly decided the election of Alexander, was also chiefly instrumental in placing his successor, Rospigliosi, on the throne as Clement IX. Cardinal Chigi wished at first to have brought about the election of Cardinal D'Elci, a Florentine, because the Grand Duke of Tuscany had set his heart on that election. But finding that none of the other factions in the Conclave would join him in doing so, he allowed himself, without much difficulty, to be persuaded by Barberini and the "squadrone volante," to agree to the election of Rospigliosi, who was elected on the 20th of June, 1667, by sixty-one votes out of the sixty-four which constituted the entire Conclave. Rospigliosi, for form and decorum sake, gave his own vote to Chigi, and it was not known what became of the two others.

Giulio Rospigliosi was conspicuous for all the good qualities which can be insured by the absence of evil ones. He was a man of blameless life, and the kindest,

easiest-tempered man that could be met with. And these are the qualities which seem mainly to have caused his elevation to the Papacy. Clement IX. was the first Pope for a very long time who could not be accused in any degree of nepotism. A fair share of preferment fell to his relatives, and the Rospigliosi became greatly enriched, but mainly by a rich marriage with a Genoese Pallavicini heiress. Cardinal Chigi was not even displaced from his position of Minister of State, and his advice and representations were, as Ranke remarks, almost as much attended to by Clement as they had been by Alexander.

The same historian gives from a MS. in the Barberini library an extremely curious statement of the population of Rome at various dates about this period, which illustrates in a very remarkable manner one of the results of this cessation of nepotism on a large scale, and of that successive persecution of one family by another which arose from it. The facts are given in tabular form as follows:—

| | Inhabitants. | Families. |
|---|---|---|
| In 1600 | 100,729 | 20,019 |
| In 1614 | 115,643 | 21,422 |
| In 1619 | 106,050 | 24,380 |
| In 1628 | 115,374 | 24,429 |
| In 1644 | 110,608 | 27,279 |
| In 1653 | 118,882 | 29,081 |
| In 1656 | 120,596 | 30,103 |

Now the curious fact in this statement is, that while the number of the population varies in a very capricious manner, the increase in the number of families is constant and steady. And the explanation of so singular an anomaly is to be found in the diminution

in the numbers of mere adventurers—ecclesiastical, and consequently bachelor, seekers of fortune—and the continual increase in the number of permanent and settled citizens. And this change is unquestionably the result of a cessation of the state of things, when at every demise of the tiara everybody was turned out from his position, and the whole field was open to the hopes and ambitions of new comers. A constant movement of coming and going was thus produced, which accounts for the apparently capricious variations in the population; while the steady, though by no means rapid increase in the number of *families* indicates the greater degree of stability of those who for any reason had once fixed their residence in Rome.

While the general character of the Conclaves, beginning from about the middle of the seventeenth century, shows a very marked and increasing improvement, not only in external decency, but in a real sense of the paramount duty of electing a successor to the throne of St. Peter who might be hoped to turn out a ruler devoted to and calculated to secure the interests of the Church, these aims were not so unanimously understood, and these motives were not so unmixed with others, that were in some of the electors secondary and in not a few even primary, as to render the choice of the Pontiff and the management of the Conclave a simple matter. On the contrary, the increased numbers of the Sacred College, in the first place; the increased number of *soggetti papabili*, which was the natural result of an age when at least decency of ecclesiastical conduct had become common, and when a fair character, a reasonable

amount of talent for business, and industry in the transaction of it, were held to confer a right to aspire to the tiara, in the second place; thirdly, the infinitely increased number of wires and wire-pullers produced by an age when audacious violence was no longer the order of the day, when the interests of all European States had become much more complicated and bound up together, and diplomacy was universally understood to signify dissimulation and craft; and lastly, the increased number and variety of the considerations which went to the choosing of a really good and fitting Pope—all tended to complicate the business of the Conclaves. The outlines which mark the doings within them become less bold and distinct. They are finer, more intricate, more constantly crossing each other, and more blurred by the secrecy and frequently unavowed nature of the motives of the actors.

I have said that the amount of virtue to be found in the Sacred College about the period of which we are speaking had greatly increased. And, indeed, I think that the remark might have been made of an epoch beginning somewhat earlier—from the beginning of the seventeenth century perhaps. But I find the narrator of the Conclave which elected Clement X. in 1670 complaining in no measured terms of the exceeding wickedness of the Roman world—of its avarice, luxury, worldliness, and above all of its irreligion. But such complaints will be recognised by those who have the history of that century and its neighbouring centuries before their eyes, instead of the immediate view of the life around them, as evidences of that improvement which a

sense of the necessity of improvement always implies. But the writer, who seems to have composed one division of his narration previously to, and in anticipation of, the Conclave, says much, in a curious exposition of the qualities of the possible candidates—the *papabili*—and the motives that may be expected to influence the electors, of some considerations of an order entirely new in the history of the Papacy and the Conclaves. No quality has hitherto seemed to all the persons concerned, including the historians of the Conclaves, to give so good a title to aspirations to the tiara as a reputation for boundless "liberality." A Pope who would open wide his hand, and fling the exhaustless treasures of the Church broadcast over all the open-mouthed expectants high and low who were gaping for them—this was the man Rome and the Holy See wanted. But the narrator of the Conclave which elected Clement IV. in 1670 has a singularly changed note. What is wanted is, almost above all else, an economical Pope—one who will not squander the revenues of the Church either by spending or giving. The character which more than one of the *soggetti papabili* had acquired for parsimony as a private individual is cited as no bad qualification for his election. And in truth such considerations were beginning to make themselves felt at Rome not a moment too soon. The reckless and inordinate profusion of the recent Popes, together with an absolutely ignorant and ruinous financial system, had brought the Apostolic Court almost to the verge of bankruptcy; and had it not been for the rare and little to have been expected good fortune which, six years subsequently to the time we are now

speaking of, placed a really capable financier on the Papal throne in the person of Innocent XI., that verge would infallibly have been passed.

In the two hundred years which have elapsed since the elevation of Innocent XI. till the present day, sixteen Popes, including Innocent and Pius IX., have reigned, and accounts which might be rendered both intelligible and amusing might be written of each one of the sixteen Conclaves which have elected them. But at least eight such volumes as the present would be needed for the purpose. It is out of the question, therefore, that any such attempt should be made. To give, however, such a mere statement of names, votes, and the results of them as could be given within any reasonable limits, would be neither intelligible to any good purpose nor amusing, but on the contrary intolerably tedious. It has seemed better, therefore, to endeavour to treat this Conclave which elected Clement X. with some little degree of detail, taking it as a specimen of the sort of elections which have prevailed under the new conditions which the changed face of things in Europe had imposed on the Papacy.

## CHAPTER V.

**Conclave which elected Altieri as Clement X.—No fewer than twenty-one "Soggetti Papabili." — Barberini. — Ginetti.— Brancacci. — Carpegna. — Facchinetti. — Grimani.— Gabrielli.— Odeschalchi.— Alvizzi.—Cibo.—Ottobuoni.— Spada.— Bonvisi.—Vidoni.—D'Elci. —Celsi.—Litta.—Bonelli.—Altieri.—Nerli.—Bona.—Complaint by the Conclavist of the impiety of the Times.**

THE Conclave from which Cardinal Emilio Altieri came forth as Clement VI. was an unusually long one. Clement IX. died on the 9th December, 1669; the cardinals went into Conclave duly on the twentieth of that month; but the election was not made till the 29th of April in the following year. Morone says that at the beginning of the Conclave every one was in favour of the Cardinal Altieri, and the whole Roman world expected him to be elected. But this seems to be hardly consistent with the fact that the Conclave was so long an one. And in fact the special narrator of the Conclave, in all probability a conclavist as usual, gives a very different account of the matter. According to his contemporary statement, no fewer than twenty-one of the cardinals who went into Conclave were deemed to belong to the category of *soggetti papabili.* It is very intelligible that such a condition of matters should lead to a severe struggle, to manifold complications, and consequently to a Conclave of long duration. But it is

impossible to believe that all, or nearly all, the electors were from the first minded to elect the same man, and yet were four months about it.

The conclavist gives us the list of these one-and-twenty *papabili*, together with the qualities which recommended and the objections which impeded each of them. And the list thus commented serves to afford an excellent insight into the nature and variety of the considerations which were operative on the minds of the electors.

The first on the roll is Cardinal Barberini, now Dean of the Sacred College, by force of seniority, not of years, it will be understood, but of his standing in the College, and eminently *papabile* by virtue of his character, as well as his connections, influence, and social standing in Rome. He was born in 1597, and was therefore now seventy-three years old. In the words of the conclavist, "his kindness of heart, his wisdom, his experience, vigilance, and zeal, his charity to the poor, his unwearied industry in business, are qualities which would not only merit the Papacy, but in the present conjuncture of circumstances would necessarily fix the choice of the electors on him, if they were not counterbalanced by his obstinacy, capriciousness, instability, and too great self-confidence." In fact, as the writer goes on to show, both the cardinals and the crowned heads of Europe were too much afraid of him to wish to see him Pope. "Besides, prone to anger as he is, men think that were he to find himself with the tiara on his head and the pontifical mantle on his shoulders, he would not be apt to spare any of those around him if things did not go

to his mind, or if he were surprised by one of his frequent outbursts of passion."

Cardinal Ginetti, of Velletri, the next on the list, was born in 1585, and was therefore eighty-five years old. The large experience of Courts which he had acquired from a long residence at the Court of the Emperor as legate from Urban VIII., his well-known industry, the blamelessness of his life, are all strongly in his favour. "Nor will his reputation for parsimony injure him in an age when there is need of a Pontiff who will repair the too reckless liberalities of the past." He has a nephew, too, the most eminent man among the body of Roman prelates, who is a clerk of the Papal Chamber—a thoroughly well-conducted man, liberal and open-handed, and in this respect might be a useful complement to the qualities of his uncle. Cardinal Ginetti has, in Conclave language, *the exclusive* of nobody, and *the inclusive* of Barberini—which means that no cardinal nor any sovereign has declared that he shall not be Pope if they can help it, and that Barberini has declared him one of those whom (failing perhaps other combinations) he would willingly see Pope. It is known that the Medici would make no difficulty in acquiescing in his election, and Cardinal Caraffa, one of the Chigi group, is a family connection of the Ginetti. The Spaniards would be very willing to accept him; and Cardinal Chigi would, in case he should not be able to bring about the election of any of the "creatures" of his uncle, Alexander VII., probably consent to his election rather than to that of any other outside the circle of his own faction, because his great age would still leave

Chigi the hope that he might place one of his uncle's "creatures" on the throne at the next election. On the whole, it was thought that Ginetti's chance was a very good one.

Third on the list is his Neapolitan Eminence Brancacci, born in 1592. He is a man of decent character and studious habits, and attentive to business, and his nephew, a prelate, if not distinguished in any way, is inoffensive, good-natured, and well-liked. He is put forward by Barberini as one of his uncle's "creatures," and Chigi, if obliged to seek a Pope beyond the circle of his own faction, would not object to him. He has some friends among the "squadrone volante," which still exists and is influential. The French would be well contented with his election; and Cardinal Rospigliosi, the last Pope's nephew, would vote for him if he should fail in securing the election of a Clementine cardinal. But all these favourable circumstances are probably more than neutralised by the fact that he is specially excluded by the Spaniards, which might possibly not suffice to render his election out of the question were it not that the Spaniards have named to Chigi four of Alexander's creatures, in the election of either of whom they would be willing to concur. Still it was on the cards that Brancacci might become Pope as the result of a failure of other combinations.

Fourth is Carpegna of Urbino, about seventy years of age. He is not a man who has much to recommend him in point of intelligence or political knowledge; but he is a very good sort of man, who would be content to live and let everybody else live in peace. He has

exactly that in his favour which Barberini has against him—nobody would be afraid of him. He would be safe to avoid all innovations and novelties; and for this reason the crowned heads would be well content with his election, which is especially desired by the Grand Duke of Tuscany. On the whole, however, his chance is a very poor one.

Fifth comes the Bolognese Facchinetti, born in 1608; and he is the man whom Barberini will strive with all his power to place on the throne. Facchinetti had been nuncio in Spain under Urban VIII., and had been thought to acquit himself well upon that occasion. He had made himself agreeable to the Spanish Court, notwithstanding which, however, the Spanish interest in the Conclave would be opposed to him merely on the ground of his age, sixty-two years only, the maxim of that Court being in favour of electing an older man. Medici, if unable to have either D'Elci or Carpegna, would vote for Facchinetti. Cardinal d'Este also would vote for him from private friendship. The "squadrone volante" would be divided concerning him. "But," says the conclavist, "Chigi, if he be well advised, will oppose him with all his power, nor take any heed of whatever promises may be made to him; for besides that Cardinal Facchinetti is of such an age and constitution as to make it probable he may outlive all the Alexandrine creatures (and so prevent for ever the hope of raising a Chigi cardinal to the throne), it would come to the same thing as making Barberini himself Pope, since Facchinetti recognises him as the sole author of his fortunes. The loud report of this cardinal's (Facchi-

netti's) amiable qualities," the conclavist goes on to say, "resounds everywhere; for he has made it his special aim to gain universal popularity, after the fashion of Cardinal Giulio Rospigliosi, who, by being hail-fellow-well-met with everybody who sought him, and by never failing to answer the letters of even the most obscure and low persons (filling his letters, too, with all the same courteous expressions that he used to persons of quality), found the means of winning everybody's heart in such sort that he made everybody believe that he was his special confidant and friend. In the same manner, Facchinetti has as many friends as Rospigliosi had adherents; but as these tricks are generally played off by persons more ingenious than ingenuous, it might be feared (were it not for his well-known virtue) that if he should ascend the throne his confidants and friends might find themselves deluded and neglected." That last parenthesis is delicious, and one fancies that one can see the expression of the sly old conclavist's face as he wrote it; but I think it may be assumed, without much fear of mistake, that the writer was not one of those whom Facchinetti's popularity-hunting had captivated.

