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THE
HISTORY OF THE POPES FROM THE CLOSE OF
THE MIDDLE AGES

BY
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VOLUME II

1464-1503

PAUL II, SIXTUS IV, INNOCENT VIII,
ALEXANDER VI

BOOK I
PAUL II 1464-1471

CHAPTER I. THE ELECTION OF PAUL II

THE Cardinals in attendance on Pius II had hastened to Rome as soon as it was decided that the election should be held in that city. The period of the vacancy of the Holy See was one of great disquiet, as it had often been before. The Sienese in Rome suffered much, and were assailed by a hostile crowd wherever they appeared.

Cardinal Roverella returned from his Mission to Naples on the 23rd August, and Cardinal Gonzaga reached Rome on the 24th. The Sacred College assembled in the morning of the 25th in the house of Cardinal Scarampo. In this preliminary meeting, doubts were expressed as to the prudence of holding a Conclave in the Vatican while Antonio Piccolomini, Duke of Amalfi, still kept possession of the Castle of St. Angelo, and many Cardinals advised that the Election should take place in the Minerva or at the Capitol.

The Duke of Amalfi, who was at this time absent from Rome, seems to have been an object of suspicion, principally because of the close relations which existed between him, the Orsini, and King Ferrante of Naples. Some of the Cardinals feared that, in the event of a Pope being chosen who was not agreeable to the King, he might make difficulties about giving up St. Angelo. On the other side, it was maintained that Antonio Piccolomini had given the most positive assurances, and that regard for his brothers, one of whom was a member of the Sacred College, would deter him from doing anything that could interfere with the liberty of the Conclave. This consideration prevailed, and it was determined that the Election should be held in the Vatican.

On the evening of the 28th August, the Cardinals went into Conclave. We have a graphic account of the proceedings from the Duke of Mantua's Envoy. The little Chapel of the Palace was chosen for the actual Election. The doors and windows were walled up. The chambers to be occupied during the election were like monks' cells; they were twenty-five feet square, and were so dark that artificial light was almost constantly necessary. The cells were marked with a letter of the alphabet, and assigned to the different Cardinals by lot. Each Cardinal had his meals brought to him at regular hours by his servants, in a coffer called a *cornuta*, adorned with his coat of arms. These coffers had to pass three sets of guards who surrounded the Conclave. The first was composed of Roman citizens, the second of Ambassadors, and the third of Prelates; they carefully examined the contents of the coffers, so that no letters should be introduced with the provisions.

Bessarion was invested with the dignity of Dean, and for a long time it seemed likely that the tiara would fall to his share. After him the most notable

among the Cardinals were, d'Estouteville, the head of the French party; Carvajal, with his untiring zeal; Torquemada, who was looked upon as the first theologian of his time; and the two antipodes, Scarampo and Barbo. Of the more youthful members of the Sacred College, Roderigo Borgia was distinguished by his position of Vice-Chancellor. His private life, like that of Francesco Gonzaga, was anything but edifying. Cardinals Filippo Calandrini, Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, Juan de Mella, Angelo Capranica, Lodovico Libretto, and Bartolomeo Roverella, by their irreproachable conduct formed a great contrast to Borgia and Gonzaga. In Ancona, Roverella had, like Capranica, Carvajal, and Calandrini, been named as a candidate for the papacy. On the other hand, even in June, 1464, when the condition of Pius II had become worse, Cardinal Barbo's prospects had been highly thought of. The Milanese Ambassador advised his master at that time to make a friend of this Cardinal.

On the 27th August, one of the Ambassadors then in Rome wrote as follows: "The negotiations regarding the Papal Election are being carried on in every direction in secret, and with great zeal. God grant that the Holy Spirit, and not human passions, may preside! Some few persons conclude, from certain predictions, that Cardinal Torquemada will be Pope, but he is very suffering, and this morning was said to be dead, which, however, I do not believe. Others are of opinion that the choice will fall on one who is not a member of the Sacred College, and, in virtue of some prophecies, Battista Pallavicini, Bishop of Reggio, is named".

The statements regarding Cardinal Torquemada's prospects of election are confirmed by one of the Duke of Milan's Envoys. On the 29th August he informed his master of the general impression that Cardinal Torquemada, who had that morning been carried into the Conclave, would never return to his own dwelling, but would either become Pope or die, as he was so old and feeble. After Torquemada, Scarampo was thought by many likely to be the favoured candidate.

The discourse pronounced by Domenico de' Domenichi, the eloquent Bishop of Torcello, in St. Peter's, before the Conclave began, gives a picture of the general state of affairs, and describes the disposition of the Electors. The preacher took for his text the words of Jeremias, "To what shall I equal thee, O virgin, daughter of Sion? For great as a sea is thy destruction: who shall heal thee?", and applied them to the state of Christendom. He recalled the fall of Constantinople, and the Christian losses, in the East, which followed on that deplorable event. Things had now, he said, reached such a point that tidings of defeat were frequently, indeed almost daily, received; and yet the Princes took no heed, and were, as had been evident during the life-time of Pius II, deaf to the exhortations of the Supreme Head of Christendom.

After an affecting picture of the dangers from without, Domenichi turned to the contemplation of the ills which the Church had to suffer from her own sons. The clergy, he said, are slandered, the goods of the Church plundered, ecclesiastical jurisdiction impeded, and the power of the keys despised. He frankly blamed the Popes for their compliance with the unjust demands of Princes, and attributed the sad condition of the times to the fact that those in authority had sought their own interests, and not those of Jesus Christ. Help, he maintained, could be looked for

only from a Chief Pastor who would give back to the Church her former liberty, and would not fear the power of Princes. He pointed out that the relations between the Pope and the Bishops had also been impaired. "Burdened by you", exclaimed the Orator, addressing the Cardinals, "the Bishops favour your enemies; oppressed by the Princes, they turn, not to the Mother who appears to them in the guise of a step-mother, but seek the favour of those into whose power they have been allowed to fall".

Finally, Domenichi declared that the position of the Sacred College itself was not what it had been. "Where", he asked, "is the former splendour of your authority? where is the Majesty of your College? Once, whatever was to be done, was first laid before your Senate, hardly anything was determined without your counsel". Domenichi concluded by lamenting the complete change that had taken place, and pronouncing the existing state of things to be insupportable, inasmuch as the authority, dignity, and splendour of the Sacred College had well-nigh disappeared.

These last words were hailed with delight by those Cardinals who sought as much as possible to limit the Papal authority. On the first day of the Conclave this party framed an Election Capitulation, which all the Cardinals, except Scarampo, signed, and swore to observe.

The provisions of this document would necessarily have involved a transformation of the monarchical character of the Church's Constitution, and have reduced the Pope to the position of the mere President of the College of Cardinals.

The Capitulation began by binding the future Pope to prosecute the Turkish war, and to devote to this purpose all the revenue derived from the Alum quarries. He was, moreover, to reform the Roman Court, was not to remove it to any other Italian city without the consent of the majority of the Cardinals, nor to any place out of Italy without the consent of the whole body. A General Council was to be summoned within three years' time. This Council was to reform Ecclesiastical affairs, and to summon the temporal Princes to defend Christendom against the Turks. It was further decided that the number of the Cardinals should never exceed four and twenty, and that one only should be of the Pope's kindred; no one was to be admitted into the Sacred College under the age of thirty, and also no one who did not possess the requisite amount of learning. Creations of new Cardinals, and nominations to the greater benefices, were only to be made with the express consent of the Sacred College. The Pope was further to bind himself not to alienate any of the possessions of the Church, not to declare war, or enter into any alliance without the consent of the Cardinals; to confer the more important fortresses in the Patrimony of St. Peter exclusively on Clerics, who, however, were not to be his kinsmen; no relation of his was to occupy the position of Commander-in-Chief of his troops. In State documents, the formula, "after consultation with our Brethren", was only to be used when the Cardinals had actually been summoned together in Council. Every month these resolutions were to be read to the Pope in Consistory, and twice in the year the Cardinals were to examine whether he had faithfully observed them; should this not be the case they were, "with the charity due from sons towards their parents", to remind him three times of his promise. What was to

take place, in the event of these warnings being unheeded, is not stated. Schism was the only course open.

The arrangement of the Election Capitulation was followed by the Election, which, on this occasion, was very rapidly concluded. The first scrutiny took place on the 30th August. Scarampo had seven votes, d'Estouteville nine, and Pietro Barbo eleven. The last-named Cardinal, who, six years before, had almost obtained the tiara, now at once received three more votes by way of *accessit*. His election was accordingly secured. The other Cardinals also agreed, invested him with the Papal robes, and did him homage. Thus the high-born but needy Sienese Pope was succeeded by a rich Venetian noble. The populace assembled in front of the Vatican received the news with joy. The Pope was then carried to St. Peter's, where the throng was so great that it was most difficult to find a passage through it.

The unusual rapidity of Cardinal Barbo's Election was looked upon by many as a miracle, for an Election preceded by less than three scrutinies had not occurred within the memory of man; but a little consideration enables us to understand the motives for the haste of the Cardinals. The first of these was the anxious state of public affairs, together with fear of the King of Naples and of the Duke of Amalfi, the latter of whom had his troops encamped on the frontiers of the States of the Church; moreover, Torquemada, Scarampo, and Barbo were very ailing, and Rodrigo Borgia had not yet recovered from his illness; he appeared in the Conclave with his head bound up. The confinement and privations of the Conclave must necessarily have been doubly irksome to these invalids, and made them desirous to get through the Election without delay.

Cardinal Ammanati says that Barbo at first wished to take the name of Formosus; the Cardinals, however, objected, on the ground that it might seem to be an allusion to his good looks. Barbo, who had been Cardinal Priest of St. Mark's, then thought of selecting Mark, but this was the war-cry of the Venetians, and was therefore deemed unsuitable. Finally, he decided to be known as Paul II.

The new Pope was, as Ammanati in a confidential autograph letter informed the Duke of Milan, indebted for his elevation to the elder Cardinals, that is to say, to those who had been members of the Sacred College before the time of Pius II; they were of opinion that the late Pope had shown so little regard to the Cardinals, because his own experience as a member of the Sacred College had been very short. Some of the younger Cardinals, and amongst them Ammanati, joined the party of the elders.

The Prelate so quickly elevated to the Supreme dignity of Christendom was at this time in the 48th year of his age. His pious mother was sister to Eugenius IV, and the youth, originally destined for a mercantile career, had been very carefully brought up, and owed his education, as well as his ecclesiastical advancement, to that Pope. The teachers selected by Eugenius IV for his nephew were men of ability, yet the progress of the latter was but slow; he took no interest in Humanistic studies, History and Canon Law had more attraction for him. Barbo's favourite pursuit at that time was the collection of coins, gems, and other antiquities.

As early as 1440, Barbo was, together with his rival Scarampo, raised to the purple; he also became Cardinal Deacon of S^{ta} Maria Nuova (now S^{ta} Francesca Romana), which Church he afterwards exchanged for S. Marco. Under Nicholas V and Calixtus III, he continued to occupy the same influential position as he had enjoyed during the pontificate of his uncle. His relations with Pius II were not of so agreeable a character. The Cardinal of S. Marco derived a princely income from his numerous benefices, and made a most generous use of it, sometimes for the benefit of less wealthy colleagues, such as Cusa and Aeneas Sylvius. A lover of splendour, like all Venetians, he began in 1455 to build a great palace, and in 1458 undertook the restoration of his titular Church. He was also a diligent collector of antiques and artistic treasures, and in this respect, rivalled even the Medici.

The Cardinal of Venice, as Barbo was also styled, was one of the most popular personages in the Court and City of Rome. His generosity, liberality, affability, and gentleness, soon won all hearts. His devotion to his friends was manifested on the occasion of the fall of the Borgia. Any one who enjoyed his patronage was deemed fortunate. He used to visit the sick in his neighborhood with kindly solicitude, and had a little pharmacy from which he dispensed medicines gratis. The poor were loud in their praises of the open-handed and tender-hearted Prince of the Church, and strangers were delighted with the kindness of his welcome and his readiness to serve them. Any one who had matters of business at the Roman Court, might reckon on success if Barbo took an interest in him. Genial wit and good humour reigned at his table, and he used to say in jest that when he became Pope each Cardinal should have a beautiful villa, to which he might retire during the heat of summer.

Cardinal Barbo added to his amiable qualities the charm of an imposing appearance; he was tall, well-made, and his bearing was dignified, advantages which have always been greatly valued by the Italians. For half a century, says a chronicler, a handsomer man had not been seen in the Senate of the Church. The weak points in his character were his jealousy, his vanity, and an overweening love of pomp, which betrayed his Venetian and mercantile origin.

According to the rude custom of the age the Romans used to plunder the abode of a new-made Pontiff; even Cardinals who had not been elected, frequently suffering on these occasions, Barbo and Scarampo had taken the precaution of placing military guards in their Palaces. An attack made on Scarampo's Palace, when a report of his election had been circulated, was repulsed. After Barbo's elevation became known, his Palace, which was full of treasures and works of art, was besieged by the rabble. Nothing but a haystack, however, fell into their hands. Some of the marauders then rushed to the Convent of S^{ta} Maria Nuova, under the erroneous impression that property belonging to the newly-elected Pope was hidden there. Defensive preparations had, however, been made, and the mob returned to the Palace. They seemed about to storm it, but were pacified by a present of 1300 ducats.

Extensive preparations for the Pope's Coronation were undertaken by three Cardinals chosen for the purpose. Even before this solemnity took place, he was delivered from the anxiety which had beset the first days of his reign in regard to

the Duke of Amalfi. After the Election, the Castle of St. Angelo and the fortresses of Tivoli, Spoleto, and Ostia, were still held by Sienese captains in the Duke's name; the garrisons' declared that they would not give up these strongholds until the sum of 30.000 ducats, which he said he had advanced to the Roman Church, had been repaid. In order to guard against the recurrence of such a danger, the Pope entrusted St. Angelo, which was finally given up to him on the 14th September, to the learned Spaniard, Roderigo Sancio de Arevalo. In compliance with the stipulations of the Election Capitulation, the Pope also arranged that for the future the governors of all the fortresses in the States of the Church should be Prelates.

The Pope's Coronation took place on the 16th September. Cardinal Borgia, as the senior of the Cardinal Deacons, was entitled to perform the ceremony, but, as he was indisposed, Cardinal Forteguerri acted in his stead. The ceremony took place on a tribune erected in front of St. Peter's. It was observed that Paul II did not, like other Popes, get a new tiara made for himself, but used the old one, which is said to have belonged to Pope St. Sylvester.

After his Coronation the Pope took possession of the Lateran. It was long since the Romans had witnessed more splendid festivities. More than 23,000 florins were spent on this occasion, according to the accounts of the Apostolic Treasury. The Pope rode from St. Peter's to S^{ta} Maria Nuova on a palfrey adorned with crimson and silver, which had been presented to him by Cardinal Gonzaga. Ancient custom gave the Roman populace a claim to the horse ridden by the Pope to the Lateran; and, after the Coronation of Pius II, as well as on many other occasions, a riot had been the result. To avoid this, Paul II dismounted at the Convent of S^{ta} Maria Nuova, leaving the palfrey there, and having himself carried in a litter the rest of the way. The function in the Lateran was followed by a banquet. The Pope spent thenight in the Palace of S^{ta} Maria Maggiore, and on the following morning, after he had heard Mass, returned to the Vatican.

Many Embassies soon arrived to pay homage to the new Pontiff. The first was from the King of Naples, which was admitted to an audience two days after the Coronation, when Paul II reminded the Envoys of the benefits received by King Ferrante from the Apostolic See. The Neapolitan Embassy was followed by others from Lucca, Siena, Mantua, Milan, and Florence, this latter being remarkable for its magnificence. All these were received in public, but the Embassies from the States of the Church in Secret Consistories; which furnished an opportunity for making complaints and asking for favours. Paul II, who, especially at the beginning of his reign, appeared to think a good deal of his own importance, was not very ready to comply with these requests, and disputes with the Bolognese arose in consequence. Some of the speeches made by the Ambassadors were masterpieces of Humanistic eloquence, filled with quotations from the ancient authors. That of the Jurist, Francesco Accolti, who was attached to the Milanese Embassy, was specially admired. On the 2nd December the Ambassadors of the Emperor Frederick III arrived; they were commissioned to treat also of the affairs of Bohemia.

Some of the Articles of the Election Capitulation were so obnoxious that even a Pope less imbued with a sense of his own importance than Paul II would have been driven to resist this fresh attempt to introduce an oligarchical character

into the government of the States of the Church, and, as a necessary consequence, into that of the Church itself. As a Venetian, the Pope was only too well-acquainted with the defects of this system, and was firmly resolved not to allow himself to be reduced "to the helpless position of a Doge, controlled by Committees of the Nobles". He was encouraged in this resolve, if we may believe Ammanati, by two Bishops who were aspiring to the purple.