Next came, sixth on the list, the Genoese Cardinal Grimani, who was born in 1603. The conclavist says that he was injured as a candidate for the Papacy by the belief that he was French in his sympathies; but that, if the truth were known, that would be found so far from being the case that the Spaniards would understand that he is the man they would most wish for. Indeed, says the conclavist, "the Church, the State,

nay the whole world, could desire nothing better than the exaltation (*i.e.* election) of this great man."

Gabrielli, a Roman cardinal, is the seventh of the *papabili.* "And if St. Paul had been Christ's Vicar, he might justly pretend to be his successor by reason of his personal likeness to that apostle. He is," continues the writer, "of Portuguese origin, and his sordid mode of life gives testimony to that fact in the most remarkable manner." Barberini names him as *papabile* merely as being one of Urban's creatures. Medici is favourable to him "with a superficial adherence." But his Eminence Gabrielli has no acquaintance with state affairs, and he does not enjoy either esteem or favour in public opinion. "And this is all," concludes the conclavist, "that there is to be said about him!"

Odeschalchi comes next, the eighth. His "rare excellencies in point of holiness of life would make him an excellent Pontiff, if he were in other respects fitted to the present needs of the Church." In the first place, he is only fifty-eight, and in such robust health that if he were elected a long Papacy might reasonably be counted on; and this alone is sufficient to make the crowned heads hostile to him. He is a great lover of study, of excellently good intentions, charitable to the needy to the utmost limit of his means, and if the people of Rome had votes he would be Pope to a certainty; but he is reserved and ungenial in his manners, and scrupulous to excess in matters of conscience, which stands much in his way. The Spanish faction object to him on various grounds; and the French would be very sorry to see a Pope so austere, both in reality and in appearance, as

the conclavist says, on the throne of St. Peter. Cardinal Imperiale is a great enemy of his, but that would rather be of service to him than otherwise. On the whole, it is hardly likely that he should be the successful candidate. He was not so on this occasion; but from the next Conclave, six years later, he came forth as Innocent XI., and showed himself to be the right man in the right place, as regarded the needs of the Church at that time, to a degree which the elections of the Sacred College have rarely equalled.

Albizzi, ninth on the list, is a very different sort of man. Haughty, bold, enterprising, ambitious, every man in the Sacred College is afraid of him. The Spaniards would absolutely refuse to accept him. The French would not object to him because he is objected to by the Spaniards, and because "they have nothing to lose in Italy." The Florentines would naturally be in his favour as a countryman of their own, but that they are afraid of him. He is one of Barberini's candidates, as having been a "creature" of Urban; but neither Chigi nor Rospigliosi with their respective adherents would hear of him, deeming him "a man too terrible and exceedingly learned."

Cardinal Cibo, the brother of the reigning Prince of Massa, is the tenth of the *papabili*. There is little else than good to be said of him. He is a man of exceeding pleasing and popular manners, and would, the conclavist thinks, make a very good Pope. He would be acceptable to the crowned heads, who in his case probably would not be rigorous in adhering to their maxim of requiring a Pope to be not less than seventy. Barberini

could, the conclavist thinks, have no objection to him. And the *squadrone volante*, of which he is a member, could not but be pleased to see so creditable a member of their party raised to power. The Medici, too, would not refuse to concur in his election. Nevertheless, with all this, he will not be proposed by the leader of any faction, and "*therefore* he must recommend himself for aid to the Holy Ghost, since he has an objection to anything simoniacal." The reader is left to conclude that his chance is a desperate one.

Of the Venetian Cardinal Ottoboni the conclavist writes only this: "So many are the writings current in Rome respecting the Venetian Ottoboni, that it is unnecessary to say anything here about him, save that, during all the time that he governed the *Dataria*, he has shown himself so hostile to princes and to men of merit, that it is hardly likely, despite his sardonic grin, that he should ever at any time attain to the Papacy." Nineteen years subsequently, however, after Altieri had reigned more than six as Clement X., and Odeschalchi had reigned more than twelve as Innocent XI., this Ottoboni was elected Pope, "despite his sardonic grin," as Alexander VIII. But promotion came to him, as to so many another, too late, and he reigned only sixteen months.

We come next to Cardinal Spada, a Lucchese, in his seventy-third year. He was the favourite candidate of the *squadrone volante*, and was probably the man whom Barberini would most willingly have contributed to elect, *if* he should be unable to secure the election of Facchinetti. The whole of the *squadrone* would vote

for him; and it was thought that Cardinal Azzolini, one of their number, would very possibly be able to persuade Rospigliosi and the Clementine cardinals to acquiesce in his election. Chigi and the Alexandrines would oppose him; but it was calculated that, unless the French party and the Medici party joined Chigi in his opposition, he would hardly succeed in preventing his election. In short, Spada's chance was thought a good one.

Another cardinal from Lucca is the thirteenth on the list, his Eminence Bonvisi, now in his sixty-third year. He is described as naturally candid, open to conviction, liberal, kindly, and sincere. He is said to possess a very intimate knowledge of the European Courts and of the policy of their rulers, though, as clerk of the Apostolic Chamber, his own special business had led him to be more versed in legal matters. It is remarked that he is, as a Lucca man, specially well informed of all that is going on in Europe, from the particular care which that republic takes to keep itself well acquainted with such matters. And "as the people of that nation (the Lucchese) are known to be industrious, affable, and courteous," it would, says the conclavist, be much for the advantage of the Church and the city of Rome to have a Pope with such qualities. The chief objection to so admirable a candidate ("such is the perversity of the world!" ejaculates our conclavist) is, that Francesco, his nephew, is too clever by half! On the contrary, our author maintains, the nephew would furnish an excellent complement to the qualities of the uncle, who, by reason of failing health, might be found to be slow, and too

much inclined to let things take their own course; whereas Francesco Bonvisi is a man of an active, resolute, frank, and bold turn of mind, well versed in public affairs, industrious, assiduous in the despatch of business, in such sort that "the conjunction of the suavity of the uncle with the authority of the nephew would form such a compound," that it would be the very thing wanted. Chigi would be opposed to him, at least till after proof of the impossibility of electing either D'Elci or Celsi. Neither the French nor the Spaniards would specially oppose him. The *squadrone* would be divided as regarded him; but this, remarks the writer, might do him more good than harm with all those who, disgusted with recent events,* wish for a Pope capable of managing his own affairs.

Next comes Vidoni, fourteenth on the list, born in Cremona, and now in his sixtieth year. He, apparently, would be the Pope, if our conclavist had the making of one in his hands, notwithstanding all the grand things he has said of others. "He alone," says the writer, "possesses all those grand qualities which are needed to constitute a great Pontiff." The austerity of his aspect does not interfere with the remarkable affability of his behaviour to all who are brought to speak with him; and the better he is known the more surely do those who know him find that this kindly manner is the outcome of genuine goodness. His well-known parsimony is, in the present condition of circumstances, a recommendation, since "the Church does not need a Pontiff

* He is alluding to the pontificate of Pamfili, Innocent X., and the scandals of Olympia.

whose liberalities would consummate her ruin, experience having taught us how pernicious to the people is the prodigality which gives away the property of others." He would be a most vigilant and zealous Pope in ecclesiastical matters, and absolutely indefatigable in the transaction of business. It is not true that he is an unduly severe man. On the contrary, he is prone to pardon—too prone, indeed, as it is asserted that he was when legate at Bologna—a defect which is objected to him with absurd inconsistency, at the same time that he is accused of harsh severity. He has had much experience in the management of State affairs, and the registers of the Papal Secretary's office furnish abundant testimony of his diplomatic successes when employed as nuncio in Poland. It cannot be supposed that he would be otherwise than acceptable to Barberini, seeing that Urban made an uncle of his a cardinal. It was Innocent X. who sent him to Poland, and it must be believed, therefore, that the *squadrone volante** would be favourable to his candidature. The good opinion of the Emperor, which he won on that occasion, would probably serve his cause with the Spaniards, while the fact that he was made cardinal at the request of the King of Poland might dispose the French to look favourably on his candidature. This phœnix of a cardinal is the only one in the list to whose candidature our conclavist finds nothing to oppose, and intimates no hostility as threatening. But Cardinal Vidoni did not become Pope.

* The group of cardinals so called, and so often referred to, consisted mainly of the "creatures" of Innocent X.

Cardinal D'Elci, a Tuscan, though born at Madrid, comes next. He is seventy years old. He was nuncio at Venice and at Vienna before he had the purple; and even in those days, on his return from those embassies, shrewd judges had had their eye on him as a man who might some day reasonably aspire to the Papacy, so much credit had he gained in those employments. He is a kindly and popular mannered man too. The greastest objection to him is the character of his nephew, the Archbishop of Pisa, who is well known in Rome as an austere, punctilious, and severe man, very difficult to deal with—not the sort of man, in short, whom the Church needs at the present conjuncture, which demands above all a man vigilant and zealous for the interests of the Holy See, and at the same time well fitted for treating with foreign Courts, a man who will be ready to act *suaviter in modo sed fortiter in re.* Such qualifications were truly indeed desirable in the struggle with Louis XIV. and the growing pretensions of the Gallican Church, which was then rising menacingly on the Papal horizon; and our author judges that they would not be found in a sufficient degree in D'Elci and his nephew. The elements of success which he has in his favour are the good wishes of the Spanish party, secured to him by his Spanish birth and his connection with that Court, the support of Medici and the Tuscan party, and his place as first on the list of those whom Chigi and the Alexandrines would strive to place on the throne. An *obiter dictum* of our conclavist, the spiteful significance of which is amusingly illustrative of a phase of Italian feeling which is met with again and again

throughout the whole course of Italian and above all of Papal history, shows, however, that this Tuscan favour was not to be reckoned on entirely as an element of success in the Conclave. So highly is D'Elci thought of at Florence, and so celebrated in all Tuscany is the memory of Count Orso, the father of the Cardinal, that it is to be expected, if D'Elci should be elected, that "all that country would be depopulated by reason of the numbers who would throng to Rome to applaud and pay their court to so excellent a sovereign." And although Chigi would rather see him on the throne than any other, that cautious leader will not venture to put him forward as a candidate, unless some opportunity should seem to show greater chances of success than are at present apparent.

Cardinal Celsi, a Roman, born like D'Elci in 1600, and therefore now seventy, is the sixteenth on the list of *papabili.* This "subject"—*questo soggetto*—such is the constant Conclave style, where it would be as much out of place to talk of a *candidate* as to speak of *water* in a brewery—this subject would have a better chance if he knew less of the "paragraphs of the Rota," and more of the affairs of the great world. His reputation of being a man of immoral life is also against him "with the scrupulous." The only persons anxious to elect him are the Spaniards. Barberini, on these as well as other grounds, would be strongly opposed to him. Many of the *squadrone* would not vote for him; and even Chigi's adherents would give him an *exclusiva*, despite what has been said above that Chigi himself would prefer him next to D'Elci. It has been explained that this strongest

form of opposition consisted in an open declaration that under no circumstances would the person or party giving the *exclusiva* vote for the candidate in question, thus finally and decisively placing enmity between them. Under these circumstances, concludes the conclavist, it is not necessary to pay any further attention to him.

Cardinal Litta, of the noble Milanese family of that name, is very briefly dismissed with the remark, that the Spanish party have such a fear of his indiscreet zeal, that they would oppose him with such determination that, as he strangely phrases it, "it would be superfluous to hope for his election."

Bonelli comes next, eighteenth on the list, a Roman, born in 1613, and accordingly only fifty-seven. "And certainly," says the conclavist, "if ardour in the hunting field were equally applicable to the pursuit of the Papacy, Bonelli might hope to run it down." The violent and passionate temper of his nephew, the Cardinal Imperiale, who would, if he were made Pope, be the ruling power, is felt to be a great objection to him. Nevertheless, Barberini would perhaps accept him because of the decided hostility of the French party to his candidature; the Genoese cardinals would vote for him because he is connected with nearly all of them by ties of relationship; the *squadrone* would not be opposed to him; and Chigi and his party would remember that he is a "creature of Alexander VII.; and, finally, the Spaniards would probably vote for him in consequence of his having been nuncio at Madrid. Despite all these points in his favour, however, it does not seem that this Nimrod had ever much chance of being elected.

The next, nineteenth in the list, is a more serious candidate, Cardinal Altieri, who, though eighty years old or thereabouts, is the last on the list of the Sacred College, having been created by Clement IX. when he was almost *in extremis*. "His aspect is noble, his character angelic!" writes the conclavist; "for kindness, affability, generosity, and integrity he has not his equal! He was nuncio at Naples; and had it not been that the Divine Providence specially reserved for Clement IX. the glory of recognising and rewarding Altieri's merit, he would have been a cardinal much sooner." Clement IX., however, almost let this glory, so specially reserved for him, slip though his fingers, for it was only in his last hours that he gave Altieri the purple. The principal objection to him as a candidate for the Papacy is to be found, the conclavist thinks, in his age. But, he adds, he is in such health, so strong and vigorous, that he may well be expected to live for half a dozen years to come (an anticipation which was exactly verified by the event). In other respects, the chances of this the oldest man, though youngest member of the Sacred College, appear to be very favourable. Neither Spain nor France could object to him. Medici and his Tuscan adherents would be favourable to him. It cannot be supposed that Barberini would have any invincible objection to him, since a brother of Altieri had been made cardinal by him. The Cardinal D'Este would not refuse to concur in his election; and though among the adherents of Chigi there would be some opponents, they would probably not stand out against an election so generally desirable. There would also be a

strong feeling generally among the Romans, prompting them to consent to an election which would "restore to Rome its former splendour, and show the world that it was still capable of producing the material from which great Pontiffs are made!" For with the exception of Innocent X., Pamfili, whose pontificate was assuredly in no wise calculated to do credit to Rome and the Apostolic See, there had not been a Roman Pope for half a century.

Cardinal Nerli, Archbishop of Florence, is the twentieth on the list. An excellent man, of entirely blameless life, he is yet hardly fitted for the Papacy, both by reason of his failing health and his inexperience of State affairs. Though four years younger than Altieri, anybody would suppose him to be much his senior. Innocent X. made him a cardinal and Secretary of the Briefs, and in that position he had remained ever since—an excellent canonist, but wholly ignorant of the politics and interests of Europe. He has a hypochondriac, impracticable man for a nephew too—a consideration much against him. In short, it seems that the Archbishop of Florence has hardly any place on the list of the *papabili*.

The twenty-first and last on the list (for the conclavist seems to have made some error in his reckoning, and though he speaks of the *papabili* as twenty-two, names only twenty-one) is the monk, Father Bona. "His holiness of life, his highly conscientious uprightness, his profound knowledge of the canon law, his acquirements as a theologian, would render him the choice of all who recognise the imminent need of reformation

in the Church, and of a bulwark against the rising flood of Atheism." For, as the writer goes on to complain, "there is no sort of impiety which the utter absence of Christian charity and a connivance at heretical interests does not lead to. So that Rome, formerly so holy, has become the very asylum of heresy. Papal censures are no longer feared. Divine worship is neglected. The saints are maltreated and their images trampled on to such a point, that the sacred songs and psalms, with which in better times praise and thanksgiving were rendered to God and his Holy and Immaculate Mother, are in these days reduced to pasquinades!" "And what wonder is it," he proceeds, "if territories are lost, if the Turk advances, if heresy is accredited, and if Christ scourges the world with pestilence, war, and famine, and uses the Turks, his most implacable enemies, to chastise those who place him under the necessity of again purging the Christian world, which has become worse than the Jews who crucified him."

One is curiously reminded of the complaints of an earlier censor:—

"*Delicto majorum immeritus lues, Romane, donec templa refeceris, ædesque labentes Deorum, et fœda nigro simulacra fumo,*" and the rest, in a singularly similar tone of thought and mind.

These are considerations, pursues our author, which would tend to direct the choice of the electors to Father Bona. But . . . . such a thing is hardly to be thought of. The government of monks has always been abhorrent to the secular priesthood; and least of all would their Eminences place so austere a reformer over them

in days when there is so much that needs reforming! And his comparative youth and robust health are against him; for he would be likely enough to live till he had filled the Sacred College with friars. Besides, the crowned heads would never consent to the election of a Pope whose austerity they would dread, and who would prove inflexible in upholding ecclesiastical privileges and immunities.

It will have been seen that from this list of the *soggetti papabili*—of those, that is to say, who might by possibility be thought of by the electors—several might fairly be erased on the score that their election was hardly on the cards. But it is abundantly clear that, when this has been done, the *papabile* material remains sufficiently copious to make the work of election a long, difficult, and extremely uncertain one.

## CHAPTER VI.

No Chief of a party or party able to make Pope the man they most desired to elect.—Fear of enmity much more operative in the Conclave than enmity.—Multiplicity of considerations ever on the increase.—The Conclave which elected Clement X. especially long and difficult.—Moderation of recent Popes as to nepotism operates to increase this.—Saying of the Princess Albani.—Abundant evidence in this Conclave that negotiations with a view to the election were not checked by the Bulls to that effect.—Searching the Dinners of Cardinals a mere Farce.—Odeschalchi all but elected. —Father Bona wishing to further his Chance, injures it.—Why Cardinal Pio could not vote for Altieri.—Chigi fails altogether as Head of a Faction.—Anecdote of Cardinal Razzi.—Message from the King of Spain to the Conclave.—Remarkable results of it.—Anecdote of Altieri on the Eve of his Election.—Election of Altieri. —Anecdote of De Retz.

I HAVE gone through the long list of candidates given in the last chapter, with their qualifications, disqualifications, and reckoning up of their probable supporters and opponents, because the detail, which has in this instance been preserved to us, seemed to afford the means of forming a very fair notion of the sort of considerations on which the preferences of the electors were, or were supposed to be, based, of the extreme complexity of these considerations, and of the remarkable indirectness of the methods by which they operated to an eventual election. It will have been made clear to the reader that it hardly ever occurred, or could occur, especially in the more recent centuries of the Papal history, that any one, or any one group of the electors, was able to

place on the throne the man that he, or it, *most* wished to place there. The necessity of a two-thirds majority, which makes, in Conclave language, exclusion so very much easier than inclusion—makes it, that is to say, so very much easier for any party in the Sacred College to say that such or such a man shall *not* be Pope than to secure the election of any individual—necessarily produces the result that has been mentioned. The election is always, at least as regards many if not most of the electors, of the nature of a *pis aller*. It in some degree resembles the election of that officer to be general-in-chief, who, as the story goes, was chosen by the secretly given *second* votes of all the voters. But in the case of the Conclave these second votes are not given till more or less overt tentatives have convinced the voter that the attainment of his first preference is hopeless.

Another characteristic of these elections and of the men engaged in them, which is curiously brought out by the stories of the Conclaves, is that the fear of enmity is more largely and widely influential than enmity itself. An elector will not vote for this or that "subject," because he is conscious of having at some former period of his life done something for which he takes it for granted that the individual in question must owe him a grudge. The candidate has never in any way expressed any feeling of the sort. But none the less does the man who is conscious of having injured or affronted him feel that it would be unsafe for him that that man should become Pope! It may well be that he himself would be capable of forgiving such an ill turn received from another, but he is utterly

incapable of believing that another should so forget or forgive it! A very large and long experience of the Italians of all classes has shown the present writer many an honest man among them, but he *never* met with one who believed in the honesty of his fellows. Thus one reads again and again that Cardinal So-and-so might be counted on as a supporter of such a candidate, not because he, the candidate, had done some good thing to the voter, but because the latter, the voter, had in some way or other, and at some time or other, conferred a favour on the candidate! "I placed him under an obligation to me, therefore I can venture to contribute towards raising him to the throne."

It will be observed, further, that, as the years roll on, and we begin to approach modern times, the diversity of considerations which an elector has present to his mind, and must be in greater or lesser degree ruled by, become infinitely more numerous, and the weighing of them a more complex business. At the same time each one of these considerations is less all-important and paramount, less likely to drive the elector swayed by it to violent courses, more capable of being neutralised by antagonistic motives. The considerations belonging to the category, which may be denominated legitimate, are, equally with those of the opposite description, multiplied by the tendencies and complexities of modern life. Not only was the elector, whose object in the exercise of his privilege was the pushing of his own fortunes, the furthering of his own ambition, the gratification of his sentiments and passions, compelled to take a much wider and more detailed survey of all the circumstances of the

lives around him than was the case in an earlier and simpler if less decorous age, but also he who was anxious to vote with a single-minded desire to promote the best interests of the Church had a no simpler matter before him. Father Bona is as holy a man as any the Church ever canonized. But what if his zeal for religious reformation should, by pulling the rein too tight, operate in the contrary direction? Cardinal Odeschalchi is a man of sound judgment as well as the most fervent and sincere piety. But what of that, if he is unversed in matters of State, and not likely to be able to hold his own against the encroachments of France and her high-handed sovereign? And it is not only a question of what one would, but of what one can do! Even if the man be found fitted in all respects for the manifold and heterogeneous necessities of the Church, is he one whom it will be possible to induce the electors to accept? And these are the difficulties that presented themselves to an entirely single-minded elector, either of the conscientious or unconscientious sort. How much more was the matter confused and complicated for those who were not single-minded in either direction. And this probably was the case, to a greater or lesser degree, with every man in the Conclave! It could hardly be otherwise, indeed, than that the business of electing a Pope should have been becoming ever more and more difficult!

The Conclave which resulted in the election of Clement X. was a specially long and difficult one. The moderation of the last Popes in the matter of nepotism tended very powerfully to complicate matters. In the old days of the Aldobrandini, the Borghesi, and the

Ludovisi, each successive nephew and family had waged such a war to the knife against the previous one, that when a Conclave came the nephew of the last deceased Pope was *the* influential man in it, who was at the head of the largest following. But Innocent, who followed Urban the Barberini, had left no nephews. The nephew of Alexander VII., Cardinal Chigi, had exercised his power with such moderation that his recommendations had often had as much weight with Clement, Alexander's successor, as with that Pontiff himself. Of the Rospigliosi, during the short pontificate of their Pope, Clement IX., the same may be said. And it thus came to pass that Barberini, though three Popes had reigned during twenty-six years since the death of Urban VIII., was still, perhaps, the most powerful man in the Conclave. And though, of course, the Cardinals Chigi and Rospigliosi were both at the head of parties, there was no such internecine enmity between them as to shut out possibilities, or even probabilities, of coalition and co-operation. These old enmities were softened and in some sort civilised, not, however, appeased entirely; for the President De Brosses in his letters written from Italy, in 1739-40, tells us of a Princess Albani, who used to say that people of Papal families died twice, once at the death of their uncle and once at their own natural demise.

It is probable, also, that on the occasion of the Conclave of which we are speaking, the season of the year at which it was held contributed to the inordinate length of it. Their Eminences went into Conclave in December. There was, therefore, no malaria demon to

drive them to a decision by constant reminders of the probable results of tarrying long at their work. We hear some talk about the severity of the season; and doubtless their Eminences would have passed the December days and nights more comfortably in their own palaces than in the fir-plank cells erected in the cold bleak halls of the Vatican. But a little discomfort is one thing, and a danger of death, greater than that of the soldier on the field of battle, is another! So the cardinals, perplexed by the *embarras de richesse*, offered by a Sacred College containing over twenty *soggetti papabili*, did not hurry themselves; and at the end of the first two months the Conclave had done nothing beyond convincing most of the heads of parties that no one of them was strong enough to secure the election of any one of the candidates who stood first or even second on their lists.

A detailed but very confused and ill-written narrative of this election of Clement X. has been left by some conclavist, who tells us that he has had a long experience of such matters, and has been shut up in many a Conclave, but confesses that all his practised knowledge of the subject has but very imperfectly enabled him to read all the riddles and disentangle all the cross-purposes in which this long Conclave was fertile. One thing, however, is abundantly clear from it, that despite all the bulls and threatened excommunications on the subject, and despite all the ostentatious and formal ceremonial pretending to secure the absolute isolation of the cardinals from the outside world, negotiations had been entered into and plans arranged for the coming election,

in anticipation of the reigning Pope's death, and communications of the most avowed and open description were going on, apparently almost uninterruptedly, with the outside world. While roasted capons were being ostentatiously prodded by the examining probes of the custos of the Conclave at the turntables, where the dinners of the cardinals were with much ceremonial passed in to them, to ascertain that no letter or hidden message of any kind was concealed within them, we find it stated, as if it were completely a matter of course, that the Conclave suspended its operations while a reply was awaited from some Court or some ambassador who had been consulted as to such or such probabilities or possible solutions!

At one moment, towards the end of the Conclave, the chance of the austere and saintly Odeschalchi seemed a good one; and we hear of his adherents waiting the return of a messenger sent to France with the hope of securing the adherence of the French party! And Cardinal Bona, the ascetic monk, went about the Conclave speaking of Odeschalchi's exalted virtue, and declaring that the Holy Ghost at the end of so wearisome a conflict was about to conclude it once for all by an election of his own making, which would tend to the sure reformation so much needed in the Church—discourses, says the conclavist, which set so many tongues wagging about such a tendency, that the combined intentions which arose from them amounted to an exclusion for the proposed reforming Pope!