The Pope, himself, prepared the Ambassadors for an alteration in the Election Capitulation. To one of them he bitterly complained that its stipulations tied his hands so that he could hardly do anything without the consent of the Cardinals. "I perceive", wrote the Duke of Milan's Ambassador on the 21st September, "that His Holiness will endeavour, if he possibly can, to mitigate the Election Capitulation".

One of the reasons which, from Paul II's point of view, compelled him to take this course was, that, under existing circumstances, any limitation of the Monarchical power of the Pope in the States of the Church would necessarily interfere with the free exercise of that power in matters purely ecclesiastical.

According to the Catholic Doctrine, the Constitution of the Church is, by Divine appointment, monarchical; any attempt, therefore, to alter it was unlawful, and the oath to observe the Election Capitulation invalid. It is, moreover, an article of Faith that each Pope receives the plenitude of power as directly from God as when it was first conferred by the Divine Founder of the Church. Prescriptions of limitation, therefore, whether contained in an Election Capitulation or in the enactments of a predecessor, can only affect the new Pope as counsels or directions, not as binding obligations.

According to trustworthy contemporaneous testimony, the intentions of many of the Cardinals in framing the Election Capitulation were far from disinterested. In reality, their aim was, not the removal of prevailing abuses, but an unlawful elevation and extension of the authority of the Sacred College. At the head of this party was the worldly-minded Cardinal d'Estouteville, who would have had much to apprehend from a genuine reform. A very well-informed Ambassador, writing on the 11th September, 1464, says that the stipulation regarding the Council was not made in good faith by the Cardinals, but adopted by them as a means of keeping the Pope in fear, and inducing him to comply with their demands. Paul II, who thoroughly understood these designs, soon made it clear how much this resolution displeased him.

The Pope was required to publish a Bull, confirming the Election Capitulation, on the third day after his Coronation; but the Bull did not appear and, instead of framing it, Paul II was occupying himself in devising means of recovering the free exercise of the Monarchical power. He caused several legal authorities to draw up opinions on the question, whether the articles to which he had sworn in the Conclave were binding on him. These authorities answered in the negative, and the Pope then laid a document, differing very essentially from the Election Capitulation, before the Cardinals, and persuaded, or constrained, them to sign it.

All yielded, with the exception of the aged Carvajal, who was immovable in his opposition.

The excitement in the Sacred College reached such a height that Cardinal Alain, brother of the Admiral of France, told the Pope to his face that his whole life for twenty-four years had been nothing but a plot to deceive them. Cardinal Gonzaga, whose relations with Paul II were in general friendly, and who had received many favours from him, wrote word to his father, on the 4th September, that the Pope was very much taken up with his dignity, and was proceeding in a most dictatorial manner. "Possibly", he added, "the council which is to take place in three years may humble him". Even in October, it was reported at the French Court that a schism had begun.

Happily this danger was averted, but the relations between the Pope and the Cardinals continued for a long time far from friendly. No improvement took place, even though he granted pensions to the poorer members of the Sacred College, and to all Cardinals in general the privilege of wearing the red biretta, and a large mitre of silk damask, embroidered with pearls, such as had hitherto been worn only by the Popes.

Cardinal Ammanati, who now fell into complete disgrace, was the most bitter in his complaints of Paul II. "All", he wrote, "is suddenly changed, affability has given place to harshness, friendliness to a distant and repellent behaviour, a happy commencement to an evil progress".

The estrangement was aggravated by the Pope's inaccessibility, induced by his peculiar manner of life. Changes, which he considered necessary for the sake of his health, were made in the arrangements of the Court; day was turned into night, and night into day. Audiences were only granted at night. A German Ambassador writes : "His Holiness gives no more audiences by day, and, as mine was the first, I sat all night in the Pope's chamber until 3 o'clock in the morning". Other accounts say that even good friends of the Pope had to wait from fifteen to twenty days before they could see him. To obtain an audience, the Envoy from Breslau writes, has now become quite an art. He had recently spent as much as five hours in the Palace, and had then been put off till the following evening. "It has now become three times as difficult to have an audience as it was under Papa Pio", says this same Ambassador, adding that he had often seen even Cardinals obliged to go away, after waiting two hours, without having obtained their object. It is not astonishing to find that business was greatly delayed and continued to accumulate.

The progress of affairs was further hindered by the slowness, indecision, and distrustfulness which were natural to Pope Paul II. In many cases he went so far as to instruct the Chancery not to accept authentic copies of documents, but to require the originals.

The Ambassadors also lamented the difficulties which the Pope made in granting dispensations and important favours. All these causes tended seriously to diminish the incomes of the officials, and discontent soon prevailed amongst them. This dissatisfaction led to the expression of unfavourable opinions regarding the Pope, which have not always been received with due caution.

There is certainly no foundation for the charge of parsimony so often made and repeated against Paul II. Cardinal Ammanati, who originated it, must have had many opportunities of witnessing the Pop's generosity. He granted 100 florins a month to Cardinals whose income was under 4000 golden florins; he was most liberal in assisting Bishops who were poor or exiled from their Sees. Impoverished nobles, destitute widows and orphans, the weak and the sick, and especially the members of the dethroned families from the East, who had taken refuge in Rome, were all partakers of his princely beneficence.

Almost every page of the account books of his reign furnishes documentary proof of his magnificent benevolence. Entry after entry records alms bestowed on needy widows and maidens, on nobles, on invalids or fugitives from the countries which had fallen under Turkish domination, from Hungary, and from the East. He made admirable arrangements for the care of the poor of Rome, and by his orders the Apostolic Treasury, every month, "for the love of God" (*amore Dei*), distributed 100 florins to those in want.

Fixed sums were also received at regular intervals by a number of poor Convents and Churches in Rome; as, for example, S. Agostino, S. Marcello, S^{ta} Maria sopra Minerva, S^{ta} Maria Ara Celi, S^{ta} Maria del Popolo, S^{ta} Sabina, S. Martino ai Monti, S. Giuliano, S. Clemente, S. Onofrio, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, S^{ta} Susanna, S. Alessio, S. Francesco in Trastevere, S. Cosimato and S. Pietro in Vincoli; but his bounty was not confined within the limits of the Eternal City; the Hospital of S. Matteo at Florence looks upon Paul II as, after Leo XI, one of its chief benefactors.

From the beginning of his Pontificate, Paul II devoted much care to the concerns of the City of Rome, a care rendered all the more necessary on account of the series of calamities, floods, tempests, and earthquakes by which it had then been visited. These were followed by pestilential epidemics, which raged in the autumn of 1464 to such a degree that one of the Ambassadors says that all the Cardinals' houses had become hospitals. This Plague lasted on into the colder months, and returned in the following years. Paul II rightly judged that the sanitary condition of the city could only be improved by a greater attention to cleanliness; he accordingly caused the streets to be purified, and sewers and aqueducts to be repaired.

A great benefit was conferred on Rome by Paul II, in the revision of its Statutes, which was completed in 1490, and had for its object the better and more rapid administration of justice. The revised Statutes were printed in the time of this Pope, probably in the year 1471. They are divided into three books: Civil Law, Criminal Law, and Administrative Law. This reform did not materially alter the principles of the Statutes of 1363, and the external and internal rights of the city remained unaltered.

Paul II took great pains to win the affection of the Roman people. In 1466 he gave them the Golden Rose, and the precious gift was borne in triumph through the streets. But they appreciated still more the variety and splendour with which the popular festivals, and especially the Carnival, were now celebrated.

Hitherto the Carnival had been confined to the Piazza Navona, the Capitol, and Monte Testaccio. In 1466, Paul II allowed the races to be held in the principal street of Rome, which from that time came to be called the Corso. The triumphal Arch of Marcus Aurelius, near S. Lorenzo in Lucina, was the starting point, and the Palace of S. Marco was the goal. Games and prizes were multiplied.

“In order”, writes Canensius, in his Life of Paul II, “that none of the elements, out of which Roman society was formed, might be left out, he instituted races for Jews, for boys, for grown men, and, finally, for old people, each with its suitable prize. The palls which it was customary to bestow as prizes on the successful race-horses were, by his directions, made of more costly materials”.

The great banquets, in the Square of S. Marco, to which the Pope invited the magistrates and the people, formed a new feature in the festivities. From a window of his Palace, Paul II looked down upon these entertainments, and at their conclusion money was distributed amongst the people. To give greater variety to the scene, donkey and buffalo races were added. Amusement of a higher grade was provided in the magnificent processions “which represented the triumphs of the ancient Roman Emperors, a favourite theme of the imagination of the period”. No doubt these “pictures of old Roman days were, in all archaeological simplicity, clad in the brightest colours of the style of the early Renaissance, but that only gave more life and variety to the scene”. These worldly proceedings were even at the time condemned by some, but Paul II paid no heed. He counted much on these popular amusements for counteracting the evil influences of the revolutionary demagogues. How much the festivities were generally appreciated may be gathered from the detailed and enthusiastic descriptions given by different chroniclers.

The care with which Paul II promoted the better supply of provisions for the City, and his measures against the robbers who infested its neighborhood, gave him a further title to the gratitude of the Romans. The Pope likewise endeavoured to check the vendettas and blood-feuds, to which so many lives were sacrificed in Rome and in all the Italian cities.

Paul II hated violence, and made it his special object to ensure the preservation of peace in the City. His government displayed a happy combination of firmness and gentleness. No malefactor escaped punishment, but the sentence of death was hardly ever carried out. The Pope met remonstrances against this great leniency by asking whether it were indeed a small thing to take the life of so wonderful a work of God as is man,—and a being upon whom Society has for many years expended so much pains. Criminals who had deserved death were generally sent to the galleys, but he gave express orders that they should not be treated with cruelty. The Pope was so tender-hearted and compassionate that he could not bear to see beasts led to the slaughter, and often bought them back from the butchers. It is said that he had great difficulty in refusing any request, and was obliged to shun doubtful petitioners lest he should, against his own better judgment, grant what they asked.

Paul II was a true friend and benefactor, not only to the Romans, but to all his other subjects. He was zealous in the promotion of all useful public works. In

poor places such as Cesena and Serra San Quirico, he contributed towards the repair of the harbours and the city walls. He repeatedly took measures to protect the Bolognese territory from being flooded by the Reno. In the second year of his reign, he issued very salutary regulations for the better organisation of the Mint in the States of the Church. For a long time the rule prevailed that money should be coined nowhere but in Rome; afterwards, however, the privilege was extended to the cities of Fermo, Ancona, Ascoli, and Recanati, with the stipulation that the conditions previously laid down should be exactly observed. In 1471 the Senate of the City of Rome was strictly enjoined to be diligent in proceeding against all who coined false money, or clipped the silver from the Papal mint.

A very wholesome Decree of this Pontiff forbade all Legates, Governors, and Judges to receive presents, and their conduct in this matter was closely watched. In grateful recognition of his excellent government the inhabitants of Perugia determined, in the year 1466, to erect a bronze statue of the Pope in their city.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONSPIRACY OF 1468.—PLATINA AND POMPONIUS LAETUS

THE great intellectual movement of the Renaissance was at the time of Paul II, still expanding and developing. Through each one of its phases the two currents of heathen and Christian tendency are always clearly discernible, but the attentive observer cannot fail to recognise a considerable difference between its condition under Nicholas V and under Paul II.

In the time of Nicholas V the genuine and noble Renaissance, which had grown up on Christian principles, and, while embracing classical studies with enthusiasm, had made them subordinate and subservient to Christian aims and ideas, still thoroughly held its own against the other tendency. Subsequently, a change took place, and the school which inclined to substitute the heathen ideal of beauty for the central sun of Christianity, became predominant. In the second generation of Humanists that one-sided devotion to classical antiquity, which led to a completely heathen view of life, gained considerably in extent and importance.

Opposition on the part of the highest ecclesiastical authority was inevitable. Even before the accession of Paul II the Church and the heathen Renaissance would already have come into collision, had it not been so extremely difficult to lay hold of this tendency by any external measures. A formal heresy might be condemned, but it was much harder to discern the many byways into which this new, and, in itself, lawful and salutary form of culture had strayed, and any interference with its course would almost necessarily have destroyed not only that which was evil, but also much that was excellent. Moreover, the partisans of the heathen Renaissance carefully avoided any appearance of conflict between their learning and theology, and altogether contrived to assume such an innocent air of dilettanteism that it would have seemed ridiculous to attempt to deal seriously with them.

If, however, a case arose which did not admit of being excused as mere harmless classicism, the Humanists at once made the strongest professions of submission to the dogmas of the Church, and either altered or abandoned the theories which had been called in question. Thus, by their very frivolity and utter want of principle, the Literati were able to avoid any serious conflict with authority.

But however complaisant the Literati might be in matters of this kind, it was quite another affair wherever their material interests were concerned. Any one who failed to treat them in this respect with the greatest indulgence and consideration must be prepared for the most violent attacks. Neither age nor rank were any protection against the envenomed tongues and pens of the disciples of Cicero. Lies and slanders pursued Calixtus III and Pius II, even to their graves. And the same fate in a yet greater degree befell Paul II.

A measure passed in the very beginning of his Pontificate gave occasion to a calumny which has not even yet completely died out, and which represents him as a barbarous enemy of classical studies and of all intellectual activity, in fact a "hater of learning".

The measure in question affected the College of the Abbreviators of the Chancery. In November, 1463, Pius II had made a Decree that this body should be composed of seventy members, of whom only twelve were to be appointed by the Vice-Chancellor. The work and the pay were to be distributed only amongst these seventy, and not directly by the Vice-Chancellor. In May, 1464, Pius II, reorganised the College; the former officials were suppressed, and a number of Sienese, chosen from the Humanist party, were appointed, some by favour and others by purchase. Paul II, who had always kept up friendly relations with the Cardinal Vice-Chancellor, reinstated him in his former powers, and reversed the arrangements made by his predecessor. Thus the Abbreviators, who had enjoyed the favour of Pius II, lost both their places and their means of living. This was undoubtedly a hardship to those who had bought their positions, although an order was given that the purchase money should be refunded.

The indignation of those affected by this change was extreme. The secretaries, poets, and Humanists at the Roman Court really considered themselves the most important persons in the world; they seriously believed that they

“conferred on the Papal Court as much honour as they received from it”, and were firmly persuaded that “men of their stamp were absolutely necessary to the Pope, and that he must seek them out from all parts of the world, and attach them to himself by the promise of rich rewards”.

The distress of these self-important men was equal to their astonishment. They resolved, in the first instance, to have recourse to friendly representations; and even the lowest members of the Papal Court were importuned for assistance to obtain them an audience. For twenty consecutive nights they besieged the entrance to the Palace without gaining access to the presence of Paul II.

One of their number, Bartolomeo Sacchi da Piadena (a small place between Cremona and Mantua), known as an author by the name of Platina, the Latin form of Piadena, then resolved on a desperate measure. He wrote a pamphlet in the form of a letter, and, by his own confession, addressed the Pope in the following terms:—“If it is permissible for you to despoil us, without a hearing, of that which we had justly and fairly purchased, it must be allowable for us to complain of so undeserved an injury. Since we find ourselves contemptuously repulsed by you, we will address ourselves to the Kings and Princes, and urge them to assemble a Council, before which you will be constrained to justify yourself for having robbed us of our lawful possession”. The letter concluded with the subscription :—“Servants of Your Holiness, if the new regulations are cancelled”.

Platina gave this letter sealed to the Bishop of Treviso, the Pope's most confidential Counsellor, remarking that it was written by the Humanist, Ognibene da Lonigo.

Hitherto Paul II had kept silence; now he acted. Platina was summoned to the Papal Palace, where he appeared with a defiant air, and, when the Bishop of Treviso called him to account for his conduct, answered very insolently. He was committed to St. Angelo, where, notwithstanding the intercession of Cardinal Gonzaga, he had that same evening to undergo an examination by torture, “I am very anxious on his account”, wrote one of the Ambassadors, then in Rome, on the 15th of October, “for the Pope has spoken very violently about him to many, and no one ventures to take the part of a man guilty of so great a crime”. On the following day another writer mentions that Paul II had talked of having him beheaded. “As Platina is an excellent author”, he adds, “every one laments this mischance, more particularly Cardinal Gonzaga, in whose service he was at one time; but he is unable to help him in this matter. It is true, however, that when the Pope spoke to the Cardinal, he excused Platina as a madman. This deed of folly, indeed, proves him to be such”.

In the cold solitude of St. Angelo, Platina had full time for reflection. When, after four months of confinement, Cardinal Gonzaga's persevering intercession procured his release, he could hardly stand. He was obliged to promise that he would not leave Rome. The Papal enactment was never repealed, and the ejected Literati, and more especially, their ill-starred leader continued to meditate vengeance.

The meeting of these malcontents, and of the heathen-minded Humanists, took place in the house of a scholar well known throughout Rome for his intellectual gifts and for his eccentricity. Julius Pomponius Laetus was an illegitimate scion of the princely house of Sanseverino, had come to Rome at an early age from his home in Calabria, and had become Valla's disciple, and afterwards succeeded him as Professor in the University. "Of all the worshippers of antiquity, whose exclusive ideal was ancient Rome and the oldest words of the Latin tongue, he was the most extreme". No scholar, perhaps, ever lived so completely in the heathenism of the past; "the present was to him a mere phantom; the world of antiquity was the reality in which he lived and moved and had his being".

Pomponius Laetus lived in antique style, in haughty poverty, like a second Cato. In the cultivation of his vineyard he followed the rules of Varro and Columella. He would often come down, with buskined feet, before daybreak to the University, where the hall could hardly contain the crowd of his eager scholars. The vivacious little man might frequently be seen wandering alone through the ruins of ancient Rome, suddenly arrested, as if in a rapture, before some heap of stones, or even bursting into tears. He despised the Christian religion, and passionately inveighed against its adherents. As a deist, Pomponius believed in a Creator, but, as one of his most devoted disciples tells us, as an antiquarian he revered the "Genius of the City of Rome", or what would, in modern language, be called "the Spirit of Antiquity".

His house on the Quirinal was filled with fragments of ancient Architecture and sculpture, inscriptions and coins. Here, in an atmosphere charged with the spirit of heathen Rome, he assembled his disciples and friends. Disputations were held on ancient authors, and philosophical questions, discourses and poems were read, Comedies of Plautus and Terence were sometimes performed, and an infatuated admiration for the old Republic was cherished.

Such was the origin of a "literary society", called the Roman Academy, whose object was the cultivation of pure Latinity, and of the ancient national life of Rome. "Pomponius, the founder of the Society, went so far as to refuse to learn Greek, lest he should injure the perfection of his Latin pronunciation".

Around Pomponius, the representative of pagan Humanism, soon gathered a number of young freethinkers, semi-heathen in their views and morals, who sought to make up for their lost faith by a hollow worship of antiquity.

The members of the Academy looked upon themselves as a Confraternity; they laid aside their ordinary names, and adopted ancient ones instead. The original name of Pomponius, who was venerated by all as their leader and teacher, is not even known. Bartolomeo Platina and Filippo Buonaccorsi, who was called Callimachus, are the most noted of the other members. We also hear of Marcantonio Coccio of the Sabine country, called Sabellicus; Marcus Romanus, or Asclepiades; Marinus Venetus, or Glaucus; a certain Petrus or Petrejus; Marsus Demetrius, Augustinus Campanus, &c.

It may be admitted that this use of heathen names was a mere fancy, for which a parallel may be found in the increasing preference for such names, and

even those which were of evil repute, in baptism. But other practices of the Academicians cannot be thus explained. The fantastic "enthusiasm of the adherents of the old Calabrian heathen" found vent in religious practices which seemed like a parody of Christian worship. The initiated constituted their learned Society into "a formal Antiquarian College of Priests of the ancient rite, presided over by a pontifex maximus, in the person of Pomponius Laetus". The sentiments and the conduct of these "pantheistic votaries of Antiquity" were certainly more heathen than Christian. Raphael Volaterranus, in his Roman Commentaries, dedicated to Julius II, plainly declared that the meetings of these men, their antique festivities in honour of the birthday of the City of Rome and of Romulus, were "the first step towards doing away with the Faith."

There was certainly some ground for the charges brought against the Academicians of contempt for the Christian religion, its servants and its precepts, of the worship of heathen divinities and the practice of the most repulsive vices of ancient times. Pomponius Laetus was the disciple of Valla, and was certainly an adherent and disseminator of the destructive doctrines of his master. A heathen idea of the State, hostility to the clergy, and the dream of substituting for the existing government of Rome a Republic of the ancient type, prevailed in this circle, together with Epicurean and materialistic views of life. "Experience had already sufficiently shown that the enthusiastic veneration of the old Roman commonwealth was not unlikely to have practical consequences".

This heathen and republican secret society seemed all the more dangerous in the increasingly excited state of the Roman populace. Many of the youths of the city were ready for any sort of mischief, and numerous exiles lurked on the Neapolitan frontiers. In the June of 1465, when Paul II went to war with Count Everso of Anguillara, there was a decided movement in favour of the tyrant. A year later, many adherents of the Fraticelli were discovered; their trial revealed the opposition of their rites and doctrines to those of the Church. Further inquiry showed that the partisans of this sect were at work not only in the March of Ancona, but also in the Roman Campagna and in Rome itself. There is no proof of any connection between these heretics and the Roman Academy. It is, however, certain that various fanatical demagogues, and some of the angry Abbreviators, held intimate relations with the Academicians, and that in their assemblies strong language against the Pope was freely indulged in. Thus "all the hostile elements of Heathenism, Republicanism and Heresy seemed to have their centre in the Academy".

In the last days of February, 1468, the inhabitants of Rome suddenly learned that the police had discovered a conspiracy against the Pope, and had made numerous arrests, chiefly among the Literati and members of the Roman Academy.

Disquieting reports of various kinds had, for some time, been prevalent in the city, and predictions of the Pope's speedy death had been circulated. Paul II had attached no importance to these rumours, but, after receiving a warning letter from a temporal Prince, he looked on the matter in a more serious light. His anxiety increased, and his determination to act was confirmed, when some of the Cardinals also made communications of an alarming character. On the same night an order

was issued for the arrest of the ringleaders of the Conspiracy. Four members of the Roman Academy, viz., Callimachus, Glaucus, Petrejus, and Platina, had been named to the Pope as the chiefs. The first three, having received intimation of the danger which threatened them, succeeded in making their escape. Callimachus, himself, in a letter subsequently written for his own justification, declares that he had at first remained hidden in Rome, and then fled secretly to Apulia.

Others who had been connected with the Academicians were, together with Platina, incarcerated in St. Angelo, and afterwards examined by torture. "Every night some one is arrested", wrote the Milanese Ambassador, Johannes Blanchus, on the 28th February, "and every day the matter is better understood; it is not, as Cardinal Ammanati supposed, a dream, but a reality. The plan would have succeeded if God had not protected the Pope".

It is most interesting to observe the manner in which Paul II himself took the whole affair. Hitherto, we have had little save the somewhat scanty account of his biographer, Canensius, to guide us. He informs us that the Pope had taken measures to make an example of an infamous band of young Romans of corrupt morals and insolent behaviour. They had maintained that the Christian religion was a fraud, trumped up by a few Saints, without any foundation in facts. Hence, it was allowable to copy the Cynics, and give themselves up to the gratification of their passions. "These persons", Canensius goes on to say, "despise our religion so much that they consider it disgraceful to be called by the name of a Saint, and take pains to substitute heathen names for those conferred on them in baptism. The leader of this Sect, whom I will not here name, was a well-known teacher of Grammar in Rome, who, in the first instance, changed his own name, and then those of his friends and disciples in this manner. Some abandoned men associated themselves with him: as, for example, the Roman, Marcus, who is called Asclepiades; the Venetian, Marinus, who is called Glaucus; a certain Petrus, who has styled himself Petrejus; and Damian, a Tuscan, who is known as Callimachus. These had bound themselves to murder the Pope".

This account enables us to look at the affair from the point of view of the Pope's position as "Guardian of Faith and Morals", and recently discovered Reports of the Milanese Ambassadors serve yet more clearly to elucidate its significance in this respect. Their independent character, and the direct nature of their testimony, entitle them to be considered as documents of the greatest importance.

It was not easy for the Ambassadors of the League, then in Rome, to obtain really authentic information regarding the events which had just taken place there, for the most varied and fantastic accounts were circulated.

Many different statements were made as to the day fixed upon for carrying the plot into effect. Some said that Paul II was to have been murdered on Ash-Wednesday, at the Papal Mass, others that the crime was to have been perpetrated on Carnival Sunday, when all the people, and even the Papal Guards, would have gone to Monte Testaccio for the accustomed festivities. Others again declared Palm Sunday to be the day selected. It was further reported that the conspirators had, with a view to the accomplishment of their purpose, associated with themselves

Luca de Tocio, a banished Roman, belonging to the party of the Orsini, who was a member of the Council at the Court of Ferrante I at Naples. This man was believed to be in league with other banished persons. Four or five hundred of them were to enter the city secretly, and to hide themselves in the ruins of the houses which had been pulled down in order to enlarge the Papal Palace. On the other side, forty or fifty partisans were to join the conspirators, and begin an attack on the attendants of the Cardinals and Prelates, who would be waiting in the Square in front of the Palace. By this means the Pope's small Guard would be occupied, and the conflict was to serve as a signal to the hidden outlaws, who would then make their way into the Church and murder the Pope and those about him. General pillage was to ensue, and Luca de Tocio was to establish a new Constitution.

Even more alarming than the plot itself was the reported extent of its ramifications. The King of Naples was accused of taking part in it, and some were of opinion that the King of France was also engaged, while others declared Sigismondo Malatesta to be one of the conspirators.

These varied accounts led the Ambassadors of the League to seek from the Pope himself more accurate information, and, at the same time, to express their sympathy and offer assistance on behalf of their several masters. An account of the Audience was drawn up by the Milanese Ambassadors personally, and in duplicate. This document makes it perfectly evident that, from the very first, the Pope clearly distinguished between the Anti-Christian and immoral life of many Academicians, or their *heresy*, as the Ambassadors shortly style it, and the Conspiracy against his person.

On the first of these points Paul II made some very important statements, representing the Academicians as complete heathens and Materialists. They deny, he said, the existence of God, they declare that there is no other world than this, that the soul dies with the body, and that, accordingly, man may give himself up to the indulgence of his passions without any regard to the law of God; all that is needed is to avoid coming into collision with the temporal power.

Paul II had much more to tell of the evil deeds of these Epicureans, who seem, indeed, to have adopted the doctrines promulgated by Valla in his book "on pleasure". They despised the commands of the Church, he said, ate meat on fast-days, and reviled the Pope and the Clergy. They said that the priests were the enemies of the laity, that they had invented fasting and forbidden men to have more than one wife. Moses, they taught, deceived the Jews, his law was a forgery, Christ was a deceiver, Mahomet a great intellect, but also an impostor. They were ashamed of their Christian names and preferred those which were heathen, and they practised the most shameful vices of antiquity. Some of these free-thinkers are said to have contemplated an alliance with the Turks. Predictions of the speedy death of the Pope were circulated by them; then there would be a new Election and a complete change in the state of affairs.

Paul II named Callimachus, Petrejus, Glaucus, and Platina as the ringleaders of the Conspiracy. He deeply regretted that the first three had escaped beyond the reach of justice. He evidently considered the matter to be most important, and

expressed to the Ambassadors his determination to root out this "heresy", and his regret that he had not sooner become aware of its existence.

In regard to the Conspiracy against his person, the Pope said he had heard the prevalent reports, but added that he could form no decided opinion as to whether they were well-founded or not, because those believed to be the leaders in the plot had escaped. According to the report of one of the Ambassadors, Paul II had, at first, a suspicion that Podiebrad, the Hussite King of Bohemia, might be implicated; it appeared to him not improbable that one heretic might help another.

The Pope was particularly disquieted by the rumour about Luca de Tocio, who had taken part in the troubles in the time of Pius II. He at once sent a courier to Naples to ascertain whether he had really left that city. As it was also affirmed that Tocio had given 1000 ducats to the guards of St. Angelo, as a bribe to induce them to deliver up the fortress, the Pope caused searching enquiries to be made, but very little information was obtained. Even at the time, it was suspected that these reports had been set afloat by persons whose interest it was to raise a cloud of dust as a stratagem to escape punishment.

A reward of 300 ducats was offered for the discovery of the whereabouts of Callimachus, Glaucus, and Petrejus, and 500 for that of Luca de Tocio. The Pope hoped to get hold of some, if not all, of the conspirators. On the 29th February, it was believed that a clue to Callimachus' abode had been found; he was considered next in importance to Luca de Tocio.

The houses of the fugitives were, of course, searched, and the licentious poems which were found furnished fresh proof of the immorality of the Academicians.

"We cannot wonder that the Pope did not consider the existence of such a Conspiracy as in itself incredible. He had incurred the bitter hatred of the aggrieved Abbreviators. Stefano Porcaro, the head of the conspiracy against Nicholas V, had also been a Humanist, and had dreamed of the restoration of the ancient Republic. The Giibelline bands in Rome were still in existence, and their alliance with the party-chiefs of the city, and with the fugitives and exiles beyond its limits, constituted an abiding danger. Again, in the days of Pius II, young Tiburzio, at the head of a similar Catiline band, had stirred the people up to cast off the priestly yoke, and revive the ancient liberty of Rome. By his decided action, Paul II, at any rate, repressed disorder, and provided himself with material for investigation".

Until the official documents are brought to light, it will be impossible to give an exact account of these proceedings, which were conducted by Cardinal Barbo, and watched with the greatest interest by Paul II. They would furnish us with the means of checking the detailed relation of Platina, whose participation in the events renders it necessary to receive his statements with the greatest caution. In many cases they are, moreover, at variance with facts otherwise established.

He certainly is guilty of gross misrepresentation in his Life of Paul II, when he affirms that, in his examination, he had shown the indolent Callimachus to be incapable of independently originating a Conspiracy. In Platina's letters, written

during his imprisonment, we find him, on the contrary, laying the whole blame on the blustering folly of Callimachus. "Who", he asks, in one of these letters, "would believe that the drunken dreams of this man, whom we mocked at and despised, could have brought us into such trouble? Alas! for us, poor wretches, who must pay for the silly temerity of another! That crazy bestower of treasures and kingdoms roams about freely, drunk with wine and glutted with food, while we, for being imprudent enough not to reveal his mad dreams, are tortured and shut up in dungeons". In almost all the other letters of this period Platina reiterates these accusations.

The constancy with which Platina claims to have undergone examination and endured torture must also be relegated to the domain of fiction.

The letters written during his imprisonment also testify against him. Anything more abject than his petitions addressed to the Pope can hardly be imagined. His error, in not showing up the drunken Callimachus, had been one of negligence, not of malice. For the future, however, he promised, whenever he hears anything against the name or the welfare of the Pope, even from a bird of the air, at once to report it to His Holiness. He approves of the measures taken for the repression of Humanistic license, inasmuch as it is the duty of a good shepherd to preserve his flock from contagion. He confesses that, when turned out of his office, he accused God and man; he repents of this, and will not again so far forget himself. Finally, he promises, if restored to liberty and secured from want, to become the Pope's most ardent panegyrist, to celebrate in prose and verse "the golden age of his most happy Pontificate"; he is even ready to abandon classical studies and devote himself entirely to Holy Scripture and Theology. The Humanist, however, again comes out when he reminds the Pope that poets and orators confer immortality on Princes: Christ was made known by the Evangelists, and Achilles by Homer. The prevailing tone of the letter is expressed in its concluding words: "Only give hope to us who, with clasped hands and bended knees humbly await your mercy".

Utterly broken and crushed, Platina in his distress built much on the assistance of Rodrigo Sanchez de Arevalo, Bishop of Calahorra and Prefect of St. Angelo, and besieged him with elegant letters. Rodrigo had the courtesy to grant Platina's request that he would refresh him with a letter. This led to a brisk correspondence between the two Humanists, one of whom was a representative of the Christian and the other of the heathen Renaissance. Rodrigo sought to calm and elevate Platina's mind by presenting to him religious motives of consolation. It is curious to see how difficult the latter found it to respond to the Bishop's thoughts. In spite of some convulsive snatches after Christian reminiscences, the antique element is the one that predominates in his letters, and certain fatalistic observations which escaped from his pen, induced Rodrigo to enlighten him as to the manner in which a Catholic ought to speak of Fortune and of Fate.

The letters in which Platina invoked the intercession of a number of the Cardinals and Prelates are as deplorable as the "abject and fulsome flatteries" with which he overwhelmed his gaoler. All these letters are full of the praises of those to whom they are addressed, and of Paul II and Sanchez de Arevalo. In one of them

Platina confesses that he contemplated suicide. In answer to the accusation of irreligion, he maintains that, as far as human frailty permitted, he had always fulfilled his religious duties, and denies that he had ever impugned any article of Faith. He is conscious of no crime save his silence regarding the babble of Callimachus.

Pomponius Laetus, who was delivered up to the Pope by Venice, during his detention at St. Angelo's showed little of the ancient Roman stoicism which he had so ostentatiously professed. At first he seems to have given some sharp answers to his examiners; but he soon followed the example of his friend Platina, and sought by obsequious flattery to win the favour of his gaoler and of the Pope. He protested in the strongest terms that he was innocent, and, at the same time, begged for some books to read in his solitude. Instead of Lactantius and Macrobius, for which Pomponius asked, Rodrigo de Arevalo sent him his treatise on the errors of the Council of Basle. Pomponius was little gratified by the substitution, but thanked him in an offensively fulsome letter. This was meant to pave the way for another petition, and, on the same day, he expressed a wish for a cheerful companion, with whom he might interchange ideas. In support of his request, he quoted the words of Scripture : "Bear ye one another's burthens, and so you shall fulfil the law of Christ". This application was granted.