Gradually the ideas of the leaders of factions began to draw together towards Altieri as a man to whom nobody

had any special objection. Nobody, or nearly so—not quite. For we read that Barberini, who had now made up his mind to try for the election of Altieri, showed Cardinal Pio one day a paper on which was written the name of Altieri. Whereupon Pio, having cast his eyes on the paper, did not give him time to add a word, but told him at once that "he had had a long litigation with that person in the court of the Rota, that the Eminence whose name was written there had lost his cause, and that he (Pio) had made him pay the damages. So that your Eminence must excuse me!" "True!" said Barberini; "excuse me; I had forgotten it. Let us say no more about it." And it is notable, in accordance with a remark that has already been made, that the grounds on which Cardinal Pio states that he cannot vote for Altieri, and which Barberini at once accepts and considers to be quite as a matter of course unanswerable, are not that Pio, the winner of the cause, owes Altieri a grudge because of the lawsuit, but that he takes it so much for granted that Altieri owes him such a grudge on that account, that common prudence requires that he should do nothing towards putting into that man's hands the supreme power of the Papacy.

Chigi, who had entered the Conclave, in his own persuasion and in that of most others, both within and without the Conclave, the most likely man to have in effect the nomination of the new Pope, had become entirely convinced not only that such power was entirely out of his reach, but that he might be well content if he could succeed in averting the election of one whose elevation would be especially objectionable to him; and

he was accordingly contented to accede to that of Altieri. Meanwhile one of those curious little accidents which often produced large results in the semi-obscurity and studied silence of the Conclave world, where the echo of a whisper in circulating through those mysterious corridors frequently did more than any loud-voiced announcement might have effected, reduced to nothing the chances of Odeschalchi, on whom just previously to the final decision of the Conclave the voices of the electors seemed to have been on the point of concentrating themselves. Cardinal Razzi one evening, while he was under the hands of his barber, and was chatting the while with his conclavist, said, puzzling out the probabilities of the upshot in his own mind rather than intending to make an assertion, that Spinola would be the Pope. The conclavist soon betrayed what he conceived to have been a secret confided to him, and the statement very shortly came to Spinola's ears. He immediately rushed to Razzi's cell and implored him "for heaven's sake not to place him in a discreditable position by attributing to him pretensions and expectations which he was far from entertaining, and which were wholly out of the question." Razzi was taken aback, and, not knowing how to excuse himself, declared that what he had said was that "Odeschalchi would be the new Pope," making the statement in a way which led to the supposition that he was in the secret of the real wishes of the Spanish party. And this had contributed, at a period of the Conclave when all began to feel the necessity of putting an end to it, to recommend the election of Odeschalchi to many. But almost immediately afterwards there came a com-

munication from the ambassador of Spain, bearing a strong remonstrance to the cardinals from the King his master on their protracted delay, and urging them, laying aside the supposed wishes of any crowned head, to exercise their unquestioned right and elect independently any fit and proper person, adding that the King was the more scandalized at the delay from reports that had reached him to the effect that "a certain number of the cardinals, called the 'squadrone,' would not consent to any election from motives of private interest."

The conclavist's account of the result of this communication is remarkable. "The Conclave became on a sudden a gathering of dumb men!" All talking and intriguing for this or that candidate ceased. The elders felt that the time was come when the business must be brought to a conclusion, and the younger men professed their readiness to follow the lead of their elders. At the same time reports came to the Conclave (*how*, we are not told; but the fact is mentioned in the most matter of course way possible, and it shows how great a farce the isolation theory had become) that there was a great outcry throughout Rome against the election of Odeschalchi; and it is intimated that this was by no means without influence upon the purposes of the electors. So it appears, therefore, that not only were those shut up in Conclave aware of what was being thought and said in Rome, but that those outside the hermetically sealed Conclave walls were instructed—in a certain degree—of what was passing inside them.

Thus gradually Altieri became designated as the man against whom the least amount of objection could be

found. One evening Altieri chanced to look in on Cardinal Razzi in his cell, and the latter offered him some refreshment. Altieri drank a glass of water, and filled his glass again. Upon which Razzi's conclavist ventured to caution his Eminence, remarking that the water he was drinking was exceedingly cold. Altieri replied that he was of robust constitution, and that icy drinks agreed with him; whereupon the conclavist took occasion to wish that such a constitution might give the world a long Papacy. Altieri left the cell, smiling, as was thought, significantly. The writer of the narrative, which has been preserved, however gives a different interpretation to the smile, believing that Altieri was far from expecting or desiring the Papacy. Unless indeed he deems the self-depreciatory speeches and *papari nolo* shrinking of the octogenarian, when the cardinals came to his cell to announce their resolution of electing him, to have been mere matter-of-course dissimulation and hypocrisy.

The thing was settled at last at a conference between Barberini and Chigi, while, according to the conclavist, a great many of the younger cardinals still thought that Odeschalchi was the man they were going to elect. Having, however, agreed on the course they were about to take, those two chiefs went round to their adherents, and it was understood that there was to be an "adoration" the next morning. It is remarkable, however, that even during that night and the few intervening hours before the "adoration" could take place, an extraordinary degree of secrecy seems to have been observed. Even though all, or nearly so, were told what was in

hand, they were told it as a profound secret. It seems as if each man was allowed to know that the head of his faction had resolved to vote for Altieri, and that an attempt to elect him was to be made, but that he was not permitted to know that it was a settled and well-nigh certain thing. And the reason of this was probably the fear that such a knowledge might have led to the attempted formation of some new combination during the night by malcontents.

All, however, passed in perfect quiet. On the evening of the 28th of April tidings were conveyed to the ambassadors of the Powers to the effect that the Pope would in all probability be elected the next morning, in the person of an hitherto unproposed candidate, against whom no objection of any sort could be found. The same night also the relatives of the proposed candidate "received notice that they would do well to pray to the Divine Majesty for the election of his Eminence Altieri." And the next morning Clement X. was made Pope, despite his own declarations of his insufficiency, and his recommendations of other names (whom he must have perfectly well known could not be by any possibility elected), by a perfectly orderly and unanimous "adoration."

Before quitting the subject of this selected specimen of the Conclaves of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, I may give the reader a rather amusing anecdote of the man perhaps the best known to history of all the purple figures in that gathering. Cardinal de Retz was among their Eminences, active for evil in some way we may be very sure, although our conclavist does

not speak of him save to correct a certain report current in Rome respecting him. It was commonly said that he went about the Conclave by night in a mask, and that his fellow cardinals had been much scandalized by the practice. The conclavist, however, assures us that he had had opportunities of observing him very closely on such occasions, and that his Eminence wore no mask properly so called, but a pair of spectacles with a certain garniture attached to them, which might easily be mistaken for a mask! As if De Retz needed any mask, even among Italian cardinals, save his own features!

## CHAPTER VII.

Letters of the French President De Brosses—Last Years of Clement XII. Corsini.—Notices by De Brosses of the then Cardinals: of Cardinal Corsini, of Cardinal Albani, of Cardinal Coscia, of Cardinal Fleury, of Cardinal Rohan, of Cardinal Tencin.—How Matters went in the Conclave.—Tencin loses all influence.—Proposal to elect Cardinal Aldrovandi opposed by Albani.—Albani's treacherous scheme to ruin Aldrovandi.—Albani's treachery ruins the chances of Cardinal Porzia.—Plain speaking of Cardinal Acquaviva.—Election of Lambertini as Benedict XIV.—His character and appearance.—Conclaves and Popes, sixteen in number, between that of Clement X. in 1670, and that of Pius IX. in 1846.—Saying of Cardinal Albani.—Characteristics of latter Popes.

THE President De Brosses, in his amusing volumes of "Familiar Letters," written from Italy in 1739 and 1740, gives a lively account of the Conclave which took place at the death of the Corsini Pope, Clement XII., which happened in the latter year, on the 16th of February. Clement was in his eighty-eighth year; he had been blind for the last eight years, and the gout, from which he had long been a great sufferer, continually menacing the vital parts of his system, had for some time past indicated that the end was near at hand. So that, as the French President, innocent of any knowledge or thought of canons or excommunication-fulminating Bulls on the subject, says naïvely, there had been plenty of time for the electors to conspire, combine, and intrigue with a view to the coming election.

De Brosses gives a list of the entire College of Cardinals, with a short notice of each of them, reflecting the opinions of the Roman world, as a winter's residence there had enabled him to become acquainted with them. With regard to the greater number of these names, oblivion has in a great measure destroyed the interest that no doubt attached to the President's remarks when he made them. But it may be worth while to give a glance at what he says (and of course all Rome was then saying) of a few among them—of the heads of factions especially. It was known that the Conclave would be divided into two parties, led—the one by the nephew of the Pope who had just died, Clement XII., Cardinal Corsini, and the other by the Camerlengo, the Cardinal Albani, the nephew of Clement XI. The Corsini party was the most numerous, and it was thought that if, as was considered probable, the Spanish and French factions joined him, the making of the new Pope would lie with him. But, says De Brosses, he is a man of no capacity; he has neither intelligence nor vigour. Public affairs have been going very badly in his hands; the finances especially have fallen into a deplorable condition. "We shall see," adds the President, "what he can do in the Conclave. Superiority of numbers ought to assure him the victory. But he has for his opponent a master mind."

Of the man whom he so characterizes, Cardinal Annibale Albani, the Camerlengo, he says, that "he enjoys a very high reputation for capacity, but is excessively hated and feared. Without belief, without principles, an implacable enemy, even when feigning to be reconciled, he has

true genius in transacting affairs, is inexhaustible in resources and intrigues, is the most able man in the College and the worst in Rome. His party is not numerous, the *creatures* of his uncle diminishing naturally in number from day to day. But he will put himself at the head of the *Zelanti* (*i.e.* the professedly devout men, who declare that they will give their votes in Conclave truly according to the dictates of the Holy Spirit), and will attack Corsini with all his forces. An army of deer commanded by a lion is more powerful than an army of lions commanded by a deer. Albani governs in the College by the superiority of his genius, the authority of the place he holds (that of Camerlengo), and his imperious and formidable manners. He knows well that he can never be Pope; but he hopes to have one of his making, and if he cannot accomplish that by himself, he will at least prevent anybody else from making one without him. It would be unfair to Albani not to add the last words of the President's character of him: "He is the enemy of the French!"

Another member of this Conclave may be mentioned, because the circumstances under which he entered Conclave were peculiar, and his case is a leading and very important one in Conclave law. This was his Eminence Cardinal Coscia, who had been the prime minister of Benedict XIII., a saintly Pope, who might possibly have been trusted advantageously with the government of the monastery in which he had spent his days, but who was utterly unfit for any more extended rule. In his innocence and ignorance he selected for his confidential minister the greatest scoundrel he could have chosen.

It is needless to go into the story of the misdeeds of this Coscia, because all writers of every party are unanimous in stigmatizing them. De Brosses says of him that he deserved the gallows and had been condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the Castle of St. Angelo. None of his colleagues or contemporaries of any class said or thought otherwise. But the right of a cardinal to take part in the election of a Pope is entirely indefeasible, and Cardinal Coscia was liberated from his prison in order that he might enter Conclave, and did so.

Of Cardinal Fleury De Brosses writes: "He enjoys the highest degree of consideration, specially since the late war and the peace of Vienna. They regard him here as the oracle of Europe. *Major e longinquo reverentia!*" adds the President slily.

Of Cardinal Rohan he says: "Magnificent here as in France, he has *l'air noble* and the manners of a *grand seigneur;* but has nevertheless little credit or esteem. Then he does not understand Italian manners, and chatters of political secrets at the women's receptions in the lightest manner. He ruined the hopes of Cardinal Olivieri, who had in everybody's opinion a very good chance of the Papacy, by saying out loud that he had come to Rome to make Olivieri Pope. The Italians were piqued at this; and Olivieri himself, understanding Italian ways better than French ones, thought for a long time that Rohan had acted as he did with the express intention of ruining him."

Here is what he says of another French cardinal, not altogether forgotten by history, Tencin:—

"Tencin, Archbishop of Embrun, is hard, malevolent,

and revengeful by temperament, grave and politic by profession. His natural inclination would be for worldly pursuits and gallantry. Supple and ambitious at the Court of France, imperious and haughty at that of Rome, living with more state than any other here, and understanding well the doing of it, he is much feared, highly considered, and has great credit. The people here think of him at least as highly as he deserves. In addition to all this, the fact that the influence of the King of France has become since the war all-powerful in Italy, and that the French faction in the Conclave is more powerful than that of Spain, despite the superior numbers of the latter, by reason of the greater talent of the French—all this makes people think that the making of the Pope will rest with Cardinal Tencin; and in fact such must be the case. His business in the Conclave will be to oppose the Camerlengo, to lead Corsini by the nose, and to keep himself in strict alliance with Acquaviva," the head of the Spanish faction.

Despite the "French talent," however, and the President's complacent prognostications, Cardinal Tencin did not make the Pope, and was quite unable to hold his own against Albani, the terrible Cardinal Camerlengo. As for the manner in which that "lion" led his "army of deer," and the way in which he showed the superiority of his genius, and the fertility of his talent for resource, one or two anecdotes of what passed in the Conclave, or what was at the time believed in Rome to have passed, are worth repeating.

A quarrel between Acquaviva and Tencin very soon put an end to all the influence of the latter in the Con-

clave. The former united himself with Corsini and his numerous following, and they agreed on the election if they could compass it of Cardinal Aldrovandi, a Bolognese, of whom De Brosses only says that he was well born, well esteemed, and had nothing against him. The terrible Camerlengo, however, was against him, and was determined to prevent his election, which, however, seemed likely to be beyond his power. Besides the allies who have been mentioned, all the *zelanti* were in his favour. He had thirty-three votes at the first scrutiny at which he was put forward. One more would have made him Pope. Thirty-four was the number required for the indispensable two-thirds majority. It is recorded that Cardinal Passionei, one of the party opposed to him, was as it chanced scrutator at that scrutiny, and that when he opened and declared the thirty-third vote for Aldrovandi he became pale as a sheet. However, no thirty-fourth was forthcoming, and the Camerlengo and his party were *quittes pour la peur!* And they had time before them to work in.

But all their efforts could accomplish nothing more than to keep any one of their own friends from deserting to the enemy. They were unable to detach a single vote from the thirty-three. And this state of things continued unchanged during many successive scrutinies, a phenomenon almost, if not quite, unprecedented in Conclave history. And at each successive scrutiny the Camerlengo's fears were not only repeated but increased, for the Conclave had already lasted more than five months. The delay was becoming scandalous, and, what was worse, the weather was becoming very hot.

Several cardinals had been obliged to leave the Conclave seriously ill; some had died; and all were becoming utterly worn out and eager to escape from the unhealthy and infected air of the Conclave. And it was in the power of any one cardinal twice every day to put an end to his own and his colleagues' sufferings by adding his vote to those regularly given every scrutiny to Aldrovandi. The Camerlengo felt that if such a consummation was to be avoided, he must adopt some strong measure, and that at once. This was what he imagined and did.

There was a certain Franciscan friar, "of easy conscience," as De Brosses says, whom his Eminence Cardinal Albani deemed to be the man for his purpose, and to him he gave his instructions. He was to pay a visit to Aldrovandi at the "Rota" (the little window communicating with the outside world, at which such visits were tolerated), and there compliment him on his approaching election. Aldrovandi replied that it was true the majority had done him the honour of thinking of him, but that he did not think that anything was likely to come of it, seeing that there were opponents who seemed determined to exclude him. In reply to this the monk told him that he was sufficiently acquainted with the sentiments of the Camerlengo to be able to assure him that the only feeling which prevented that Cardinal from voting for him was a fear that he (Aldrovandi) might have an unpleasant remembrance of certain disputes which had occurred between members of their families, and might feel unkindly towards him (Albani) on that score. Aldrovandi at once fell into the snare, declaring

that if there had ever been any such feeling he had long since forgotten it, that he had the highest respect for the Cardinal Camerlengo's character, and that so he would find if he were kind enough to vote for him. The monk declared that since such were his sentiments, there was nothing to prevent an immediate election and a conclusion to the over-long Conclave, that he should make known to Albani what Aldrovandi had said, and that there would no longer be any difficulty about his election. But just as he was going he turned back, seeming to be struck by a sudden thought. "But, after all, I am but a poor monk!" said he. "I know Albani's mind well, but it does not follow that he should place implicit trust in me. If your Eminence would intrust me with a line expressing what you have said . . . the matter would be settled!" Aldrovandi in his eagerness wrote the line, putting rather strongly, as was said, the point of his gratitude for a service rendered to him. The Franciscan clutched his prize and sped with it to his employer. Instantly before the next scrutiny Albani, with well-acted horror and scandalized propriety in his features, sought out the *zelanti* cardinals. "Look at this!" he cried; "could you have believed it! Look at your model Pope! Here is Aldrovandi intriguing! —making promises!—guilty of simony!" The good men were as much astonished and shocked as Albani intended they should be. At the next scrutiny Aldrovandi had lost several votes; at the next after several more. His chance was gone, and the terrible Camerlengo was so far triumphant.

At an earlier period of the Conclave Albani had

shown his fertility in resources by getting rid of the candidature of another *soggetto papabile*, whose chance was interfering with his designs in another way. This was the Benedictine monk Porzia, a Venetian from Friuli, who was nearly elected. He was a creature of Benedict XIII., and was in many respects a man well fitted for the position. But the fact that he was a monk was against him in the College; though not so much so, as De Brosses remarks, as if he had been a member of one of the mendicant orders or a Jesuit. Again, he was known as a very severe and hard man. "Just the man needed," says the President, "to establish order in this State, which has so great need of it. He would know how to rule, and would be a second Sixtus V. Accordingly he is feared and hated by the populace to the last degree." Nevertheless his election seemed almost certain. It was probable that it would be consummated at the scrutiny to take place on the morrow morning. But in the course of that intervening night a paper was mysteriously circulated in the Conclave, containing a grossly defamatory libel against his Eminence Porzia. Gross and venomous abuse was mingled with accusations of the most damning kind. The Benedictine, unspeakably outraged, demanded investigation and the exemplary punishment of the libeller with all the energy and sternness of his character. But it was impossible to trace the hand that had spread the poison, though all in the Conclave were loud in indignation against the author and disseminator of the calumny. None the less, however, was the mischief done, and the slanderer's aim attained. The supporters

of Porzia began to fall off from him. Even those who most entirely disbelieved the foul accusations, and were loudest in their indignation against so base and vile a trick, were of opinion that it would not be well for the majesty and decorum of the Papacy that St. Peter's chair should be filled by one who had just been made, however unjustly, the subject of so scandalous and public an affront. All chance of his election, which seemed so certain, was lost; and the poor monk retired to his cell, with rage and indignation in his heart, and died there three days afterwards.

At last Acquaviva sought an interview with the Camerlengo, who was now proposing Cardinal Mosca, and addressed him in more straightforward terms than were often heard among the cautious negotiators of the Conclaves. "It is of no use," said Acquaviva, "to speak of Mosca, for we will not elect a Pope of your choice. But we wish to make one with your consent and co-operation. Aldrovandi is objectionable to you. Very well; let us speak no more of him. You will not have any one of our cardinals [the creatures of Corsini]; we will not accept any one of yours [the creatures of Albani]. It remains then to find a Pope among those who belong to neither party [that is to say the creatures of Benedict XIII., Orsini]. Now among them I see no *soggetti papabile* save Lambertini or Lercari. Which of the two would you prefer? Lambertini? Very well. So be it. Let us go and elect him and have done with it."

Of Cardinal Prospero Lambertini, who thus became Benedict XIV., President de Brosses says: "He was

born at Bologna, of which see he was archbishop, of a noble and, I am told, very ancient, but not illustrious, family. His age is sixty-four or five. He is somewhat below the ordinary height, stout, and of a good strong constitution, with a round full face, a jovial air, and a genial kindly physiognomy. His character is open, good-humoured, and easy; his tone of mind gay and cheerful; his conversation agreeable; his tongue very free, and his talk often licentious; but his moral conduct and habitudes pure and perfectly regular. He managed his diocese of Bologna with infinite charity and to the edification of all. But it will be absolutely necessary that he should get rid of his habit of using phrases fitted rather for the guard-room than the Papal throne."

Sixteen Conclaves have taken place since that which elected Clement X. in 1670—a period which may be taken as marking the commencement in the Conclaves of Louis XIV. modes of thought and behaviour.

There were three more within the seventeenth century: 1st., that which elected the Odeschalchi, with whom the reader has made some acquaintance in the last Conclave, as Innocent XI., in 1676, who was not more than sixty-four when elected, and who governed the Church for nearly twelve years, with a more happy combination of the piety of a bishop with the wisdom of a good temporal ruler than any other Pontiff, at least in modern time, if not in the whole list of the Popes; 2nd., that which elected Ottoboni of Venice, as Alexander VIII., in 1689, who reigned little more than a year; and 3rd., that which elected Pignatelli of Naples,

as Innocent XII., in 1691, whose reign of little more than nine years completed the century. He died in 1700.

There were eight Conclaves in the eighteenth century, the last of the eighteenth century Popes again closing his reign with the close of the century. These were:—

1st. Albani of Urbino, elected as Clement IX. in 1700, who reigned a little more than twenty years.

2nd. Conti, a Roman, elected as Innocent XIII. in 1721, who reigned not quite three years.

3rd. Orsini, a Roman, elected as Benedict XIII. in 1724, who reigned nearly six years.

4th. Corsini, a Florentine, elected as Clement XII. in 1730, who reigned nine years and a half.

5th. Lambertini of Bologna, Voltaire's well-known correspondent, elected as Benedict XIV. in 1740, as we have seen, who reigned somewhat less than eighteen years.

6th. Rezzonico, a Venetian, elected as Clement XIII. in 1758, who reigned ten years and a half.

7th. Ganganelli, a Romagnolo, elected as Clement XIV. in 1769, who reigned five years and four months.

8th. Braschi, a Romagnolo, elected as Pius VI. in 1775, who reigned twenty-four years and eight months.

In this nineteenth century there have been five Conclaves:—

1st. That which elected Chiaramonti, a Romagnolo and a native of the same small town from which his predecessor Pius VI. had come (Cesena), as Pius VII., in 1800, who reigned nearly twenty-three years and a half.

2nd. Della Genga, born at the place of that name, the manor of his family, near Fabriano, in Umbria, elected as Leo XII. in 1823, who reigned five years and four months.

3rd. Saverio, born at Cingoli, elected as Pius VIII. in 1829, who reigned twenty months.

4th. Capellari of Belluno, elected as Gregory XVI. in 1831, who reigned over fifteen years.

5th. Mastai of Sinigallia, elected as Pius IX. in 1846, who has, up to this present time of writing, reigned over thirty years, the only Pope in all the two hundred and sixty-two occupants of the Holy See who has overpassed the quarter of a century, which is the traditional limit of the incumbency of St. Peter!

It is impossible, as I have said, and as the reader can very well see for himself, to attempt any account within the limits of this volume of these Conclaves. It may be said of them generally, that more and more they approached the nature of arrangements *à l'aimable*. If the passions of ambition, jealousy, greed, and the love of power were by no means extinguished, they were constrained by the decencies of modern manners to show themselves less openly, to moderate their violence, and to veil themselves beneath a courteous phraseology, and at least a theoretical devotion to the objects which ought to be those for which cardinals and Conclaves exist. The Popes become less and less high-handed and despotic. The cardinals, if they have still much to hope from the man they agree to set over them, have much less to fear from him, and less motive to be swayed by those considerations of saving themselves from enmities

and the consequences of old grudges which in the times we have been traversing played so large a part in the Conclaves. De Brosses, however, reports some words of the Camerlengo, Cardinal Albani, which may be cited on this point: "These gentlemen from France [the French cardinals] are always in a hurry. They want the work [of the Conclave] done as soon as ever they arrive. When the Pope is elected they remain here a few weeks to amuse themselves; they are fêted by everybody, and made much of by the new Pope. Then they go home, and hear no more of the Pope, except from a distance, for the rest of their lives. But I have to remain under the rod! He is my sovereign. He can put me in prison if he pleases. Messieurs the foreign cardinals must be good enough to allow me to take sufficient time in deciding on my choice to take care of my own interests." More and more, however, those once terrible and mysterious gatherings came to resemble in their operation the election to the wardenship of a college in an English university. The Popes are in the main amiable and easy-going old gentlemen, not distinguished for ability, or for ascetic sanctity, or for laxity of moral conduct, or for anything, in short. More and more would a man characterized by any one of the above notes be felt by members of the Sacred College to be one unfitted for occupying St. Peter's seat. There have been cardinals of distinguished ability in various lines and departments during this period, but they did not become Popes. The lives of the men who *were* deemed fitted for the post of the Supreme Pastors of Christendom were passed in enacting their parts in a

mass of ceremonial and prescriptions of *etichette*, which had in the course of generations become so intricate and complicated that the professional masters of it alone could find their way and that of their superiors through its mazes, and so onerous that the due performance of "scenic worship," as Carlyle calls it, might entitle an aged man to feel that in accomplishing his task he was labouring severely as well as faithfully in his high and sacred calling.

Of the Conclaves that elected them, what has been said must suffice for a specimen; for the remianing pages of this volume are needed for the purpose of giving the reader a brief description of the ceremonial of a Conclave as it now is—as it was, rather, thirty years ago, and as it probably will be in all essentials on the next not far-distant occasion.

# BOOK V.

## THE CONCLAVE AS IT IS AT PRESENT.

# BOOK V.

## *THE CONCLAVE AS IT IS AT PRESENT.*

## CHAPTER I.

The death of a Pope.—Time to elapse before Conclave.—Cardinal Gaysruck's Journey.—The Mode of constructing cells for the Conclave.—Localities in the interior of the Conclave.—Drawing lots for the cells.—Mode of fitting and furnishing the cells.—The cell of a Royal Cardinal.—The Camerlengo.—Mode of living of the Cardinals.—First day in Conclave.

As soon as ever the breath shall have finally left the body of a dying Pope, the first thing to be done is to advise the Cardinal Camerlingo* of the fact. He has the entire government in his hands during the vacancy of the see. That dignitary immediately repairs to the chamber in which the dead Pope lies, and, striking the dead body on the forehead thrice with a little hammer, calls him thrice by his name—by his original name, not without a picturesque significance. "Giovanni Mastai!" the Camerlengo Cardinal will call thrice as he strikes on the senseless forehead which bore the tiara with a hammer, and getting no answer will take off from the dead man's finger the "ring of the fisherman," and break it!

* Camerlengo, or Camerlingo, derived from "Camera," meant originally a chamberlain, and secondarily a treasurer. It is still used in the latter sense in monastic communities.