The Apology drawn up by Pomponius Laetus, while in prison, is also a pitiful production. He meets an accusation, in regard to his relations with a young Venetian, by an appeal to the example of Socrates. He had withdrawn from all intimate intercourse with Callimachus from the time he had become aware of his wickedness. Everywhere, and especially in Venice, he had extolled Paul II. He confesses with regret that he had spoken strongly against the clergy; he had said these things in anger because he had been deprived of his maintenance; he begs to be forgiven for the sake of the sufferings of Christ. He brings forward witnesses to prove that he had fulfilled his Easter duties, explains his disregard of the law of fasting by the state of his health, and declares that he had received the necessary dispensation. Finally, in evidence of his Christian sentiments, he refers to the verses which he had composed on the Stations of the Cross, to his discourse in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and his treatise on the Immortality of the Soul. He concludes by a penitent admission that he has done wrong, and prays that, for the sake of the Risen Saviour, mercy may prevail over justice.

This pitiful document seems to have decided the fate of Pomponius. Paul II came to the conclusion that the writer of such a letter was incapable of originating a Conspiracy, and, with regard to the other charges against him, he probably considered that the severe lesson which he had received was sufficient to reform him. The reason of Platina's far longer detention in prison was evidently that the suspicions against him were stronger, owing to his former conduct.

Paul II still hoped that the ringleaders of the Conspiracy would fall into his hands, and, if we may believe Platina, Petrejus was actually apprehended, but confessed nothing.

That the affair had a political side is evidenced by the fact that, immediately on the discovery of the plot, the Pope transferred his residence from St. Peter's to S. Marco, "in order to remove from the neighbourhood of the Orsini and place himself near the Colonna". "But", as the Ambassador, from whom we learn of this change, remarks, "danger is everywhere".

Things, however, did not now seem so alarming. The report of the departure from Naples of Luca de Tocio, the partisan of the Orsini, and of his participation in the Conspiracy, proved to be mistaken. Paul II, nevertheless, considered it well to surround himself with a strong guard. The Carnival amusements, as Augustinus de Rubeis, on the 4th March, informed the Duke of Milan, took place just as usual. "Regarding the Conspiracy against the Pope's person", writes the same Ambassador, "enquiries have been most carefully made, but as yet nothing has been discovered but some blustering talk of murdering the Pope, which may easily have arisen in the way I have already described. As the populace and the whole Court are discontented, it was only necessary for some one to make a beginning in order to carry all with him".

The obscurity in which this Conspiracy is involved will never be completely cleared away. Platina and Pomponius Laetus, "with touching unanimity concur in laying all the blame on the cunning of the fugitive who was not there to defend himself". Even in distant Poland, where he hoped to find sure refuge with Paul II's enemy, King Casimir, Callimachus had good cause to guard his lips, for the Pope made great, though ineffectual, efforts to get him into his power. Again, in the year 1470, the Papal Legate, Alexander, Bishop of Forli, urged the General Diet at Petrikau to deliver up the conspirator, who only escaped through a combination of favourable circumstances.

Although enquiries regarding this Conspiracy were finally abandoned in Rome for want of evidence, yet the prosecution of what was designated as the "heresy" of the Academicians, was carried on, and this with all the more reason, inasmuch as Platina himself had not ventured to deny the charge of heathen practices. Unfortunately, trustworthy information on this subject is but scanty. From many sources, however, we learn that Paul II meditated measures of extreme severity against the heathen and philosophical extravagances of the Professors and Literati.

"If God preserves my life", said the Pope to one of the Ambassadors very soon after the discovery of the plot, "I will do two things; in the first place, I will forbid the study of these senseless histories and poems, which are full of heresies and blasphemies, and, secondly, I will prohibit the teaching and practice of Astrology, since so many errors arise thence". "Children", continued the Pope, "when hardly ten years old, even without going to school, know a thousand villanies. What, then, must they become when, later on, they read Juvenal, Terence, Plautus, and Ovid? Juvenal certainly makes a show of blaming vice, but he leads his readers to the knowledge of it". "There are many other books", he added, "through which a sufficient amount of learning may be attained; it is better to call things by their true names and to avoid poetical circumlocution. These Academicians are worse than the heathen, for they believed in God, while these deny Him". The

Ambassadors expressed their agreement with the Pope, especially Lorenzo of Pesaro, who delighted him by demonstrating the faith of the ancients with a great display of learning. The Ambassadors also considered it very advisable to forbid Ecclesiastics to study Poetry and Astrology. The Pope concluded by declaring that he also meant to take measures against the Roman habit of spreading false reports.

In the consultations, which were held during this time, to devise the best means of attacking the false Renaissance, the Pope may have had in his mind a treatise which Ermolao Barbaro, the excellent Bishop of Verona, had dedicated to him in 1455. This author, looking at the matter exclusively from a moral point of view, vehemently protests against the undue estimation in which the ancient poets were commonly held, and in some places altogether condemns the whole of the old heathen poetry. He goes through the whole series, first of the Greek, and then of the Latin poets, and cites a number of extracts from the writings of the Fathers, in which immoral poets are condemned. In his opposition to the fanatical admirers of ancient poetry, Barbaro sometimes flies to the other extreme, and completely condemns the art in itself. The conclusion which he deduces is, that if the study of these heathen writers, even by the laity, requires much circumspection, this must be still more necessary in the case of religious and priests.

One of the Ambassadors expressly states that, in the middle of March, 1468, all the teachers in Rome were, on account of the danger of heresy, forbidden to make use of the old poets; further details are wanting. It is, however, probable that the Papal prohibition was confined to the schools. At any rate, it did not apply to all poets, but only, as the Pope clearly explained to the Ambassadors of the League, to those who were objectionable on the score of morals. Every one must admit that the moral aspect was the one which a Pope was bound to consider in forming a judgment on the Classics. The vindication of the Christian moral law in this domain was, therefore, a most salutary act. Poison is poison still, even if contained in crystal vials.

As regards the issue of the trial, we have only Platina's report, and it cannot be looked upon as trustworthy. According to him, the Academicians were acquitted from the charge of actual heresy, nothing more than flippancy and undue licence in language being proved against them. Accordingly, the prisoners were now no longer shut up, but merely detained in the Papal Palace, then within the precincts of the Vatican, and finally, at the intercession of some of the Cardinals, especially Bessarion, only in the City of Rome; but the Academy was dissolved, and certain limitations were imposed upon classical studies.

The severe lesson given by Paul II to the wanton insolence of the Humanists, was no doubt a salutary one. No one can deny that the Pope was acting within his rights when he took measures against the practical heathenism of the Academicians. Platina, himself, in a letter to Pomponius Laetus, confessed that the heathenish practices of the Academy must, necessarily, give offence. "And so", he adds, "we must not complain if the Pope defends himself and the Christian religion".

The action of Paul II towards the Roman Academy has received a remarkable justification from recent investigations in the Catacombs.

Until the 15th century the subterranean necropolis of the early Christians had, with the exception of the Catacomb of St. Sebastian, been completely forgotten. Traces of visitors begin to reappear from the year 1433. First, we have names of Monks and Pilgrims, led there by devotion. "I came here", writes Brother Laurentius of Sicily, "to visit this holy place, with twenty companions of the Order of the Friars Minor, on the 17th January, 1451". Then, suddenly, we come upon the autograph scratches (Graffiti) of Humanists and Roman Academicians : of Pomponius, Platina, Volscus, Campanus, Pantagathus, Ruffus, Histrius, Partenopaeus, Perillus, Calpurnius, &c. They call themselves "a company of venerators and students of Roman antiquity, under the leadership of the pontifex maximus, Pomponius". Pantagathus describes himself as "Priest of the Roman Academy". These men were in search, not of Christian, but of heathen, antiquity. In his large collection of inscriptions Pomponius inserted but one which is Christian, and this one because it was metrical, and its polished form had a flavour of heathenism. Even more characteristic is the fact that these "modern heathens" ventured, in the venerable vaults of the Catacombs, where the very stones preach the Gospel, to scrawl flippant inscriptions on the walls! With this evidence before us, therefore, we cannot wonder that, even after their liberation from prison, the contemporaries of the Academicians should persist in maintaining that they were heathens rather than Christians.

Of all the Academicians no one had been treated with more severity than Platina. After his release he cherished the hope that his cringing flattery would, at least, have secured him some appointment from the Pope. Paul II. however, did not see any necessity for employing the pen of this violent and immoral man. This disappointment intensified the hatred of the Humanist. He swore that he would have his revenge, and took it, after the death of Paul II, in his widespread *Lives of the Popes*.

In this work he describes his enemy as a monster of cruelty, and a barbarian who detested all learning. This "biographical caricature" has for centuries imposed itself on history. Even scholars, well aware of Platina's bias, have not succeeded in avoiding the influence of the portrait, drawn with undeniable skill and in a bright and elegant style. Some few over-partial attempts to vindicate his character have only served to increase the confusion, until, at length, recent critical investigation of the Archives has brought the truth to light.

It must always be remembered that Paul II was not an opponent of the Renaissance in itself, yet he is not to be looked upon as a Humanist, like Nicholas V. The boastfulness and conceit of its adherents repelled him : he preferred men of practical knowledge and practical tendencies. Poetasters had little to expect from him, and, in view of the pseudo-classical rhymes of a Porcello or a Montagna, this was not much to be regretted.

The favours which Paul II granted to the Roman and other High Schools, as well as his generosity to a number of learned men, prove him to have been no

enemy of culture and learning. While still a Cardinal he repeatedly visited Flavio Biondo in his last sickness, gave him assistance, and promised to provide for his children. As Pope, he fulfilled this promise by giving the charge of the Registers to Gasparo Biondo, in recognition of his father's deserts. When the pious and enthusiastic scholar, Timoteo Maffei, fell ill, Paul II sent him a present of money and a skilful physician, and, on his recovery, he conferred on him the Bishopric of Ragusa. Bishoprics were also bestowed on the three former preceptors of the Pope, and one of them, Amicus Agnifilius, was even raised to the purple. Learned men, like Perotti, were promoted to positions of some importance in the States of the Church. Niccolò Gallo, Professor of Jurisprudence, when seriously ill, asked for a Confessor furnished with faculties to absolve from every sin; the Pope granted his request, and added a present of 20 ducats. He summoned to Rome many scholars whose acquaintance he had made while a Cardinal; for example, Domizio da Caldiero and Gasparo da Verona, who was subsequently his biographer. The Florentine, Lionardo Dati, was made Bishop of Massa, and Sigismondo de' Conti and Vespasiano da Bisticci bear witness to the Pope's affection for him; the latter declares that, if the life of Paul II had been prolonged, Dati would have been a Cardinal. In the year 1470, Paul II showed the interest he took in historical studies by causing some Chronicles to be copied for him.

Among the scholars advanced by Paul II to the Episcopal dignity, was Cardinal Cusa's intimate friend, Giovan Andrea Bussi of Vigevano, a man who deserves the highest praise for his labours in the diffusion of printing throughout Italy. The numerous books dedicated by this Prelate to the Pope prove the interest taken by Paul II in the introduction of the newly discovered "divine art". "Your pontificate, most glorious already, will never be forgotten", says Bussi, "because this art has been taken up to your Throne".

It is impossible to say, with certainty, who it was that summoned the first German printers—Conrad Schweinheim from Schwanheim, opposite Hochst on the Maine, Arnold Pannartz from Prague, and Ulrich Hahn from Ingolstadt—to Italy. Cusa was deeply interested in the important discovery, but he died before these Germans arrived in Italy. There can be no doubt that to Subiaco, "the Mother House of the Benedictine Order, which has done so much for the cause of learning, is due the honour of having given a home to the first German printers". Constant relations between this great seat of Western culture and Germany had been maintained ever since the days of the excellent Abbot Bartholomæus III (1362, &c.), who, in his zeal for the improvement of the monastic spirit, had invited from beyond the Alps many German monks, remarkable alike for their learning and their austerity of life. Again, also, in the middle of the 15th century there were many German Benedictines at St. Scholastica.

In the retirement of Subiaco, Schweinheim and Pannartz printed, first the Latin Grammar of Donatus, which was extensively used in the Middle Ages, then Cicero's work on *Orators*, and the *Instructions* of Lactantius against the Heathen. The last of these books was completed on the 29th October, 1465. Two years later, an edition of St. Augustine's *City of God* issued from the Convent printing press at

Subiaco. The States of the Church may therefore claim, after Germany, the honour of first producing printed books.

Of Ulrich Hahn's labours at Subiaco no trace now remains. The learned Cardinal Torquemada induced him to come to Rome, and here, in 1467, Hahn, who is generally known by the name of Gallus, finished printing the "Contemplations" on the picture in the Court of Sta Maria sopra Minerva, which his patron had composed. In the September of the same year, 1467, Schweinheim and Pannartz had also migrated to the Eternal City. Here in the Massimi Palace, near the German National Hospice, they established their printing press. Its first production was the *Letters of Cicero to his Friends*. In the course of a few years this was followed by two editions of Lactantius, a second edition of Cicero's *Letters*, St. Augustine's *City of God*, the works of St. Jerome, the Holy Scriptures, St. Cyprian's *Letters*, the *Catena* of St. Thomas, and, amongst other classical works, those of Caesar, Livy, Virgil, Ovid, Pliny, Quintilian, Suetonius, Gellius and Apulius.

The corrector, or, as we should now say, the editor, of these works was the indefatigable classical scholar, Bussi. Almost all the books we have mentioned had fervid dedications to the Pope from his pen, and contained verses written by him. On one occasion he thus alludes to the names of his typographers, which had to the ears of his countrymen a barbarous sound :—

The harsh-sounding German names awaken a smile :

Let the admirable art soften the unmelodious tones.

The friendly attitude of the Pope towards the new art and the extraordinary liberality with which he allowed Bussi to make use of the precious Manuscripts in the Vatican Library, greatly contributed to promote the success of the Bishop's efforts.

The important post of Corrector—with whom scientific textual criticism had its beginning—was also filled at Hahn's printing-house by a Bishop, Gianantonio Campano, a fact which shews the esteem in which typography was held at this period.

After the death of Torquemada, Caraffa became a warm patron of the art of printing; nor did he stand alone among his colleagues in this respect. In 1469 Bussi writes, "We have as yet found no one in the Sacred College of Cardinals who has not been favourable to our efforts, so that the higher the dignity the greater has been their zeal in learning. Would that we could say as much for other orders". As time went on, the Roman clergy maintained an unflagging interest in the "sacred art" which, in the dedication to Paul II prefixed to the letters of St. Jerome, is said to be "one of the most auspicious of all the Divine gifts bestowed during his pontificate on the Christian world, enabling even quite poor men at small cost to procure books".

The account-books of Paul II's pontificate, which have lately been brought to light, show how little he can be charged with systematic hostility towards classical antiquity. They lead us to the conclusion that this so-called barbarian watched over the preservation of ancient remains even more carefully than the scholarly Pius II.

The triumphal arches of Titus and Septimius Severus, the Colossus of Monte Cavallo, and the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius were restored by his desire, and many forgotten and neglected relics of antiquity were brought to the Palace of S. Marco.

The magnificent collection of antiquities and works of art, which Paul II had brought together in this Palace while yet a Cardinal, contained the most important treasures of this kind from the time of the destruction of the Roman Empire. It contained numerous rare and most precious examples of antique Cameos and engraved gems, medals, and bronzes. From Byzantium there were pictures with golden backgrounds, little domestic altars with mosaics, reliquaries, ivory carvings, and gorgeously embroidered vestments. To these objects, whose value was enhanced by their age or their origin, was added a splendid selection of more recent works of art, such as Flemish tapestries, Florentine work in gold, vases and jewels. An inventory of this collection, taken in 1457, while Barbo was still a Cardinal, is one of the most interesting documents in the Roman State Archives, and is of great value in connection with the history of art and civilisation in the Renaissance period. A comparison of the objects here mentioned with those in the Museums of the present day, enables us to realise the wealth of the Collection at S. Marco's. The Museum of Vienna contains about 200 ancient Cameos, and the Paris Library about 260; the inventory of Barbo's collection mentions 227. The Cardinal collected about a hundred ancient gold, and a thousand ancient silver, coins. He had twenty-five domestic altars with mosaics, a number greater than that now possessed by all the Museums of Europe together.

But all these ancient, modern, and Eastern treasures were not sufficient to satisfy the soul of a collector like Paul II. On the contrary, now that the means at his disposal were greater, his schemes assumed yet larger proportions. He seems to have seriously entertained the idea of transferring the whole of the library of Monte Cassino to his palace, and he is said to have offered to construct a new bridge for the inhabitants of Toulouse in exchange for a Cameo.

The Pope, however, was not merely an enthusiastic collector, but also an expert in matters of art. His memory was so extraordinary that he never forgot the name of a person or a thing, and he was able at a glance to tell where an ancient coin came from, and give the name of the Prince whose image it bore.

The Churches of the Eternal City shared the care which he bestowed on the ancient monuments; works of restoration, of a more or less extensive character, were carried on at the Lateran, S. Lorenzo in Piscibus, S^{ta} Lucia in Septemviiis, S^{ta} Maria in Araceli, S^{ta} Maria Maggtore, S^{ta} Maria sopra Minerva and the Pantheon. The bridges, gates, walls, and many of the public buildings in Rome were repaired by his command. Similar benefits were conferred upon Tivoli, Ostia, Civitavecchia, Terracina, Viterbo and Monte Cassino.

The progress of Architecture, under Paul II, was most remarkable, and in this branch of creative art the Pope appears as the champion of the Renaissance. In the erection of the magnificent Palace of S. Marco he was the first to apply the theories of Vitruvius and definitely to break with the Gothic style. The splendid and

extensive buildings at the Vatican secured the triumph of the new style in Rome. The fact that Paul II reverted to Nicholas V's grand scheme for the reconstruction of St. Peter's, and proceeded with the erection of the Tribune, is of the highest interest. A medal and a couple of lines in Canensius' *Biography of the Pope* were, until lately, our only sources of information on this subject, and, accordingly, it came to be supposed that only works of restoration were alluded to. The accounts preserved in the Roman State Archives, however, furnish absolute proof of the magnificent projects entertained by the Pope. A passage, unfortunately very laconic, in a letter from Gentile Becchi to Lorenzo de' Medici, confirms this statement.

The transportation of the Obelisk on St. Peter's square— another scheme of his great predecessor's—was also taken in hand by Paul II. The distinguished architect, Ridolfo Fioravante degli Alberti, one of the first men of his day, had prepared the plans, and the work had already been commenced when the Pope died.

The Palazzo di S. Marco, now Palazzo di Venezia, is the most magnificent creation of Paul II. Recent investigations of the Archives have thrown some light on the history of this gigantic work, but many questions regarding it are still unanswered. Medals struck on this occasion, and frequently found during restorations in earthenware caskets, together with an inscription on the façade, bear witness that these extensive works were begun in the year 1454. This magnificent building was designed in truly Roman proportions. A whole quarter had to be pulled down in order to make room for it, and, although the works went on during the whole of Paul II's pontificate, the Palace "within which the newly decorated Basilica of St. Mark was contained like a chapel" was not completed at the time of his death. But even in its unfinished state it is one of the grandest of Roman Monuments, and, in a remarkable manner, exhibits the transition from the mediaeval fortress to the modern Palace, and from the Gothic to the Renaissance style. In the Palace proper, the character of a fortress predominates. "It is", to quote the words of a gifted historian of art, "a speaking monument of an age of violence, presenting to the mob a stern and imposing aspect, devoid of all grace or charm, jealously concealing all the beauty of its spacious and decorated halls, destined to be the home of a luxurious life, and the scene of many a gorgeous spectacle". The grand unfinished court, with its portico ornamented with pilasters in the Doric-Tuscan style below and Corinthian above, the Palazzetto, begun in 1466, joining it at the right-hand corner, and the vestibule of S. Marco, connected with the Palace, are all in the Renaissance style.

From 1466, Paul II had, during a great part of the year, taken up his abode in this stupendous Palace, which was situated in the middle of the City, at the foot of the Capitol and in the domain of the friendly Colonna family. The Apostolic Treasury was also transferred there. Subsequent Popes frequently, as their Bulls bear evidence, lived there. Just a century after the Election of Paul II, this grand building was given by Pius IV to the Republic of Venice. Afterwards, when Venice fell into the hands of Austria, it became the property of that Empire, whose Ambassadors now occupy it.

CHAPTER III.

THE WAR AGAINST THE TURKS.—SKANDERBEG IN ROME.

THE death of Pius II inflicted a heavy blow upon the Church, more especially because its effect was to arrest the movement for the defence of Christendom against Islam, which had then just commenced. Cardinal Bessarion, one of Greece's noblest sons, gave expression to his sorrow in touching words. The Crusade was, for the time, at a standstill, but the idea lived on in the minds of the Popes. Paul II had, even while a Cardinal, taken a deep interest in the Turkish question, and his friends hoped great things from him.

The first steps taken by the new Pope in no way disappointed these expectations. In the letters by which he informed the Italian Princes of his election, he gave expression to his zeal for "the defence of the Christian Faith against the fury of the Turks". One of the principal hindrances in the way of Pius II's magnificent schemes had been his constant financial difficulties. Paul II, the practical Venetian, sought to remedy this state of things, by removing the charge of the revenue derived from the Alum monopoly, and, in virtue of the Election Capitulation, destined for the Holy War, from the Apostolic Treasury to a Commission composed of Cardinals Bessarion, d'Estouteville and Carvajal. These Cardinals, who were styled "Commissaries General of the Holy Crusade", were to deliberate on all measures necessary for the prosecution of the war, and to report accordingly. "Also the income from Indulgences and from the tithes paid by the clergy for this purpose, as far as it had hitherto been at the disposal of the Camera Apostolica, was now, for the most part, directly handed over to the Commission, or expended according to its decision". The magnificent support afforded by the Commission to the brave Hungarians has won for it an abiding and honourable remembrance.

In the autumn of 1464, when the Envoys of the Italian States came to Rome to do homage, the Pope took the opportunity of bringing forward the Turkish question. Special negotiations were set on foot with the splendid Embassy of the Venetian Republic. They proceeded to treat with the Commission of Cardinals, and a fresh scheme was proposed for the Italian States, according to which the Pope and Venice were each to contribute 100,000 ducats, Naples 80,000, Milan 70,000, Florence 50,000, Modena 20,000, Siena 15,000, Mantua 10,000, Lucca 8,000 and Montferrat, 5,000.

The plan was by no means well received by the Italian powers. The Pope, who declared himself ready to pay the 100,000 ducats, even if he should have to take it out of his household expenditure, had great difficulty in obtaining a promise to let the matter be again brought under discussion in Rome. The deliberations

lasted for six months. No one was prepared to pay the appointed contributions, which the Pope intended to devote to the assistance of the Hungarians. Each sought to diminish his own share, and the more powerful States attached onerous conditions to their compliance. Venice, Florence and Milan demanded the remission of the Papal tax of the tenth, twentieth and thirtieth, and the King of Naples the complete remission of the tribute which he owed to the Holy See. In order to enforce his request, Ferrante informed the Pope that the Sultan had made offers of alliance to him, with a sum of 80,000 ducats, if he would stir up a war in Italy. Subsequently, when the relations between Rome and Naples had become still more unfriendly, he openly threatened to ally himself with the Turks.

The Ambassadors assembled in Rome displayed a true Italian talent for evasion and procrastination. It was evident that not one amongst them would do anything. This hopeless state of things induced Paul II to lift the veil, and let all the world know whose fault it was that, after six months of deliberation, not a single step in advance had been made. The just displeasure of Paul II found vent in bitter complaints. "The outcry against the burdens imposed is only raised in order to avoid giving support to the Venetians. May it not prove that, in thus forsaking the Venetians, people are forsaking themselves and all the faithful". They desire to discharge their obligations with the money of the Church, and thus to render it impossible for her to assist the Hungarians. The consequence will be that Hungary will be compelled to make peace with the Turks. What is left for the Venetians but to take the same course, especially as Mahomet has offered them tolerably favourable conditions? When both these champions are removed, the way to Italy by land and sea lies open to the enemies of Christendom.

These complaints were as powerless to rouse the Italian powers from their lethargy as the tidings of the immense naval preparations of the Turks, which reached Rome in May, 1465, denoted immediate danger to Italy. Yet at this very time Florence refused the payment of a yearly contribution for Hungary demanded by the Pope.

Even in the States of the Church the Pope encountered obstinate opposition to the payment of the Turkish tithes. Not only the smaller towns, like Viterbo, Toscanella and Soriano, but even the wealthy city of Bologna had to be seriously admonished to fulfil the obligation. Tivoli and Foligno begged for a remission of the tax; Ferentino lay for a long time under an Interdict for resisting the claims of the Apostolic Treasury; the Counts of Conti in the Campagna were utterly recalcitrant. Ecclesiastical penalties proved useless, and in the end it was necessary to resort to force.

Meanwhile, Paul II maintained the war against the enemies of the Faith as well as his own resources permitted, making great sacrifices, especially on behalf of Hungary. A modern historian, after mentioning 42,500 (or 40,000) ducats given to Matthias Corvinus at Ancona, speaks of "some smaller" sums of money sent by Paul to Hungary. This statement is directly contradicted by the testimony of the Pope's contemporary, Vespasiano da Bisticci, who says that Paul II sent about 80,000 ducats to Hungary in 1465, and also promised an annual contribution. The account-books preserved in the Roman State Archives shew that on the 23rd May,

1465, the Commissaries General of the Crusade paid 57,500 golden florins to the Ambassadors of King Matthias of Hungary from the proceeds of the Alum monopoly alone, and, on the 28th April, 1466, a further sum of 10,000 Hungarian ducats. The expense of the mercenaries meanwhile was so heavy that the Hungarian Monarch felt obliged to give up all offensive warfare against the Turks. Venice, also, at this time thought of making peace with the enemy. The deplorable policy of the Italian States, which Paul II had vainly endeavoured to gain to the common cause, explains this universal discouragement. "Naples and Milan kept on good terms with the Porte, Genoa and Florence hankered after the reversion of the commerce of Venice in the Levant". Under these circumstances, it was well that the heroic Skanderbeg and the war in Asia Minor, "by which the feudatory kingdom of Caramania was annexed in 1466", fully occupied the Turkish forces.

To prevent the conclusion of a peace with the Turks, Paul II. made large offers of money, and resolved to send Cardinal Carvajal, the most distinguished member of the Sacred College, to Venice. This prelate, who had through life ardently espoused the cause of the Holy War, was of all others the best fitted to accomplish so difficult a mission. His appointment as Legate for Venice took place on the 30th July, 1466; he left Rome on the 20th August, and did not return till the autumn of the following year.

In November, 1466, a Diet, energetically promoted by Paul II, was held at Nuremberg to consider the Turkish question. The despatch of an army to the assistance of Hungary was discussed at great length, but neither this Assembly nor those which followed had any definite result.

In July, 1466, the Pope invoked the assistance of the European Princes on behalf of Skanderbeg. For two years had this hero resisted all the attacks of the Turks, who had been repeatedly defeated by him. To avenge this disgrace, the Sultan determined on an expedition against Albania. In the spring of 1466 a Turkish force, 200,000, or, as some few writers say, 300,000 strong, began its march against Croja, the capital city. At the end of May a messenger reached Ragusa with the news that Skanderbeg had been defeated by treachery, and that a number of Christians had been slain; a second Turkish army was also said to threaten Hungary. The Italians were panic-stricken. Piero de' Medici shed tears over the fate of Albania and promised help. The Pope, who had already aided Skanderbeg, again sent money, and lost no time in calling on the Christian powers to bestir themselves. He spoke in moving terms of the affliction of Christendom, of the terror of the nations on the Adriatic coast, and of the fugitives who were constantly arriving from the East. "One cannot without tears behold those ships that flee from the Albanian shore to take refuge in Italian harbours; those naked, wretched families, driven from their dwellings, who sit by the sea, stretching out their hands to heaven and filling the air with lamentations uttered in an unknown tongue". The account-books of his pontificate bear witness to the magnificent liberality with which Paul II succoured these unhappy creatures. The Pope might indeed say that he had done what lay in his power; the Hungarians alone had in the preceding year received 100,000 golden florins, but he could not do everything; effectual support from the Christian powers was more than ever a necessity.

Happily the apprehensions regarding the fate of Albania were not realised. The heroic valour of its champion rendered Croja invincible. "Skanderbeg pursued his ancient, well-tryed tactics, and from the woodlands of Tumenistos he ceaselessly harassed the besiegers, inflicting so much loss and disgrace on the Turkish army, that the Sultan, finding corruption and force alike useless, left Balaban with 80,000 men to continue the siege of Croja and starve it into submission, and himself retired with the bulk of his troops into winter quarters at Constantinople".

The fate of Albania depended on the deliverance of Croja, which Balaban had encircled with a girdle of fortresses, and the task was beyond the unassisted powers of the Albanians and Venetians. Skanderbeg, therefore, resolved to go in person to Italy to beg for money and arms from Rome and Naples.

In the middle of December, 1466, the Albanian champion reached Rome, where he was received with honours. "He is", to quote the words of an eye-witness, "an old man in his sixtieth year; he came with but few horses, in poverty; I hear that he will ask for help". It has been again and again falsely asserted that, in consequence of his "too Venetian sympathies", Skanderbeg obtained nothing from the Pope beyond the Indulgence and the Proclamations addressed to the deaf ears of Western Christendom, together with some pious exhortations and the renewal of the never fulfilled promise of the crown of Epirus and Macedonia.

His biographer, on the contrary, not only relates the honourable and friendly reception of the hero in Rome, but expressly observes that the Pope, like the Cardinals, had generously responded to his requests. "With many presents, and with a considerable sum of money", says Barletius, "Skanderbeg returned cheered and encouraged to his people". Other authentic documents give fuller particulars as to the results of the journey to Rome. In the account-books of Paul II we find that first of all Skanderbeg received for his maintenance on one occasion 250, and on another, 200 ducats, and that furthermore on the 19th April, 1467, 2700, and on the 1st September 1100 ducats were paid to him. Regarding the Secret Consistory of January 7th, 1467, in which the assistance to be given to the Albanian hero was considered, we have the testimony of Cardinal Gonzaga, who took part in it. He says that the Pope at once declared his readiness to pay 5000 ducats; the necessity of protecting his own country was his reason for not contributing yet more largely; Cardinal Orsini, who was hostile to Paul II, ventured to observe that the Pope had nothing to apprehend from any quarter. This remark greatly angered the Pope, and provoked some interesting disclosures as to his relations with Naples. He said that he knew with certainty that Ferrante was eager to attack the States of the Church. One of the King's five confidants on this matter had given information to Rome. It is evident that, under these circumstances, the Holy See could not do more for the champion of Albania. A Secret Consistory of the 12th January, 1467, determined that in any case Skanderbeg should have 5000 ducats. Not only Venice, but also Ferrante, whose relations with Skanderbeg had long been of an intimate character, received him and sent money, provisions and munitions. On his return to his beloved country he soon won fresh laurels; in April, 1467, the Turks were defeated and Balaban's brother taken prisoner. A second victory quickly followed, in which Balaban fell and his troops took to flight. Croja was saved. The danger, however,

was not at an end; a second Turkish army appeared, and Skanderbeg had to keep the field throughout the whole year. In the midst of these conflicts, death overtook the Albanian champion; on the 17th January, 1468, Skanderbeg succumbed at Alessio to the effects of a fever.

No greater loss had befallen Christendom since the death of Hunyadi and St. John Capistran. This was but too plain to the enemies of the Faith. It is said that when the Sultan heard the news, he exclaimed, "At last Europe and Asia are mine. Woe to Christendom! she has lost her sword and her shield!"

The effect of the blow was felt at once by the hard-pressed Albanians. The Turks overran their country—"in the whole of Albania we saw nothing but Turks", says a contemporary account—8000 unhappy creatures were sent away as slaves within a few weeks. But Albania was not yet completely vanquished : Scutari and Croja, whose garrisons were strengthened by Venetian troops, continued to hold out. The enthusiastic honour paid by the afflicted people to the memory of their departed chief was most touching. "Choirs of Albanian maidens", Sabellicus informs us, "though surrounded with the din of battle and the clang of barbarian arms, assembled regularly every eighth day in the public squares of the cities of the principality to sing hymns in praise of their departed hero". The valour with which the little nation resisted the overwhelming power of Mahomet for more than a decade is a proof that the spirit of Skanderbeg still survived amongst them, though he himself had passed away.

CHAPTER IV.

STRUGGLE AGAINST THE DOMINEERING POLICY OF THE VENETIANS AND LOUIS XI OF FRANCE.

THE independent attitude which the island city of Venice maintained towards the other Italian States is equally marked in the domain of ecclesiastical politics. In no portion of the Appenine Peninsula do we meet with such early and persistent efforts for the extension of the authority of the State at the expense of the liberty of the Church. The Popes were the natural opponents of these efforts, and more than once found themselves under the sad necessity of inflicting the sharpest ecclesiastical penalties on the proud Republic.