Nine days are allowed according to the ancient constitutions for the preparations for the Conclave and the arrival of those members of the Sacred College who may be at a distance. In these days the time allowed is sufficient. But it was in many cases evidently insufficient in former times. The present Pope owes his Papacy of more than thirty years to the insufficiency of the time allowed for the arrival of foreign cardinals. . Cardinal Gaysruck, the Austrian, was on his way to the Conclave from Vienna, hastening as fast as post-horses could bring him and Austria's "veto" against the very man who was elected, with which he was commissioned. His post-horses did not go quick enough. He arrived too late, and found the man he was sent specially to exclude already elected!

The nine days are little enough, too, for the mere material preparations for the Conclave. In recent times the Conclaves have been always held either at the Quirinal or the Vatican. It is evident that the next must be held at the latter palace; and there the necessary arrangements will have to be made at the death of Pius IX. "To tell you the matter in one word," writes President de Brosses to his correspondent, "they build a town in a house, and a quantity of little houses in vast chambers, from which you may conclude that of all the towns in the world this Conclave town is the stuffiest and the least pleasant to live in."

The first business is for the bricklayer to wall up all doors and windows, leaving at the top of the latter one or two panes of glass to give a little light to the interior. This immense operosity in acting out to the life a comedy,

which at best is but a symbol, and now a symbol from which the significance has departed, is curiously characteristic of priestly Rome and its ways of being and doing!

The halls in the interior of the Vatican are numerous and large enough for the accommodation of a dozen Conclaves. The apartments, the walls of which are decorated with priceless paintings, are not used for the purpose. The great peristyle over the entrance to St. Peter's forms, as De Brosses remarks, an extremely spacious gallery, where there is room for two ranges of cells, and a corridor in the middle between them. Seventeen cells can be constructed in that gallery alone, and they are some of the most convenient in the Conclave. Each cell is composed of a small chamber in which is the cardinal's bed, another small room by the side of it, and a stair to climb to a sort of garret above the cell, in which space is found for two little rooms for his two conclavists. Constructed thus in different parts of the interior of the palace, of course some of the cells are very much better than others. Their Eminences draw lots for them. Thus, on the occasion described by De Brosses, the French Cardinal Tencin, of whom I spoke in a previous chapter, had the luck to get the cell immediately over the central door of St. Peter's, so that the projection of the balcony in that part gave room for an extra chamber in his cell, which served as a good-sized study. But then, on the other hand, as the President remarks, that cell would be sure to be wrecked and everything in it pillaged when the new Pope should come to give his benediction to the people assembled in the piazza of

St. Peter from that balcony. Also Tencin had been able to gain a little space at the expense of his neighbour Molto, who, it was known, was not coming to the Conclave. For it is to be understood that a cell must be prepared for every member of the College whether he comes or not, at the cost of each cardinal for his own—a cost which De Brosses at the time he wrote estimates at five or six thousand francs, remarking that the Roman workmen took the opportunity to fleece their Eminences outrageously, as indeed must have been the case if such a sum as £200 or £250 had to be paid for such a cell as is described. If the cost was five or six thousand francs in 1740, it would at the same rate be at least double at the present day.

Each little dwelling—cell, as it is called, although in fact it consists, as has been said, of three or four *cells*—is constructed of ordinary fir planks, covered uniformly on the outside with serge of violet colour if the inhabitant is a "creature" of the Pope who has just died, of green if he be of any anterior creation. In the coming Conclave the more sombre of these colours will assuredly be the prevailing hue in the Conclave. On the inside the cells are fitted up according to the pleasure of the individual occupant, and, as may be supposed, are for the most part simple enough. On the occasion of the Conclave at the death of Clement XII., the cell of the "Infant of Spain," then a member of the Sacred College, whom there was no chance of seeing at the Conclave, was magnificently fitted up with damask draperies, and consoles and marble tables, while the windows in it were made as large as possible in order that all this magnifi-

cence might be seen to advantage from the outside. "One would say," remarks De Brosses, "that it was the *café* of the Conclave." The other cells, which are to be really inhabited, have a little square window, which admits a small portion of such dubious light as can be had from the corridors, themselves darksome enough. "There they live," says the lively French President, "packed like herrings in a barrel, without air, without light, burning candles at mid-day, a prey to infection, devoured by fleas and bugs! A pretty sort of residence it will be if their Eminences do not get their business finished before the heat begins! It is reckoned accordingly that three or four cardinals generally die of it every Conclave!" If this is somewhat of an exaggeration, it will have been seen from such scattered notices as have found place in the foregoing pages that the percentage of cardinals killed by Conclaves has been by no means a small one! And it will be understood how sincerely the members of the Sacred College must pray that the heavenward flight of the holy father may be in the winter!

The Cardinal Camerlengo, as Chief of the Apostolic Chamber, is Governor of the Conclave, and has all the police of it in his hands. In the Conclave of which De Brosses has preserved the anecdotes I have availed myself of in this chapter, the Cardinal Albani, we are told, performed these duties in a haughty and severe spirit. He makes his round every evening to see that all is quiet and in good order. He places emissaries as sentinels to prevent visits by night by one cardinal to another. But, says De Brosses, they find means to

prowl about in the darkness. The anecdotes of other Conclaves which have been given, and indeed those concerning this Conclave and of Albani's own conduct in it, abundantly show that all these pretended precautions were like so much else—may one not say like everything else?—connected with the subject, a mere sham and solemn farce! When a cardinal wishes to be alone in his cell, he causes a couple of rods provided for the purpose to be placed crosswise before his door, which is understood to be a sign that "he is sleeping, or that at all events he does not wish to be disturbed."

The first day in the Conclave, or rather the afternoon and evening of the day, on which the cardinals, having heard the mass and sung the hymn "Veni Creator," proceed to their prison-house, is full of bustle. Many last words have to be said. The ambassadors of the Catholic powers are then paying their last visits to their Eminences. It is the very high-tide of intrigues, solicitations, promises, warnings, dissimulations, and lies! Then at the ringing of a bell the master of the ceremonies pronounces an "Extra Omnes," and the last door is shut and walled up, and the Conclave has begun.

## CHAPTER II.

The Twenty rules of Gregory XV.—Signal for strangers to clear out.—Scale of payment of fees to servants and attendants in Conclave.—Death of a Cardinal in Conclave.—Business of each meeting of the Cardinals between the death of the Pope and the commencement of Conclave.—Entry into Conclave.—Bull of Pius VI. dispensing with certain formalities in the election of his successor.—Next Conclave in all probability will be quite regular.

THE rules for regulating the proceedings of the Conclave made at divers times by various Popes, specially, as has been seen, by Gregory X., were anew reduced to order, confirmed, and set forth by Gregory XV., on the 15th of November, 1621, by a Bull entitled *Æterni Patris Filius*. These rules may be thus compendiously stated:—

1st. The election of the Pontiff in Conclave, and no otherwise, may be done in either of three manners—by scrutiny, by compromise, or by acclamation (*i.e.* the manner earlier called and which has been described as "adoration").

2nd. The number of votes needed to make an election is two-thirds of those present in Conclave. And a man's own vote for himself shall not be counted in this number.

3rd. No election shall be considered as accomplished unless all the votes shall have been published.

4th. If more than one person has two-thirds of the votes, no election has taken place.*

5th. Before placing his voting paper in the urn, every elector shall swear that he has named in it him whom he believes to be the most fitting person. He must write in the schedule his own name and that of the person to whom he gives his vote.

6th. These schedules must be folded † and sealed in order that it may be ascertained by the seal that two schedules have not been put into the urn by one elector.

7th. The schedules for the scrutiny and for the "accessit," ‡ must be alike.

8th. The name of the person voted for must be stated in the "accessit" schedule, as in the case of the scrutiny.

9th. He who purposes to "accede" to some one who has been nominated at the scrutiny must write the name of that person. He who does not purpose to do so must write *ncmini*—to no one—in the place of the name.

10th. In each scrutiny only one "accessit" shall take place.

11th. Both at a scrutiny and at an "accessit" the schedules shall be counted before they are opened, to see

* It seems difficult to understand this at first. The explanation is that the cardinals were sometimes in the habit of adding one or more other names in their voting papers to the first inscribed, meaning that they voted for the second failing the election of the first; and so on. Thus it might be possible for two persons to have two-thirds of the votes.

† The special method in which these voting papers must be folded will be explained presently.

‡ This term will also be explained hereafter.

whether the number of them is equal to that of the cardinals in Conclave.

12th. He who does not observe these rules shall be excommunicated.

13th. Three cardinals chosen out of the whole body by lot, previous to the scrutiny, shall together with the scrutators go to the cells of such cardinals as are prevented by illness from going into the chapel to receive their schedules in the urn.

14th. The scrutiny shall take place twice every day without exception, once in the morning and once in the afternoon, at a convenient hour.

15th. Let the cardinals abstain, under pain of excommunication, from any agreement, signal, or threat having reference to the election.

16th. Those, whether electors or elected, who contravene any of the above regulations are excommunicated with the greater excommunication. (But the same penalty had been enacted again and again for the same offence in the most solemn manner, with the result, probably, of rendering excommunicate every cardinal who ever took part in the election of any Pope!)

17th. The most rigorous secrecy respecting the election of the Pontiff is enjoined.

18th. Let the three cardinals who are the heads of the monastic orders, together with the Cardinal Camerlengo, be the executors of this Bull.

19th. Every cardinal must swear to observe these rules at the time of his promotion to the purple, a second time on the first day after the death of the Pope, and a third time after his entry into Conclave.

20th. Cardinals under ecclesiastical censures are not on that account to be excluded from taking part in the election of the Pontiff.

A Commission was appointed by Gregory XV. to draw up a manual of the ceremonial of the Conclave based on these rules; and a few minor regulations may be gleaned from the completed document put forth by the Commission. The expenses of the obsequies of the deceased Pope shall not exceed ten thousands ducats. This has nothing to do with the monument which may be raised to any Pope by the members of his family or others, but is merely the expense of the ceremonial of the funeral.

When their Eminences have entered the Conclave, after three signals on a bell, with the interval of an hour between each, nobody shall be permitted to leave the Conclave.

Clement XII. reconfirmed these provisions in a Bull, which adds nothing of importance to them, but establishes by a subsequent document, which he declared to have the same force as if it had made part of the Bull, the following scale of payments. Besides the hundred crowns a month which are customarily paid to the two physicians and the surgeon of the Conclave, a similar sum shall be paid to the secretary of the Conclave, with the onus, however, of maintaining two assistants, whom he may bring into Conclave with him. The six masters of the ceremonies in ordinary, and likewise such supernumerary masters of the ceremonies as may have received permission to come into Conclave, shall receive twenty-five crowns a month each. The confessor of the

Conclave and the under-sacristan shall receive thirty crowns a month; and the person whom the under-sacristan may bring with him to serve at the mass shall have six crowns a month. If the first master of the ceremonies be a bishop, he may have an attendant to serve at the mass, as also the sacristan, and to each of such attendants ten crowns a month shall be given. And it shall be the duty of the first master of the ceremonies to keep the keys of the Conclave. No article that can be useful for future Conclaves shall be taken away by the thirty-five sweepers, except the bed that shall be given to each of them. The cardinals must take care that the doors of communication between the Conclave and the remainder of the Vatican be walled up. The wood that has been used for the construction of the Conclave shall not be taken away without the permission of the cardinals who are heads of the religious orders. If there is any remainder it shall be used for the Apostolic Palace. No mourning garments for the deceased Pope shall be given to the Camerlengo, the Treasurer, to the Auditor-General, and two Clerks of the Chamber, or to the President of the Apostolic Chamber.* No profit of any kind shall be given to any official who has not bought his office. The servants of the Conclave shall not demand new clothes under pretext of a change

* This prohibition of giving mourning clothes to some of the highest placed and richest men in Rome is a curious indication of the universal greed, which was absolutely insensible to any sense of shame, and shrunk from no depth of meanness. It would probably be found on inquiry that the custom of giving mourning to these high officials had degenerated into a recognised job, by virtue of which the Cardinal Camerlengo's valet put a certain considerable sum of cash into his pocket, the enjoyment of which the Camerlengo grasped at as improving the value of his patronage.

of season unless when the Conclave has lasted over two months.

If a cardinal should die in Conclave all his attendants shall go out of it.*

In the first meeting of the cardinals after the death of a Pope the constitutions of Gregory X. respecting the Conclave, those of Julius II. on simoniacal election, those of Pius IV. and Gregory XV. as to the ceremonial of the Conclave, shall be read. At the second meeting the officials of Rome and the State shall be confirmed in their places. In the third meeting the confessor of the Conclave shall be elected, and the deceased Pope shall be buried, the cardinals, his creatures, being present. In the fourth meeting the physicians and the surgeon of the Conclave shall be elected. In the fifth the barbers and the apothecary shall be elected. In the sixth meeting the junior cardinal deacon shall draw lots for the cells of the cardinals in the Conclave, and the masters of the ceremonies shall show the brief by virtue of which each of them is to enter the Conclave. In the seventh meeting those cardinals who, being in Rome, shall wish to have a third conclavist, shall prefer their petitions to that effect. In the eighth meeting two cardinals shall be appointed, who shall have the duty of scrutinizing all those who shall enter into Conclave, and to whom all who are to enter as conclavists shall present their names, and the names

* It might have been expected that the rule should have been that the attendant conclavists and others should in such case *not* have quitted the Conclave. What becomes, under the rule as given, of the absolute non-communication to the outside world of what has passed and is passing in Conclave?

of the countries from which they come, and of the cardinal to whom they are attached. In the ninth meeting three cardinals shall be elected who shall watch over the due closing of the Conclave. In the tenth and last meeting those cardinals who are not in deacon's orders shall present the brief of dispensation by virtue of which they propose to enter into Conclave. On the following day, when the mass of the Holy Ghost has been celebrated, and the prayer respecting the election of a Pope has been recited, all the cardinals shall proceed processionally to the Conclave, where the various constitutions of the Pontiffs respecting the mode of election, and at the end of them these present rules of Clement XII., shall be read.