The great piety of the Venetians, to which their numerous churches still bear silent witness, seems to contrast strangely with these efforts to subjugate the Church to the State. A deeply religious spirit no doubt existed among the people,

and of this the rulers of the Republic, who loved to call it by the name of St. Mark, were obliged to take some account. Yet this St. Mark was almost constantly in conflict with the Holy See, because it strove in every way to degrade the freeborn Church into the position of handmaid to the State. Further contests with Rome were also occasioned by the efforts of the Republic to obtain possession of the Romagna. In 1441 the Venetians had gained a footing in Ravenna, and ever since that period they had been constantly bent on the extension of their dominion to the detriment of the States of the Church. These more external disputes, however, were driven into the background, by the contests which arose from the pretensions of the Venetian oligarchy to absolute dominion over the whole life of its subjects, even in regard to ecclesiastical matters.

Even while a Cardinal, Paul II had come into collision with the government of his native city. In 1459, on the death of Fantin Dandolo, Bishop of Padua, Pius II had conferred the See on Cardinal Barbo. By this appointment he intended to please both the Cardinal and the Republic, which had always been glad to see her Bishoprics occupied by the sons of her noble families. The Venetian government had, however, on this occasion selected another candidate, Gregorio Correr, and now made every effort to give effect to their choice. It was resolved that, unless the Cardinal should within twenty days renounce his Bishopric, all his revenues derived from Venetian territory should be sequestered. Moreover, Paul Barbo was to put pressure on his brother in the same direction, and if he failed to induce him to resign, was to be banished from the Venetian territory and deprived of his possessions! Soon afterwards, the Signoria wrote many urgent letters on the matter to the Pope and to various Cardinals. As Cardinal Barbo did not yield, the Venetian Ambassador was strictly charged not to visit him. So firmly did the Signoria adhere to their purpose that the Cardinal was at last obliged to give way. Jacopo Zeno, however, not Gregorio Correr, became Bishop of Padua. He was required to pay 2000 ducats yearly to Cardinal Barbo, and the resolutions against Paul Barbo were rescinded.

Great was the embarrassment of the Venetian statesmen when, a few years later, the Cardinal who had been treated in this manner was elevated to the Papal throne. No election could have been less agreeable to them. They were, however, prudent enough carefully to conceal their vexation. Arrangements for public rejoicings were made immediately, and an Embassy of surpassing splendour was sent to Rome to proffer obedience to Paul II. The usual number of Envoys on such occasions was four. In the case of Eugenius IV, who was a Venetian, this number was doubled; but now ten were sent. The Pope perfectly understood the value of these outward tokens of honour. Even before the arrival of the Mission he spoke in bitter terms to the Milanese Ambassador about the arrogance and the personal hostility of certain Venetian statesmen, and expressed his opinion that before the Envoys had been a fortnight in Rome, disputes would break out. In fact, unpleasant explanations began almost immediately, and the tension kept on growing from day to day, for no European power was viewed in Venice with such jealousy as the Roman See. At the end of 1465, Paul II poured forth a whole list to the Milanese Ambassador of charges against his fellow-countrymen. In the Turkish matter, he said, they had, by a simple act of arbitrary power, imposed a tithe on the clergy.

They claimed tribute from Cardinals visiting Venice, a thing which no Christian Prince had ever done. They were perpetually incurring reprimands for contemptuous conduct towards their Bishops. They had forbidden the Archbishop of Spalatro to enter his See. They were seeking to take possession of the Morea, which belonged to Thomas Palaeologus. The Venetian Merchants, by buying alum from the Turks, put Christian money in the pockets of their enemies. The penalty of Excommunication would have to be pronounced against them. Assuming the position of mistress of the Adriatic, Venice oppresses Ancona; she holds wrongful possession of Cervia and Ravenna. The Knights of St. John at Rhodes, and the Emperor, complain of the Republic, and indeed every one has some grievance against her. The law which prohibits any one who has a relation among the clergy from being a member of the Council is absolutely intolerable; the infidels themselves could not do worse; this measure must be repealed.

Nothing of the kind was contemplated in Venice; the remonstrances of the Pope were utterly unheeded. In the following spring the appointment to the Patriarchal Throne gave occasion for further conflicts with Rome, which were aggravated in the summer, when the Signoria took advantage of the scare about the Turks again arbitrarily to impose taxes on ecclesiastical property. Many in Rome were of opinion that this was done with the object of concealing a secret understanding with the Sultan. It is quite certain that a powerful party in Venice favoured a peace with the Porte; some few Venetians, according to the report of the Milanese Ambassador, even went so far as to say that it would be well, not merely to make peace with the Turk, but also to open the way to Rome for him, that he may punish these priests!

In the summer of 1466 the Republic raised the question of the Council. This so incensed Paul II that he spoke of excommunicating them, and laying them under Interdict. Several Consistories took place, in which these extreme measures were seriously considered. Two grave motives weighed against a breach with Venice: in the first place, the necessity of previously securing the support of an Italian Power, and secondly, the fear that the Signoria might actually conclude peace with the Infidels. Even in July the Milanese Ambassador was persuaded that, notwithstanding the threats which had been pronounced, the Pope would in the end endeavour to come to an amicable understanding. This difficult undertaking was entrusted to Cardinal Carvajal, who, however, was empowered, in case of necessity, to pronounce the Interdict. What has transpired of the instructions given to him, makes it evident that the Pope sincerely endeavoured to bring about a satisfactory understanding. Cardinal Gonzaga believed Paul II to have contemplated an alliance with Venice, as a protection against the animosity of the King of Naples. Details regarding the protracted negotiations carried on by the distinguished Cardinal are unfortunately wanting. He is, however, said to have admirably discharged his arduous mission. If he was not successful in bringing all questions between Rome and Venice to a solution, he at any rate prevented the conclusion of a peace with the Porte, and prepared the way for better relations between Paul II and the Republic. The question of the tithes having been settled in 1468, in a manner which contented the Venetians, in the May of the following year the Pope and the Signoria entered into an alliance directed chiefly against the

treacherous Roberto Malatesta. The double game which the Venetians subsequently played, and fresh disputes regarding the Turkish tithes, again caused discord between the allies. When Paul II died, things had reached such a pass that there was no Venetian Ambassador at the Roman Court.

Paul II had repeated differences with Florence on matters connected with the liberty of the Church, and in 1466 and 1469 about the arbitrary taxation of ecclesiastical property. The obstinacy of the opposition encountered by the Pope may be estimated by the frequency of his remonstrances. One was published but a few days before his death. Beyond the Italian frontier the appointment to the See of Brixen also gave rise to a conflict.

The omnipotence claimed by the State was also the occasion of considerable tension in the relations between the Pope and the French King. Louis XI wished to reign alone, alike in State and Church; his will was to be in all things supreme. Even in the beginning of November, 1464, fresh anti-Roman measures of the King were reported in Rome. It was said that Louis XI had announced that the publication of Apostolic Bulls throughout the whole of his kingdom must depend on his permission, and had also prohibited *expectances*. "These things", wrote the Milanese Ambassador, "are poor tokens of obedience; these measures are worse than the Pragmatic Sanction, which formerly prevailed in France". No wonder that Paul II distrusted the French Monarch, whose tyrannical and ambitious disposition was well known to him.

A treatise, written by Thomas Basin about the end of the year 1464, shows the state of feeling which then prevailed at the court of Louis XI. He twisted the words in which homage was paid to Louis XI so as to deduce from them that this document only bound the King to Pius II personally. By the death of that Pope, Louis XI was freed from all further obligation. Basin also insisted on the necessity of speedily convening a French National Synod.

Evil counsels of other kinds came to the French King from Milan. In March, 1466, an Envoy from that State was charged to advise Louis XI to defer his profession of obedience as long as possible, on the ground that, while this matter was in suspense, the Pope would be obliged to show himself pliable. The French Monarch, however, did not take this view; his honour, he thought, allowed of no further delay, and that which had already taken place had been injurious to him. When, however, the representative of Milan again brought forward his request, the King consented to procrastinate as long as possible. "As the French fear the heat and the Plague", adds the Milanese Envoy, "the Embassy which is to do homage in the usual form will not start before September. The Archbishop of Lyons, Charles of Bourbon, will be its leader; Cardinal Jouffroy, who is to accompany and support the Envoys, will not, his people say, begin his journey before September".

This last piece of news was untrue, for Jouffroy reached Rome on the 4th October, 1466. The great Embassy, however, did not leave Lyons until the end of the month. In a letter to the Pope the King excused his tardiness on the plea of the troubles in his kingdom.

The instructions given to the Envoys seemed to promise a favourable change in the ecclesiastical policy of France. They were desired, in the first place, to express the sincere devotion of the King to the Holy See, of which the decree abrogating the Pragmatic Sanction, in spite of the opposition of almost all the kingdom, was a token. Besides making the profession of obedience in the form which, since the days of Martin V, had been in use, the Ambassadors were charged to apologise in Louis's name for the anti-Roman ordinances of 1464; and to explain that they were not the act of the King, but due to the Bishop of Bayeux and the Patriarch of Jerusalem. The King would be an obedient son of the Holy See; in return he asked for the right of appointing to twenty-five Bishoprics.

Paul II was not deluded by these fair words, for he was well aware that the Bishop of Bayeux had acted by the directions of the King. The Ambassadors obtained nothing. At this time, Jean de La Balue, Bishop of Evreux, and afterwards of Angers, another favourite of Louis, took part with Cardinal Jouffroy in the negotiations concerning the ecclesiastical policy of France. This designing man, who was exactly of the same stamp as Jouffroy and his apt pupil, sought, like him, to win the purple by means of the question of the Pragmatic Sanction. For a while Paul II resisted the admission of such a man into the Senate of the Church, but the hope that Louis XI would now really suppress the Pragmatic Sanction induced him at last to yield. "I know the faults of this priest", he is reported to have said, "but I was constrained to cover them with this hat".

In return for the red hat conferred upon his favourite, Louis XI issued a declaration against the Pragmatic Sanction of a more stringent nature than those which had preceded it. When La Balue, on the 1st October, 1467, appeared in Parliament with this document, the Procurator-General refused to register it. In order to work upon the mind of the King, much stress was laid upon the abuse of *commendams*, and the large sums of money sent to Rome from France.

The University of Paris, like the Parliament, declared against the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction. An appeal to a future Council was even issued. Now, however, the Procurator-General resigned his post, and the Royal Declaration remained in full force, although not registered. The ecclesiastical policy of France, nevertheless, remained as unsatisfactory and disquieting as ever, for the King never relaxed his efforts to bind the Church fast within the toils of the State. His favourites, Jouffroy and La Balue, turned the position of affairs to their own advantage. His acceptance of the anti-Roman project of a Council, put forward by the Hussite King of Bohemia, enables us to estimate the value of the "filial obedience" to the Holy See so often spoken of by his Envoys in Rome. In 1468, when the French demand for a general Council was again mentioned to Paul II, he said that he would hold one that very year, but that it should be in Rome.

Meanwhile, in the person of the new Duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, the King encountered so dangerous a political adversary, that ecclesiastical affairs were again for a time completely in abeyance. Ever since the subjugation of Liege, Charles had reigned more absolutely than any of his predecessors, and his immense financial resources gave him a great advantage over the French King. Louis fought his enemy with the weapons of treachery and corruption. He had an

interview with him at Péronne, during which tidings arrived of a fresh rising of the Liegeois, excited by the agents of Louis. The Duke of Burgundy was furious, and, it is said, contemplated the murder of the King, who was in his power. The demands which the Duke now made would have appeared to a high-minded man worse than death: Louis was to proceed in person against Liege, which he had himself incited to revolt. Utterly destitute of every feeling of honour, he made no difficulty, and at once consented to join the Duke in his expedition against the Netherlands, and thus witness with his own eyes the barbarous sack of Liege.

The immediate consequence of these events was the downfall of La Balue, by whose advice the meeting at Péronne had taken place. His good fortune was short-lived, and the King thought that he had before him evidence of a treacherous understanding between the Cardinal and the Duke of Burgundy. He resolved to take signal vengeance on the man whom he had raised from nothing to be the first of his subjects. La Balue was despoiled of his possessions and imprisoned. A like fate befell the Bishop of Verdun, who was believed to be in league with him. Even a tyrant like Louis XI saw that a Cardinal could not be tried without the Pope, and two Envoys were charged to enter into negotiations on this subject with Rome. The conditions which the Pope laid down for the trial were perfectly in accordance with the prescriptions of the Canon law, but they were not to the King's taste. Under these circumstances, it was deferred, and La Balue remained in prison.

The hostility of Louis XI to the Holy See was further evinced by the efforts which he made, in the year 1470, to induce the Pyrenean Princes, as well as those in the Appenine Peninsula, to support his Conciliar projects, which were aimed directly against Paul II. All these anti-Roman machinations, however, led to no definite result.

Paul II was a steadfast defender of the privileges of the Holy See, not only against the temporal power, but also against ecclesiastical encroachments. On the 1st June, 1466, he strictly prohibited the use of the Tiara by the Archbishop of Benevento, and reserved the right of consecrating the *Agnus Dei* to the Holy See. In 1469 a stop was put to the loss inflicted on the Apostolic Treasury by the frequent practice of uniting benefices to each other which were subject to Annates. It was decided that henceforth all ecclesiastical Corporations were, every fifteenth year, to contribute what were called "Quindennium", instead of Annates, for the benefices united by them.

This last measure, and the great delight which the Pope took in pomp and splendour, have been made the subject of severe strictures. It cannot be said that these reproaches are altogether unfounded; but, on the other hand, the surrounding circumstances must be taken into account. In a time of such general magnificence as the period of the Renaissance, the Papacy could not, without a loss of dignity, be clothed in Apostolical simplicity. Paul II was firmly persuaded that the Pope ought to appear in a style befitting the highest position on earth. His private life was as simple as his appearance in public was sumptuous. He always went in state from the Vatican to his Palace at S. Marco, scattering money amongst the crowd. All Church Festivals in which he took part were celebrated with exceptional magnificence. His coronation and the ceremony of taking possession of

the Lateran had given the Romans a foretaste of future glories. The following Christmas the Pope appeared in gorgeous vestments and wore the Tiara. It was then reported that a new Tiara, more costly and splendid than any that had yet been seen, was to be made. At the Easter of 1465 the Pope wore this work of art, which was the wonder of his contemporaries. Holy Week and Easter were always celebrated with great pomp and solemnity. Thousands of foreigners crowded on these occasions to the tombs of the Apostles. The Pope had a new litter made for the Christmas of 1466, and it must have been a marvel of workmanship. It is said to have cost more than a palace.

At these great festivals all beholders were deeply impressed by the noble figure and countenance of the Pope, the magnificence of his vestments, and his majestic bearing. Even on the lesser festivals the ceremonial was very carefully carried out. The love of splendour which belonged to his artistic temperament led him to surround the person of the Vicar of Christ with corresponding magnificence. We have already mentioned the measures taken at the beginning of his reign to give greater external dignity to the Cardinals. Another change was made at the same time. Any one who has seen the Papal leaden seals will be able to recall the ancient type : the heads of SS. Peter and Paul are on one side, and on the reverse the name of the Pope of the day. In the time of Paul II, we find on the face of the seal the Pope himself enthroned and dispensing graces, with two Cardinals by his side, and in the foreground a number of other persons; on the reverse are the full-length figures of the Princes of the Apostles, seated. This alteration, however, was not maintained, and the ancient type reappears under Sixtus IV.

The necessity of reforms, especially in Rome, had been insisted on by Paul II, immediately after his election, and soon the question as to the manner in which they were to be accomplished arose. In the very first Consistory the matter was seriously considered, and a number of wholesome regulations were framed. It was on this occasion that several Cardinals declared themselves in favour of the abolition of *reservations*; no less a personage, however, than the excellent Carvajal adduced such weighty reasons against this measure that it was abandoned. It is certain that Paul II was anxious to introduce a thorough reform amongst the officials of the Court, and also that, at the very outset of his reign, he opposed the simoniacal and corrupt practices which prevailed there.

If, in the sequel, the Venetian Pope did not prove such a zealous reformer as the sad state of affairs perhaps required, he cannot be charged with absolute inaction. "The abuse of the *commendams* and *expectances* was, if not removed, yet practically much restrained; simoniacal practices were combated, the receiving of gifts by Legates, Governors and Judges was forbidden, and also the alienation of Church property, or leasing it for more than three years; and the interests of benevolent foundations were protected". In the matter of refusing presents, the Pope himself set a good example. When the Ambassadors who came to congratulate him on his elevation offered the customary gifts, he steadfastly declined them all, whatever their value might be. He desired nothing, he said, but perfect fidelity to the Holy See. During the whole of his reign he adhered to this practice. In the spring of 1471, the Archbishop of Treves sent him an ornament

composed of diamonds and rubies, and the Pope, who did not think it possible to refuse the present, at once sent in return a cross adorned with similar stones, adding that it was not his habit to receive gifts.

The high and fixed principles on which Paul II. acted in making appointments to ecclesiastical offices was greatly calculated to improve the condition of the Church. In other matters, he is reported to have said, the Pope may be a man, but in the choice of Bishops he must be an Angel, and in that of members of the Sacred College, God. Canensius expressly informs us that he conferred ecclesiastical dignities only after mature and impartial deliberation, having strict regard to the merits of the recipients, and he adds that many excellent men were appointed Bishops without their previous cognisance and in their absence.

Paul II did much to promote monastic reform, particularly in Lombardy, Modena, Ferrara and Venice as also in Western and Southern Germany, especially in Cologne, Bavaria and Wurtemberg. In 1469 he issued a Bull for the better regulation of the Augustinian Congregation in Lombardy. A few months before his death the Pope exhorted the Patriarch of Venice to proceed against all clergy and monks who led irregular lives, without respect of persons, and also took measures for raising the standard of education amongst the clergy in the Diocese of Valencia. The evil star which presided over the Briefs of Paul II has consigned much interesting information on this subject to unmerited oblivion.

The fact that Paul II was always surrounded by men of worth is one that speaks well for his own character. In the autumn of 1466 the Milanese Ambassador mentions the Archbishop of Spalatro, Lorenzo Zane, who became Treasurer; Stefano Nardini, Archbishop of Milan; and Teodorode Lelli, Bishop of Feltre and, after the 17th September, 1466, of Treviso, as possessing much influence with the new Pope. The Bishop of Aquila, who had been his preceptor, is also named amongst those who occupied positions immediately about him. Lelli, as it was at once surmised, took the first place. No letter, or decree of importance, was issued until it had been examined by this excellent man. On his death in 1466, the Pope took his nephew Marco Barbo, and Bessarion into his confidence. Agapito Cenci de' Rustici Bishop of Camerino, who had been greatly valued by both Pius II and Paul II, had passed away in October, 1464. Giovanni Barozzi, Patriarch of Venice from the year 1465; the learned Angelus Faseolus, Lelli's successor in the See of Feltre; Valerius Calderina, Bishop of Savona; Pietro Ferrici, Bishop of Tarasona, afterwards a Cardinal; and Corrado Capece, subsequently Archbishop of Benevento, were also in the Pope's confidence. Most of the Sienese had left Rome; many of them were called to account by the Pope for extortion or embezzlement. Even Platina bears witness to the strict order and discipline which he maintained in his Court and among his dependents. Moreover, at the very beginning of his pontificate it was observed that Paul II engaged no Venetians among his guards.

The disorders of the Fraticelli (*fraticelli de opinione*) were, like the abuses at the Court, energetically repressed by Paul II. In the summer of 1466 it became evident that the partisans of this sect had gained a footing, not only in the March of

Ancona and the adjacent district of Romagna, but also in the Campagna, and even in Rome itself. The headquarters of these dangerous heretics were Assisi and the little town of Poli near Palestrina, where Stefano de' Conti was accused of being in league with them. The Pope caused this Baron and all the rest of the accused to be confined in St. Angelo, where they were tried. Five Bishops were appointed to conduct the enquiry. Many statements made by the accused are extant, but as most of them were extorted by the rack their value may be questioned. One of their principal doctrines seems to have been, that of all the successors of St. Peter, no one had really been the Vicar of Christ who had not imitated the poverty of his Chief; from the time of John XXII, who spoke against the poverty of Christ, in particular, all Popes had been heretics and excommunicate, as also had all Cardinals, Bishops and Priests consecrated by them. Paul II was no true Pope. These heretics were, moreover, charged with immoral practices in their assemblies, and other crimes. In the record of the trial, mention is made of a small codex found in the possession of a priest of this sect, which confirmed the truth of these allegations. A Fraticelli bishop is named in this, thus a formal Church must have been contemplated. The Hussite principle, that unworthy priests lose their powers, was also a part of their teaching. It is certain, at any rate, that the movement was one which threatened great danger to the Papacy, and which had for a long time been making progress in the locality we have named. One of the women accused said that St. Jacopo della Marca had converted her, and that she had again relapsed into error. All these heretics, Platina says, were punished: those who continued obstinate, with the greatest severity. Such as acknowledged their errors, and sought for pardon, were treated more leniently.

The extent to which these doctrines had spread, and the serious manner in which they were viewed in Rome, may be estimated from the numerous refutations which at once appeared, although the Franciscan, St. Jacopo della Marca, had already published a work dealing thoroughly with the subject. Nicholas Palmerius, Bishop of Orte, one of the prelates who took part in the enquiry, composed a treatise on the poverty of Christ, and dedicated it to Cardinal Jouffroy. Rodericus Sancius of Arevalo offered his work on the same subject to the Pope himself; in this treatise he shows that there is no contradiction between the statements of Nicholas III and John XXII in regard to the poverty of Christ. There are also treatises on this subject from the pens of Torquemada and of Fernando of Cordova.

At this time tidings reached Rome of the discovery in Germany of a sect similar to that of the Fraticelli. The copy of a letter, addressed to Bishop Henry of Ratisbon by Rudolf of Rudesheim, Bishop of Lavant and the Papal Legate, on the 11th June, 1466, contains details regarding these dreamy fanatics, whose chiefs were Brothers John and Livin of Wirsberg. A member of this sect called himself John of the Eas he was to be the forerunner of the anointed Redeemer, the One Shepherd of whom Christ had spoken. These heretics declared the Pope to be Anti-christ, and all Catholics who did not believe in the "anointed Redeemer" to be members of Antichrist. John of Wirsberg promulgated his doctrines in Eger as well as in the country, and even in the Bishopric of Eichstatt; his most zealous adherent, however, was his brother Livin, who died in prison in 1467, after having abjured his errors.

It is very probable that Paul II also took measures against these sectaries. Direct evidence, however, is wanting, for the Secret Archives of the Vatican only contain Briefs belonging to the second half of the seventh year of his pontificate. These Briefs shew that he proceeded against heretics in the Diocese of Amiens, and afterwards in Bologna.

The solicitude of Paul II for the spiritual welfare of the faithful committed to his charge is manifested by his decision that the Jubilee should, for the future, be celebrated once in every twenty-five years. The Bull on this subject was published on the 19th April, 1470. "The thought of all that the Church had suffered from schism at two periods, and all that it had cost her to end it; the terror of Western Christendom when, by the fall of Constantinople, the Turks gained a footing in Europe; the alarming outbreaks of devastating maladies; finally, the ruin which ceaseless wars had wrought in the very life of the Western kingdoms, led men to turn their eyes to Heaven, and showed that, in order to avert the strokes of the chastening hand of God, it was needful that all should tread the paths of penance". Moved by considerations such as these, and by the fact that, under the former regulations, but few could partake of the Jubilee Indulgence, the Pope made the Decree we have mentioned, which was at once solemnly announced throughout Christendom. But Paul was not destined to see the beginning of the new Jubilee year.

Towards the end of this pontificate a remarkable effort was made to prepare the way for the union of the Russian with the Roman Church, and also to gain the Grand Duke Ivan III as a champion against the Turks. The idea originated with Bessarion, and found great favour with Paul II, who had just at that time expressed to the Maronites his wish that they should conform more closely to the Roman ritual. An Ambassador was sent to Moscow to propose a marriage between the Grand Duke and Zoe (Sophia), the daughter of the unfortunate Thomas Palaeologus. Ivan entered into the project, and the Ambassadors were at once sent back to Rome to bring a portrait of the bride. After a time things were so far settled that a Russian Embassy was sent to Rome to conduct Zoe to her new home. When this Embassy, bearing letters to Bessarion and to the Pope, reached Italy, Paul II had ceased to live. His successor, however, took up the matter with equal zeal

CHAPTER V.

THE NEW AND THE OLD CARDINALS.—CHURCH QUESTIONS IN BOHEMIA.

THE appointment of new Cardinals was spoken of in the earliest months of Paul II's pontificate. At the Christmas of 1464, or, at the latest, in the following Lent, he seems to have contemplated an increase of the members of the Sacred College. Marco Barbo, Bishop of Vicenza, and Stefano Nardini, Archbishop of Milan, were named as candidates. No nomination, however, according to Canensius, actually took place until the second year of his reign, and Teodoro de' Lelli, Bishop of Treviso, and Giovanni Barozzi, Patriarch of Venice, the only Prelates then elevated to the purple, both died before their publication. A creation of Cardinals was positively announced for December, 1466; but it did not take place. The consent of the Sacred College probably could not be obtained. At last, in the beginning of the fourth year of his reign, on the 18th September, 1467, Paul II was able to create a large number of Cardinals. Three of the eight then admitted to the Sacred College were foreigners: Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury; Stephan de Varda, Archbishop of Colocsa, and Jean de La Balue, Bishop of Angers. The last-named prelate, who, "by his cleverness and cunning", had risen from a very obscure position, was at this time Louis XI's Ambassador to Rome, and was engaged in negotiations regarding the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction; this explains his appointment.

Of the five Italians promoted, one of the most distinguished was Olivieri Carafa, Archbishop of Naples. He was a jurist, a theologian, an antiquarian, and a statesman; he had even taken part in warfare as Admiral against the Turks. Highly esteemed and influential in his own country, he was remarkably popular in Rome. His popularity was due to the use which he made of his ample income and to his affability. He was generous in supporting learning and learned men; many youths were won by him for the Church and for serious studies. Paulus Cortesius praises his great discretion, his uprightness, and his blamelessness.

The character of Paul II's nephew, Marco Barbo, Bishop, first of Treviso (1455-64) and afterwards of Vicenza, was still more admirable. A singular sweetness of disposition and deep piety were in his case united with a rare capacity for business and great learning. He was absolutely disinterested. During his lifetime he gave almost all his income to the poor, to whom he afterwards bequeathed what remained, "for", he said, "the goods of the Church are, according to the teaching of the Fathers, the inheritance of Christ's poor". His fine library was the only gratification he allowed himself. Of all the Pope's relations, he was the one most closely united with him; his "inexhaustible power of work and his consummate prudence" were of great use to Paul II.

Amicus Agnifilus, the third of the Cardinals nominated on the 18th of September, 1467, had been a member of the household and a friend of Domenico Capranica, and subsequently tutor to Paul II. When raised from low estate to be Bishop of Aquila, he had chosen, for his armorial bearings, a lamb and a book. His epitaph praises his generosity to the poor, his discretion, and his thorough knowledge of Canon Law. Little has been handed down concerning the fourth Cardinal, the Protonotary, Marquess Theodore of Montferrat, and even less concerning Francesco della Rovere, the General of the Franciscans, on the occasion of whose elevation to the purple Paul II is said to have observed that he had chosen his successor.

On the 19th September, the Red Hat was conferred on those among the newly-created Cardinals who were at the time in Rome. On the 2nd October, the mouth of Cardinal Barbo was opened, and S. Marco assigned to him as his titular Church. On the 22nd of the month, Agnifilus reached Rome; the Cardinal's Hat was at once given to him in a Public Consistory, and, on the 13th November, he received the Church of S^{ta} Balbina, which, on the 13th October, 1469, he exchanged for that of S^{ta} Maria in Trastevere. S. Pietro in Vincoli was the titular Church of Francesco della Rovere, and SS. Pietro e Marcellino that of Carafa, who arrived in Rome on the 3rd December, 1467. Cardinal Theodore of Montferrat did not make his entry into Rome until the 21st April, 1468, when S. Teodoro was assigned to him.

On the 21st November, 1468, Paul II created two more Cardinals, who, like Marco Barbo, were of his own kindred : these were Battista Zeno and Giovanni Michiel, the sons of two of his sisters. They received the Red Hat, and the Churches of S^{ta} Maria in Porticu and S^{ta} Lucia, on the 22nd Nov., and the ceremony of the opening of their mouths took place on the 9th December. The Pope's nephews were both men of unblemished character. None of the Cardinals were excessively wealthy or influential.

Towards the end of his reign, Paul II created four other Cardinals. This was done in a secret Consistory, and with the proviso that, in the event of his death, they were to be considered as published. They were Johann Vitez, Archbishop of Gran, Pietro Foscari, Giovan Battista Savelli, and Francesco Ferrici.

Between the Cardinals created by Paul II, who were called the Pauleschi, and the Puscli, who owed their elevation to his predecessor, a certain opposition existed. Of the latter number, Ammanati fell into complete disfavour, while Forteguerri, Roverella, and Erolì enjoyed the good graces of Pope Paul II, and the first of these three Cardinals enjoyed great influence with him. At the beginning of the pontificate, Richard Longueil, who, on the 1st October, 1464, was sent as Legate to Perugia, was also at the French Court believed to have considerable influence. Cardinals Borgia and Gonzaga also received marked favours; the latter, however, was not a friend of the Pope. On the 18th February, 1471, he was appointed Legate at Bologna, possibly with the object of removing him from the Court.

The relations which existed between the Pope and Cardinal Scarampo were of a peculiar character. The latter, whose contemporaries deemed him remarkable for his cunning, had, shortly after his rival's elevation, made peace with him. The

reconciliation seems to have been tolerably complete, for, in September, 1464, the Pope had no hesitation in granting to Scarampo the full exercise of his post of Cardinal-Camerlengo. "Neither Calixtus III, nor Pius II, nor even Nicholas V, would have done this", observed a secretary in Cardinal Gonzaga's service. The fact that, after the death of Cardinal Pierre de Foix, Paul II conferred the Bishopric of Albano upon Scarampo shows that some degree of friendly feeling existed. That there was, however, a certain amount of friction in the relations between the former rivals, is far from improbable. For instance, in answer to a pointed remark of the Cardinal's regarding the cost of the Palace of S. Marco, the Pope is said to have declared that it was far better to spend his money in buildings than to play it away.

At the beginning of March, 1465, Scarampo fell ill, and, on the 22nd, he died. He was a thoroughly worldly man, and was known at the Roman Court by the name of Cardinal Lucullus. As a Prince of the Church, his example was bad. As a statesman and politician, however, by restoring regular government in Rome, by promoting employment, and looking after the welfare of the people, by his consummate skill in the conduct of the negotiations with the Italian Princes, as well as by his care for the army and fleet, he did good service to the restored Papacy at a critical period.

The close of Scarampo's career was followed by a somewhat painful episode. He had availed himself of the right conceded to him of making testamentary dispositions to bequeath his whole property, amounting to 200,000, or, according to some accounts, to 400,000 golden florins, to his nephews. Scarcely anything was left to the Church in whose service he had amassed these riches. To the general satisfaction, Paul II set aside this will and devoted the whole of the property to charitable purposes, such as churches, the poor, and refugees from the countries which had been conquered by the Turks. The nephews of the deceased were also remembered; even Platina here admits the kindness of the Pope.

His friendship for Cardinal Bessarion speaks well for Paul II. The dispute about the Election Capitulation had temporarily estranged them, but, in the year 1468, the Duke of Este's Ambassador spoke of Bessarion as enjoying more consideration than all the other Cardinals, and, in the following year, he wrote word that Barbo and the Greek Cardinal were much in the Pope's confidence, and were the only men trusted with the most secret affairs. In fact, "in the history of this period Bessarion stands forth almost like a father of the Church; his majestic presence, his noble Greek profile with his long flowing beard, also contributed to enhance the esteem and deference which were everywhere accorded to him".

Bessarion, who was an ardent patriot, not only took the deepest interest in the proposed Crusade, but also endeavoured in every way to awaken the compassion of Western Christendom on behalf of his exiled countrymen. The unselfishness with which he assisted the scattered fugitives, and his "noble efforts to preserve and render profitable whatever it had been possible to rescue from a vanishing civilisation, call upon us to deal leniently with his weaknesses".

The Greek Cardinal's state of health became so much worse during Paul's reign that, in 1466, he caused the simple tomb, which is still well-preserved in the

Church of the SS. Apostoli, to be prepared. In the following year he stayed for a considerable time at Viterbo, where he had on former occasions taken the baths. In spite of his bodily sufferings he devoted himself as zealously as ever to study; his celebrated work in defence of Plato appeared at this time. He was also in constant intercourse with the Humanist Scholars in Rome. His house at SS. Apostoli was common ground for the most noted Greeks and Italian Hellenists, where all were welcomed by their learned host with the most winning kindness. "Here Andronikos Callistos, Constantine Laskaris, and Theodore Gaza held brilliant and genial converse with the Cardinal in friendly rivalry with his pupil and favourite, Niccolo Perotto, who translated Polybius, and composed a metrical poem". Francesco della Rovere, afterwards Sixtus IV, Domizio da Caldiero, Johannes Müller Regiomontanus, the great astronomer and geographer, and many others, also frequented his house, and Bessarion took part in their learned disputations with unflinching interest.