When Pius VI. determined to go to Vienna in 1782, he left a Bull by which the Sacred College was enjoined in case of his death while absent to hold the Conclave in Rome, the same as if he had died there. But when in 1798 the same Pope was driven from Rome by the French, and taken prisoner to the monastery of the Certosa, near Florence, in view of his probable death at a time which should find all the cardinals dispersed or imprisoned, he gave a Bull to his *nunzio* at Florence, Cardinal Odescalchi, empowering the College to elect his successor in whatsoever place the greatest number of them could meet together. This Bull, commencing with the words, "Attentis peculioribus et deplorabilibus circumstantiis," suspends by Apostolical authority all the ancient laws for the election of the Pontiff and for the holding of the Conclave. It further empowers the cardinals to dispense with the usual forms and solem-

nities of the Conclave, especially as to shortening at their own discretion the time which ought, according to rule, to elapse between the death of the Pope and the election. Novaes, in his life of Pius VI., declares that a chamberlain of Monsignore Carracciolo, who was Master of the Chamber to the Pope, carried this Bull secretly to the cardinals who were at Naples, at Venice, and in other cities near at hand. And it is probable that Novaes is right. But other writers maintain that this Bull was prepared in Rome before the Pope was compelled to leave it, which was on the 11th of February, 1798, and that Cardinal Albani, the Dean of the Sacred College, determined with such of the cardinals as were accessible that they should meet at Venice, at the same time communicating this arrangement to all the Catholic European sovereigns. The precedent is one which probably will not have escaped the attention of some of those who are not Catholic sovereigns, in view of the next papal election, which cannot be far off, although, as far as can be judged from the present aspect of affairs, there seems little possibility of doubting that the Conclave will be held and the future Pontiff elected in exact and scrupulously regular conformity with precedent.

## CHAPTER III.

Three Canonical modes of election.—Scrutiny and "Accessit."—Entry of the Cardinals into Chapel for the scrutiny.—Vestments.—Mode of preparing the Sistine Chapel for the scrutiny.—The Seats of the Cardinals at the Scrutiny.—The "Sfumata."—How the day passes in Conclave.—The bringing of the Cardinals' dinners.—Cardinals heads of Monastic Orders.—Close of the day in Conclave.

Of the three modes of election recognised as regular and canonical in Conclave, that by "adoration," "inspiration," or "acclamation," and that by "compromise," have been sufficiently explained in former chapters. It remains to give an account of the election by "scrutiny" and "accessit," which may be considered as *the* method practised at the present day. These two terms do not signify two different modes of performing the election, but two portions of the same method of arriving at a result, as will be seen from what follows.

The afternoon of the first day, after the processional entry of the cardinals into Conclave, having been occupied with visits and adieux, as has been described, and the "Extra Omnes" having been pronounced at the third ringing of the bell, their Eminences take possession of the cells which chance has assigned to them, and retire for the night. The next morning at eight o'clock the junior master of the ceremonies rings a bell at the door of each cell, and a second time half an hour later.

At nine he rings a third time, adding this time to his bell the call, "In Capellam, Domini!"—"To chapel, my lords!" Then the cardinals, clad in cassock, band, rochet, cape, and *croccia*,* and with their scarlet *berrette*, and attended by their conclavists, proceed to the Paoline Chapel, where mass is celebrated by the Dean of the College, and the communion is administered to them. The *croccia* is on this occasion taken off in chapel before communicating, and a white stole assumed in place of it, which is to be handed to them by the master of the ceremonies. The cardinals belonging to the monastic orders do not assume the rochet, except the heads of certain orders who have the privilege of wearing it. Whole pages might be filled with minutiæ of this sort, all regulated in the most precise manner. The above have been given as a specimen of the infinitely numerous and infinitesimally small regulations with which the whole of the procedure—as well indeed as every other portion of Roman Court life—is surrounded!

After the service in the chapel their Eminences retire to their cells to breakfast; after which they go, accompanied by their conclavists, to the Sistine Chapel, without their rochets, to proceed to the first scrutiny. One of the conclavists at the door of the chapel hands to his cardinal a closed desk or box containing the ruled and prepared registers for the day's voting, the schedules printed and prepared (as will be presently described) for giving the votes, the cardinal's seal and

* A garment specially worn in Conclave. It is a long mantle of sergè or merino from the neck to the feet, open in front, and with a train behind. The latter is tied up in a knot, only loosened when the wearer is receiving the Eucharist.

materials for sealing, and writing requisites. The conclavists then retire and the doors of the chapel are closed. Their Eminences, it is expressly provided, may recite their breviary during the scrutiny, or read any book, if they like that better.

The chapel is divided, as visitors to Rome will no doubt remember, into two halves by a balustrade, the inner portion, or that nearest to the altar, being called, as in other churches, the presbytery. The entire floor of this is raised to a level with the daïs, on which ordinarily is placed the Pontiff's seat, on this occasion removed. The altar alone remains, with its crucifix and six candles, which are always lighted during the whole time of the scrutiny. All round the walls of the presbytery thus prepared are erected a number of "thrones" (for they are all sovereigns during the vacancy of the see), equal to that of the members of the College. Each has a baldaquin, or canopy, over it, which, as well as all the other drapery attached to it, is of green for those cardinals not created by the last Pope, and of purple for his "creatures." These canopies are so arranged that they can be removed by pulling a rope at a minute's notice, and they are all let down the instant the new Pope is chosen, with the exception of that one above the seat he has occupied. Under the baldaquin, and in front of each seat, is a table covered with drapery of similar colour, in front of which is written the name of each cardinal, and below the name his coat-of-arms. On the table there is what we should call a blotting book, which is to be, as we are told, of black leather ornamented with lines of gold. The Dean

of the Sacred College sits under the first baldaquin on the gospel side of the altar. All the rest follow, the bishops, priests, and deacons, in the order of their creation, so that the junior occupies the baldaquin nearest to the altar on the epistle side. In the middle of the floor are six little tables, similarly furnished with everything necessary to the business in hand. These are for the use of any cardinal who, fearing that he may be overlooked by his neighbour when writing his voting paper, may prefer to do it in the open space, where overlooking is impossible.

In front of the altar is a large table covered with red serge, with the following objects on it: a number of papers folded, wafers, sealing-wax, four candles ready for lighting, a box with flint, steel, and matches, a quantity of red and another parcel of purple cord for filing the schedules on, and a box of needles for the same purpose. There is also a tablet of walnut wood with seventy holes in it, answering to the number of cardinals when the College is full, together with a purple bag containing as many balls of wood as there are cardinals, with the name of a cardinal on each of them. From this bag, every morning and every afternoon, are drawn by lot by the hand of the junior cardinal deacon the three scrutators, and three cardinals to attend the invalids and take their votes in their cells if there are any invalids in the Conclave, as is almost certain to be the case. And the balls, with the names of the six cardinals thus drawn by lot, are placed in the respective holes in the tablet above mentioned, and are allowed to remain there during the entire time of each

scrutiny. Finally, there is also on the large table the form of oath to be used on putting the voting papers into the urn, and two urns with their dishes beneath them, which during the time of the scrutiny are placed on the altar; also a box with a slit in the lid, and a lock and key, which the cardinals appointed to receive the votes of their invalid colleagues carry round, locked, to the cells of the latter, and into the slit in which the sick cardinals put their folded papers containing their votes with their own hands.

Behind the altar there is a little iron fireplace with a tube chimney communicating with the outer air. There is also a little closed grating and a small quantity of damp straw. At the close of each scrutiny in which no election has been accomplished all the voting papers are placed, together with a portion of straw, in this grating, which is then inserted in the iron stove, and the whole is set on fire by a match lighted from the tinder-box before mentioned, so that the burning occasions a dense smoke, by the rising of which all Rome, eagerly on the watch, is informed that no election has taken place at that morning's, or that afternoon's, scrutiny. This is the celebrated "Sfumata" of which so much has been heard, and on which so many bets have been decided. It serves also as a signal to the artillerymen who are on the watch at Castle St. Angelo, ready to fire their guns as soon as the election shall have been made; and, further, to the workmen, also on the watch, to pull down the walling-up of the great balcony from which the new Pope will, immediately on his election, give his first benediction, "Urbi et orbi,"

on the instant that an election shall have been consummated.

When the cardinals have entered the chapel and taken their places, the senior master of the ceremonies reads the instrument declaring the perfect closing of the Conclave, and the other masters of the ceremonies distribute to the cardinals little books containing a form of prayer to be used during the vacancy of the see. The sacristan, who is always a bishop, then intones the "Veni Creator Spiritus," and the "Oremus;" and then every one save the cardinals leaves the chapel, and one of them fastens the door with a chain, which must be no more removed till the end of that scrutiny. As soon as it has been brought to a conclusion, the Dean of the College rings a bell which is on the little table before him, and all the cardinals rise to leave the chapel. The first who reaches the door unlocks the chain and rings a bell, the rope of which is there, to let the conclavists and all the Conclave world know that the scrutiny is over. The morning's work, including the mass, generally occupies about two hours. The afternoon scrutiny, without the mass, takes about an hour and a half.

When their Eminences come out from the morning scrutiny it is about time for the mid-day meal—a great event in the day, doubtless, within the Conclave walls, but a still greater one on the outside; for the dinners of their Eminences are brought to the "rota," or turntable opening, at which they are to be passed into the Conclave in great state and with much ceremony. Each cardinal has a "Dapifer"—a bringer of the feast—who

performs that office for his imprisoned master. We read in the old constitutions of the one dish to be allowed to the electors, and that to be diminished to bread and water if the election were not terminated within a given number of days. And it might be supposed that *Dapifer* could convey that "feast" with sufficient convenience in a small hand-basket! But such Apostolic simplicity has given way to a ceremonial which forms—or perhaps I should say, formed—one of the great spectacles of Rome during an interregnum. The cardinal's state carriage and state liveries set forth from his Eminence's palace with much accurately prescribed ceremonial, under the command of "Dapifer," who superintends the passing of the good things brought by him through the "rota," after they have been duly probed and examined by the officials appointed, *ad hoc*, to see that no scrap of writing or message of any kind is conveyed with or in them. How gross a farce all this is has been sufficiently seen in the accounts of sundry Conclaves which have been given.

By various other regulations, the utmost apparent care is taken that no communications respecting the business of the Conclave shall take place between those imprisoned and the outside world. The prelates who preside at the "rota" are directed to read all letters passing in or out, to seal and pass them if there is nothing relative to the election in them, and to refuse to allow them to pass otherwise. Conversations at the "rota," to which any cardinal may be called by those who wish to confer with him, may not be carried on in

a low voice, but must be perfectly audible to the by-standers—all absolute farce, nowadays recognised farce, and in the days when it was hoped that such regulations would really secure the end in view, absolutely vain for any such purpose.

At three hours before sunset their Eminences are called again to chapel for the afternoon scrutiny with the same ceremony, and all the same formalities are observed as in the morning. After the second scrutiny of the day is over comes the hour for recreation and visits in the Conclave world. I find in the writers upon the subject the most exact and detailed prescriptions for the dress of those cardinals who employ this evening hour in taking a turn in one of the courts of the building or in the corridors, and for that of such as visit their colleagues in their cells—how the *Conclavista* shall stand at the door of the cell visited, when the visitor departs, with two candles, &c., &c.—matters which the reader would hardly thank me for placing before him.

The first evening a solemn meeting of those cardinals who are chiefs of the monastic orders is held, for the purpose of administering a solemn oath to the conclavists and to every other person in the Conclave down to the sweepers, that they will never reveal aught that they may hear or see in the Conclave touching the election! The degree of observance of which oath, administered, as it is, with every circumstance of solemnity and the menace of the most awful penalties to those who should break it, the reader has already had abundant means of verifying!

Cardinals who from infirmity are unable to return visits received in their cells, "like Cardinal Firmo, who went into the Conclave of 1829 at ninety-three years of age," must send round their cards to every cell. That first evening also the dresses (accurately prescribed) which were furnished at the cost of the Apostolic Chamber to all the servants in the Conclave are served out by a bursar, on presentation of written requisitions from the different conclavists. The same bursar supplies fuel, candles, and the like for the cell of each cardinal. But "if" (I find it oddly enough stated in connection with the above details) "any donatives of eatables which ought to belong to the Pope arrive in the Conclave, they are distributed to the members of the Sacred College, giving a share also to the secretary and sacristan of the Conclave!" It is difficult to imagine how any such present intended for the Pope should arrive, at the earliest, ten days after his death, and what the nature of the "eatables" could be which, after such a delay, their Eminences were still desirous of sharing!

Finally, the day closes by another ringing of his bell by the junior master of the ceremonies two hours after sunset, a second time half an hour later, and a third time three hours after sunset, the last ringing being accompanied by the call, "In Cellam Domini!"—"To your cells, my lords!"

## CHAPTER IV.

**Mode of Procedure at the Scrutiny.—"Ante-scrutiny."—The Four Actions composing it.—Description of the voting papers.—The Eight Actions composing the Scrutiny more properly so called.—Infirm Cardinals.—The Manner of their voting.—Relatives may not be Conclavists.—How this rule is evaded.—The "Accessit."—The "Post-scrutiny."—Different procedure in case an election has or has not been accomplished.—Care to ascertain that an elector has not made the necessary majority by voting for himself.—Cases of conscience as regards the voting.—Objects intended to be ensured by Conclave rules impossible of atta inment.—Conclusion.**

It remains to give an account of the mode of procedure adopted in the scrutiny and the "accessit," which latter operation, however, is more properly considered as a portion of the scrutiny, though often spoken of even by ecclesiastical writers as a separate act.

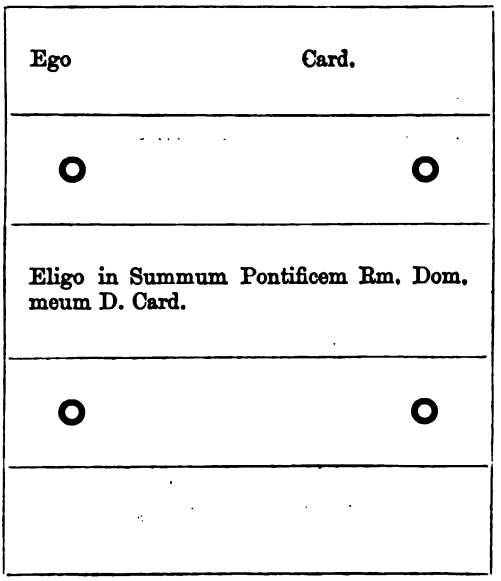
The scrutiny, as defined by the Bull of Gregory XV., must be secret, and consists of three portions—the "ante-scrutiny," the "scrutiny" more properly so called, and the "post-scrutiny."

Four actions go to the performance of the "ante-scrutiny": 1. The preparation of the schedules or voting papers. 2. The drawing by lot of the three scrutators and of the three deputed to wait on the infirm cardinals in their cells. 3. The writing of the voting papers. 4. The folding and sealing of the same.

Of the second of these nothing need be added to what has before been said.

The preparing, writing, folding, and sealing of the voting papers is done as follows.

The schedule, or slip of paper on which the vote is written, is about eight inches long by six wide. These papers have been previously printed and divided thus:—




The voter after "Ego" writes his baptismal name, and after "Card" his surname; fills the third division of the schedule with the name and surname of the cardinal to whom he gives his vote, writing these words as far as possible in such sort that they shall not be recognised by his colleagues as his writing; writes in the fifth division of the paper an Arabic number and a motto; and then folds and seals as described presently.

Here is a specimen of the electoral schedule duly filled:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Ego Franciscus Card. Barberini | |
| O | O |
| Eligo in Summum Pontificem Revd. Dom. meum Dom. Ludovico Ludovisi | |
| O | O |
| 24. Salvum me fac, Deus. | |

The voter then folds the first division down over the second, and seals it in the two places marked by circles; and folds up the fifth division over the fourth, and seals it down similarly; so that only the words written in the middle division, "Eligo in Summum Pontificem," so-and-so, remain visible. But before putting the paper into the urn, these also are covered by folding the two remaining portions of the paper yet once again over the central part.

The practice which formerly prevailed of writing more than one name in the voting paper, with the understanding that the elector gave his vote to the

first named if he had enough votes to elect, and to the second inscribed if the first should not so have, was abolished by Gregory XV.; and at the present day any voting paper which contained more than one name would be considered null and void.

The acts of the "anti-scrutinium" having been thus duly performed, we proceed to those of the "scrutinium" itself, which are with equally pedantic minuteness divided by the ecclesiastical writers into eight operations: 1. The carrying of the schedules. 2. Taking the oath. 3. Placing the vote in the urn. 4. Mixing up all the votes in the urn. 5. Counting the schedules. 6. Publishing the result to all the cardinals present. 7. Filing the schedules. 8. Putting them away separately.

First, carrying the voting papers. Each cardinal, habited in the "croccia," or long mantle, which has been described, and beginning with the Dean of the Sacred College, walks from his place to the altar, carrying the schedule folded and sealed in the manner specified, held high between his finger and thumb. Arrived at the step of the altar, he kneels and (second act) pronounces the following oath: "Testor Christum Dominum, qui me judicaturus est, me eligere quem secundum Deum judico elegi debere, et quod in accessu prestabo." "I call to witness Christ our Lord, who shall be my judge, that I am electing him whom before God I think ought to be elected, and the same as to the vote, which I shall give at the 'accessit.'" On the altar there is a large urn or chalice, covered with a patina; and the elector, having thus sworn, places his

schedule on the patina, and taking that in his hand, throws the vote into the chalice with it.

Should any one of the cardinals present be unable to walk from his stall to the altar, the junior of the three scrutators goes to him at his seat, and having received from him his voting paper, after he has pronounced the oath, carries it in the manner described to the altar, and deposits it in the urn. With regard to such cardinals as are not able to come into chapel, being ill in their cells, the mode of proceeding is as follows. The three cardinals chosen by lot for this purpose place their votes in the urn immediately after the Dean, in order that they may be free to attend to the sick. Then taking from the above-mentioned table the box with the slit in the lid, they open it, and hold it up to show to all present that there is nothing in it. Then they lock it and deposit the key on the altar. Then the three deputed to attend the sick depart on their errand to the cells of the sick men, a cardinal opening the door of the chapel for them, and chaining it up again as soon as they have passed. They go to the cell of each sick man in turn, hear him pronounce the oath, and receive his vote in the box. If any cardinal is unable to write, he may depute any one of his colleagues to write his voting paper for him, in which case the person so deputed swears solemnly that he will never divulge the secret of the vote he has written, the breach of which oath involves *ipso facto* the greater excommunication. Or the person deputed to write the vote may be the conclavist of the infirm man; and in such cases it is very usual for a cardinal to be attended by some near

relative as conclavist; for though the constitutions forbid any cardinal to take a relative with him into Conclave as conclavist, this is very easily evaded by two cardinals agreeing together to appoint each the relative of the other.

The fourth act of the scrutiny, to be performed when all the votes, including those of the sick, have been placed in the chalice, is the mixing them up together; and this is done by the senior of the three scrutators. The fifth act is the counting of the schedules. This is done by the junior scrutator, who counts them, taking them one by one from the chalice, and dropping them into another similar receptacle. If the counting should show that there has been any mistake, and that the number of votes given does not correspond with that of the cardinals in Conclave, all the votes are burned, and the work must be begun again. Next comes the "sixth act," which is in fact the scrutiny itself, and is performed in this manner. The three scrutators sit at the large table which has been described, with their backs to the altar, so that they may be in full view of all present, and the first of them takes a voting paper from the chalice, and leaving the seals which seal down the name and the motto of the voter intact, opens the other folds, and reads the name of the person in whose favour the vote is given. He then passes it to the second scrutator, who also takes note of the person voted for, and passes it on to the third, who declares the vote in a loud voice readily to be heard by all the cardinals present; and each one of them, as it is uttered, marks the vote on a register before him, which is prepared for

the purpose. These large sheets of paper, of which there are a number in each of the little tables in front of the cardinals' seats, are used one for each scrutiny. They contain a printed list of all the members of the Sacred College, with spaces for the record of the votes given, both at the scrutiny more properly so called and at the "accessit." When this voting and counting, which each cardinal does for himself on his own register, and the scrutators do more formally, recording the number of votes given to each cardinal who has been voted for at all in a separate paper, has been accomplished, the assembly proceeds to the seventh operation of the scrutiny. This is the threading of the schedules on a file, and is done by the junior scrutator, each paper being pierced exactly at the word "Eligo." The eighth and last act of this the second portion of the scrutiny consists in the tying together, by the junior scrutator, of the two ends of the thread on which the votes have been filed, and the placing of the whole of them apart on the great table.

Then comes the third and last operation of the scrutiny, which has three divisions in case an election has been accomplished, which are—1st, the counting of the votes; 2nd, the verifying of the votes by three other cardinals, drawn by lot, and called "ricognitori;" and 3rd, the burning of the votes in the manner which has already been described.

But if no election has been achieved, the last portion of the operation, the "post-scrutinium," consists of seven "acts," of which the first is the "accessit." The meaning of the phrase is evident enough, and the

act is performed in the same manner as in giving the first vote, save that "accedo ad" is printed in the schedule instead of "Eligo," and if the elector remains fixed in his original intention, he writes the word "nemini" in the place of the name of one of the cardinals. The numbers written on the paper, the motto, and the seals must be the same as in the first voting, otherwise the vote given will be void. Further, no cardinal can be voted for by "accessit" who has not had at least one vote in the first voting. Nor can an elector give an "accessit" for the same person for whom he voted in the first voting, otherwise he would vote twice for the same man. And as regards the invalids who have remained in their cells, the three cardinals deputed to attend them carry round together with the box for receiving their votes a statement of the results of the first voting.

The mode in which this method of the "accessit" operates, and the nature of the motives which will influence the electors in proceeding to it, are readily intelligible. If the candidate A, for whom I have voted, shall be shown to have received four or five votes only, while B has received twenty, and C thirty, it will become a delicate question whether I shall transfer my vote to one of these latter, and, if so, to which of them. If failing my own favourite candidate, who has been shown to have no chance, I am contented to have C, my course is clear; I "accede" to him. If he is objectionable to me, I may still prefer to do so if it shall seem to me that his election is inevitable. If B is one with whom I could be contented, and if I think

he has a chance, I "accede" to him. If my main object is to prevent if possible the election of either B or C I accede to some other cardinal, in the hope that the votes given to him, if not sufficient to elect him, may at least, in Conclave language, give an exclusion to B and C, *i.e.* prevent either of them from having a two-thirds majority. It will be seen that the "accessit" requires for its management some of the most delicate and dexterous play of any portion of the Conclave operations.

The second act of the post-scrutinium, when no election has been made at the first vote, is the opening of the seals which seal down that fold of the voting paper where the number and the motto are written, to ascertain that the first and second votes are by the same person, and are given either "nemini," or to a different candidate from him voted for the first time; the third, the numbering; and the fourth, the examination of the votes (only in case an election has been accomplished). The fifth act of the post-scrutinium is the adding together the votes obtained by the different candidates in the scrutiny and the "accessit." The sixth act consists in the verification by the "ricognitori" of the votes and the counting of them by the scrutators; and the seventh and last in the burning of the voting papers.

It should be noted, however, that in the examination of the votes, if an election should have been made by a number of votes exactly sufficient to constitute the required two-thirds majority, the scrutators must ascertain that the person elected has not voted for himself. Otherwise no election would have been made.

Volumes of subtle casuistry have been written on the exact sense of the terms of the cardinal's oath, that he will elect him whom he believes before God *ought to be elected*, and on the degree of literalness in which it must be assumed to be binding on the conscience. At the beginning of a Conclave many scrutinies are gone through without any thought of coming to an election, merely to try the strength of the different parties and to explore the ground. Conclave tacticians are of opinion that an elector may often injure the final chance of a candidate by voting for him from the outset in these tentative skirmishes. Is an elector, therefore, to injure the chance of the man whom he believes to be the fittest by voting for him at such times? A man may in his heart and conscience believe himself to be the fittest there to be made Pope. Is he bound to risk invalidating his own election by voting for himself? Or must he vote for some one whom he does not think the fittest? May a man vote for one whom he deems unfit when it is clear that that one will be elected? Answer: Yes! because it is fitting that an election should be made with concord and without giving rise to evil passions. Such questions and "cases" might be, and indeed have been, multiplied almost *ad infinitum*.

But the entire history of the Conclaves in which the Popes have been elected, and of the rules which have been enacted for the regulation of them and restriction of the actors in them, is one long series of demonstrations of the vanity and futility of endeavouring to bind by law the wills of men whose power is above that of law, and who recognise no superior. Prescription has

a certain amount of power, which is even greatly increased when it is applied to a corporate body. But it breaks down under the strain of the temptations to which those are exposed to whom so great a business as the election of a Pope is entrusted. Given the necessity of having a Pope, it would probably be impossible to devise a better means of getting one than that which the Church has gradually perfected. But she attempts the impossible; and her efforts to secure her aim, though they have been to a great degree successful, have resulted in an amount of false pretence, solemn sham, hypocrisy, and substitution of pompous appearance for reality, the long story of which makes the account of these Conclaves somewhat humiliating reading for the believer in human perfectibility.

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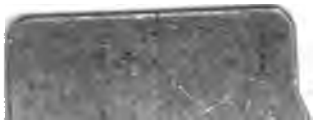
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