As Protector of the Basilian Order, the Greek Cardinal's labours were both extensive and important. The reforms which the Order at this time required, and which Martin V had already attempted, were energetically taken in hand. Persuaded that the extent of the malady demanded a comprehensive remedy, Bessarion began by drawing up a Rule in Italian and in Greek, which he strictly imposed upon the Monasteries in Italy and Sicily. He increased their revenues by recovering lands which had been alienated, and by regulating their household expenses, and endeavoured to give new splendour to the Order by beautifying its ancient buildings and by constructing on the old lines skilfully arranged additions. Bessarion everywhere insisted on serious study; he encouraged the monks to apply themselves to the Greek classics, to transcribe and collect Manuscripts and to establish good schools. Among these, the Gymnasium of Messina acquired a great reputation. Laskaris, whom Bessarion appointed Professor at this Institution in 1467, soon attracted scholars from all parts of Italy.

In recognition of these important services Pius II, in August 1462, nominated Bessarion Commendatory Abbot of Grottaferrata. This celebrated Abbey, which had long been considered as a link uniting East and West, had, at the period of which we are speaking, fallen into a state of dilapidation. Bessarion at once devoted himself most ardently to the work of restoration, and quickly succeeded in effecting a thorough renovation, both material and spiritual, in this interesting spot, so rich in classical associations and Christian memories. His chalice, his famous Inventory (*Regestum Bessarionis*), and some valuable Manuscripts, presented by him to his Abbey, are still preserved at Grottaferrata.

The Vatican Basilica, the Camaldolese Abbey at Avellana, and the Church of the Holy Apostles in Rome, were also generously enriched by Bessarion. The last-named Church, which Eugenius IV had assigned as his title, was the special object of his paternal solicitude. In the beginning of Paul II's pontificate the Cardinal caused the Chapels of the Archangel Michael, of St. John the Baptist, and of Saint Eugenia, at the left of the High Altar, to be completely restored and decorated by the painter Antonazzo Romano. In the centre of the vaulting appeared the figure of Our Lord, enthroned and surrounded with nine choirs of Angels, in a blue

firmament strewn with stars and encircled by a frieze. In the corners were the four Evangelists, with a Latin and a Greek Father of the Church writing in his cell beside each. On the upper part of the wall behind the Altar was the apparition of the Archangel Michael on Monte Gargano, and beneath this the birth of St. John the Baptist. On the side walls, between two real and two painted windows, stood two Archangels above, and the third with St. John the Baptist below. From half-way up the wall down to the ground, curtains ornamented with patterns in flowers and gold were painted. On each of the six pilasters was the figure of a Saint under a canopy. The framing-arch was adorned with a frieze, and three shields with the arms of the founder.

Amongst the nearest and dearest of Bessarion's friends was Juan de Carvajal, the most devoted of all the sons of the Church. His motto was "To suffer all things for Christ and His Church!". In consequence of his extreme modesty, and utter disregard of fame, the memory of this distinguished man has not been honoured as it deserves. The student of history can discover but scanty records of the life of this saintly Cardinal, who proved his fidelity and self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of the Church in twenty-two Legations and "from all his journeys brought back nothing but the reputation of an unspotted priesthood".

Since the autumn of 1461 Carvajal had again been living in Rome. The vigorous man, whom Pope Calixtus had sent to Hungary at the time when Belgrade was threatened by the Turks, had grown old and feeble in that severe climate, amid the turmoils of the Court and camp, and the fatigues of travel. His teeth were so loose in his mouth that he could only use them with the aid of artificial appliances. Yet it was political reasons rather than considerations of health, which at last induced him to abandon this bleak country of moorlands and marshes. He left behind him the memory of a pure and beneficent life, and his merits, which have never been questioned by any historian, met with an honourable appreciation in Rome. No other Cardinal, it was justly observed, did so much and endured such sufferings as Carvajal in the six years during which he was Legate for Hungary, while championing the Church's highest interest, the purity of her faith.

Extreme simplicity and exemplary order prevailed in his modest dwelling near S. Marcello. His ascetic manner of life enabled him to be very liberal to the poor, and to provide for needy churches. He was never absent from any great ecclesiastical function or from a Consistory. In Consistory he expressed his opinion freely, but in a conciliatory manner. In their brevity, simplicity, and clearness, their strict logic and their utter absence of rhetoric, his discourses form a striking contrast to the bombastic and artificial productions of the literary men of his day; his Reports while a Legate have the same "restrained and impersonal character".

Though always genial in his intercourse with others, there was something about Carvajal which inspired a certain awe in all who saw much of him. Cardinal Ammanati observed of him: "our age may rightly place him by the side of the ancient Fathers of the Church", and these words expressed the general opinion of the members of the Sacred College. It might be said that Rome did not contain a single man who had not done homage to "the height and depth of his character". Pomponius Laetus, "who admired nothing in ruined Rome but the heroic grandeur

of its earliest founders; who hardly deigned to bestow a glance on the Barons and Prelates of the Papal City,—the proud Platonist, the cynic scorner of all flattery and of every kind of dignity, who never uncovered his head, or bowed to any one, made but one exception, and that was the aged Cardinal of S. Angelo”.

Subsequent historians have unanimously endorsed the esteem and admiration of his contemporaries for Carvajal. The latest biographer of Pius II, who is generally disposed to believe the worst of men, speaks of Carvajal with the greatest reverence. Even the Hussite historian of Bohemia says of him : “Not only in zeal for the Faith, in moral purity and strength of character, was he unsurpassed, but he was also unequalled in knowledge of the world, in experience of ecclesiastical affairs, and in the services which he rendered to the Papal authority. It was chiefly due to his labours, prolonged during a period of twenty years, that Rome at last got the better of Constance and Basle, that the nations returned to their allegiance, and that her power and glory again shone before the world with a splendour that had not been seen since the time of Boniface VIII. Carvajal’s colleagues knew and acknowledged this, and in all important matters were guided by his counsels. Paul II himself feared him, and yielded to all his wishes. Thus, his personal influence, and his opinion regarding King George and the doctrine of the Hussites, had great weight in Rome”.

As a member of the Commission appointed by Paul II to consider the state of ecclesiastical affairs in Bohemia, Carvajal was associated with Bessarion and d’Estouteville. From the beginning he advocated stern measures. The ill-advised conduct of the King of Bohemia, who omitted to send any one from his Court to offer the congratulations usual from Princes to a new Pope, had confirmed the Cardinal in the conviction “that it would be absolutely necessary to employ the knife in the case of wounds which admitted of no other remedy, and to guard against fatal corruption by severing the decayed members from the body of Holy Church”.

The Pope at first hoped that gentleness might be successful with George Podiebrad. The proceedings which Pius II had commenced were at once suspended. Paul II declared that, if the Bohemian King fulfilled his promises, he would be to him not a Pope, but a loving brother. It soon became evident that the double-tongued monarch had no thought of keeping his oath. When all Christian Princes sent Ambassadors to Rome, none appeared from Bohemia. Fresh complaints were constantly made by the Catholics. The “*pacific inclinations*” of Paul II gradually vanished. The letter which the King of Bohemia sent to Rome on the 7th March, 1465, only apologises in a passing way for the delay of the Embassy; its main purpose is to explain the reasons why George did not think it well to comply with the Pope’s desire, and raise the siege of the fortress of Zornstein, which belonged to the Catholic Heinrich von Lichtenburg. Paul II’s reply to this letter was not addressed to the King himself, but to the Bohemian Prelates and Barons (13th May, 1465), a fact which shews the change in his feeling. By the middle of the summer of this year the stern views of Carvajal had completely prevailed, and from henceforth guided the Pope in all his decisions. On the 2nd August, Podiebrad was summoned by Cardinals Bessarion, Carvajal and Eroli, who

were entrusted with the management of the Bohemian affair, to appear at Rome within 180 days to answer charges of heresy, of relapse into heresy, of perjury (in regard to the breach of his coronation oath), of spoliation of churches, and of blasphemy. "In order, however, to guard against a further outbreak of heresy during the trial, and to protect the oppressed Catholics", the Pope, on the 6th August, empowered the Legate Rudolf, Bishop of Lavant, to inflict ecclesiastical censures on all George's adherents, and to declare all engagements entered into with him null and void.

Meanwhile George's position had become much worse, the chief lords of Bohemia, dissatisfied with his arbitrary government, having become more and more hostile to him. He therefore made new proposals of accommodation with Rome; but Rome was weary of these endless negotiations.

"Long years of prevarication had destroyed all confidence in George, so that even those who had once depended upon his word now turned from him with feelings embittered by disappointment, and firmly resolved never again to be deceived by him". As early as the 8th December, 1465, Paul II had released George's subjects from their oath of allegiance; on the 6th February, 1466, the proposals made through Duke Louis of Bavaria in favour of the King of Bohemia were absolutely rejected.

In order to understand the severe language of this document, we must remember the shameful manner in which George had trifled with Calixtus III and Pius II regarding the Turkish question. It is strange to find the King now bringing forward this question, and demanding to be rewarded beforehand for his return to the Church, and his participation in the Crusade, by the title of Emperor of Constantinople for himself, and the Archbishopric of Prague for one of his sons. Is a relapsed heretic, a perjured man, Paul II remarks, to ask, instead of penance and punishment, for a reward such as could hardly be granted to the most Christian Princes, who had rendered the greatest services to religion? He desires to traffic with his conversion to the Faith, and sell his conscience for gain. His feigned obedience would indeed be a precious boon to the Church, while the old leaven would still ferment throughout the kingdom. Is the Apostolic See to beg for this, while he reserves to himself the right to accept or reject what is offered? The proposed Archbishop is a youth, scarce twenty years of age, who has grown up in the midst of his father's crimes and deceits, in ignorance of all law, either human or Divine; he has but just ceased to be a heretic, and is now to be made a Bishop! Equally obnoxious is the request that the Archbishop should have as assistant an Inquisitor who will prosecute all "heresies outside the Compact". That is very cunningly devised : is it not equivalent to a covert demand that the Compacts should be re-established? Again, what is the meaning of the petition for the Imperial Crown of Constantinople? Evidently its object is only to secure an easier passage from one Confession of Faith to another (the Greek). But the dominion of the Infidels, who have never known the truth, is a lesser evil than the rule of a heretic and schismatic, who has apostatised from that which he professed. The Church has not yet fallen so low as to be compelled to seek the protection of heretics and robbers of churches.

The fact that Podiebrad, in the summer of 1466, took the excommunicated Gregor Heimburg into his service is a proof that the Pope had not judged him too severely. His connection with this unscrupulous man, who, "for twenty years, had been at the head of every opposition offered outside the limits of Bohemia to the restoration of the Papal power", was equivalent to a renunciation of all idea of reconciliation with the Church. Even on the 28th July, Heimburg, who had formerly made a parade of his German sympathies, published a manifesto in defence of the "honour and innocence" of the Czech monarch, who had been treated by Rome worse "than the fratricide Cain and the Sodomites!". George, he said, was no private individual whom the Pope might summon to Rome at his pleasure, but a King, and a King of great merit. This advocate found excuses for everything, even for the imprisonment of Fantinus, which was a breach of the law of nations. The Pope was accused of credulity, and his conduct characterised as hasty, as an offence against Divine and natural law, and opposed to reason and Scripture. He further insisted that a Diet should be summoned, at which the Envoys of the temporal Princes should, in the presence of a Legate, deliberate on the ecclesiastical affairs of Bohemia. As this manifesto was at once sent, not only to all the German Courts, but also to the King of France and the other Princes of Christendom, it was impossible for the Papal party to be silent. The autumn had not passed before letters in answer appeared from Rudolf von Rudesheim, Bishop of Lavant, and from Cardinal Carvajal. The former sought to surpass his opponent in violence of language, and lost himself in prolix explanations, while Carvajal, in his brief, simple and logical style, exposed the treacherous arts of the Czech monarch and of his advocate. In particular, he brought forward the sacrilegious manner in which George had violated the right of nations by his conduct towards Fantinus and the double-faced policy by which he had trifled with the Holy See. What Rome now commanded was the result of mature deliberation, and was in accordance with justice. George's intrigues are unmasked, the axe is laid to the roots; he must prove his innocence or else experience the rigour of justice.

Heimburg soon wrote a second apology for King George, in which he gave vent to his violent hatred of the two heads of Christendom and for the Cardinals. All manner of false charges were here made against both Pope and Emperor, and amongst others that of immorality. The "very violence and indecency of these accusations destroyed their effect". The only result of this letter was entirely to put an end to the friendly relations which had existed between George Podiebrad and Frederick III. The action of George's counsellor was certainly not that of a statesman.

The decided measures advocated by Carvajal did not meet with universal approval at the Roman Court. Looking at the matter from a merely human point of view, some urged that there was no one who could carry into effect the sentence of the Holy See. Nothing was to be expected from the irresolute Emperor, and Poland also displayed little inclination to be of use. King Matthias of Hungary had, indeed, given the best assurances of goodwill, but it was generally desired that he should reserve his forces for the Turkish war. It was doubtful whether the power of the Bohemian nobles was equal to the occasion. In the face of these grave difficulties,

Carvajal remained unmoved in his opinion that justice ought to take its course, and that there was a duty to be accomplished. God would, he believed, provide for all.

After Carvajal had left Rome as Legate to Venice, on the 20th August, 1466, Cardinals Ammanati and Piccolomini were the chief advocates of strong measures. After long deliberations their opinion finally prevailed. On the 23rd December a Consistory was held, in which George Podiebrad was deposed from his dignities of King, Marquis and Prince, his posterity declared disqualified for any honour or inheritance, and his subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance.

The Papal Bull announcing this decision made a deep impression on loyal Catholics, and in order to lessen its effect, Podiebrad, on the 14th April, 1467, published a solemn appeal to a General Council, which ought properly, he said, to have been assembled before this time, and had been put off only by the Pope's negligence. This document, which attacked the Pope personally, was drawn up by Heimburg. It was immediately sent to all the German Princes. At the same time an Ambassador was despatched from Prague to the Court of the French King. He was to propose the conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance between Louis XI and Podiebrad, into which the Poles and a number of the German Princes were to be drawn, especially the rulers of Saxony and Brandenburg, whose sympathies were with Bohemia. The immediate object of the allies was to be the humiliation of Burgundy. When this was accomplished, Louis XI was to summon a Council, "which should be held by the nation", and which should put down all strife and all arrogance, especially the pretensions of the Pope and the Emperor, who were to be brought low and punished!

At the French Court the Ambassador maintained that the Pope was endeavouring "to get both swords into his hands, and thus subject all rulers to himself, so that the clergy might have their way in everything". Words like these found a ready access to the ear of a tyrant like Louis XI. He promised to exert himself in Podiebrad's favour in Rome, and also to use his influence to maintain the Compacts of the Holy Council of Basle in force; he further advised that the German Princes should be persuaded to advocate the assembling of the Council. George's efforts in this matter were unsuccessful, and complications in his own dominions, and with England, so fully occupied the French King, that he was unable to pursue his anti-Roman project of the Council. The close relations which continued to exist between Louis XI and the Bohemian monarch is evidenced by the fact that when, in the following year, Paul II wished to have the Bull of Maundy Thursday, in which Podiebrad was mentioned by name, published in France, the French King at once raised objections, and the Duke of Milan did the same.

While Podiebrad was somewhat unsuccessfully labouring to elevate his personal contest with Rome into a matter of general importance to all the temporal powers, the opposing party within his kingdom did not remain idle. Nothing decisive, however, was done, even after the formation of a great Catholic League in the December of 1467. It became more and more evident that the League could only hope to prevail against George if assisted by some powerful Prince. All efforts to obtain such aid proved fruitless, and accordingly in the end no alternative

remained to the Pope and the League, save to listen to the overtures made to them by the King of Hungary.

The adversaries of George greatly rejoiced when Matthias Corvinus (1468, March 31) declared war against Bohemia. Cardinal Ammanati's letters to Paul II and Carvajal bear witness to their satisfaction. The necessary interruption of the war with the Turks was looked upon as a lesser evil. The Apostolic Faith was deemed to be in imminent danger unless the Bohemian King should voluntarily abandon his schismatic position, or be forcibly deprived of the power of doing harm. On the 20th April, 1468, the Pope had again pronounced the severest ecclesiastical penalties on all the adherents and abettors of George, and had moreover promised a number of Indulgences to those who should either personally, or by pecuniary contributions, take part in the war against him. Lorenzo Roverella, the Bishop of Ferrara, who had but lately returned to Rome, was again sent to Germany to publish these Indulgences, and furnished with fuller power.

During the year 1468 the fortunes of war favoured the King of Hungary. In the following February, Matthias advanced into Bohemia, but was completely shut in by Podiebrad in the defiles near Wilimow, and his case seemed hopeless. He then began to negotiate for a truce, and promised to obtain from the Pope the toleration of the Compacts for the Bohemians. On the 24th March, the two Kings purposed to meet at Olmutz, and conclude a permanent peace. The Papal Legate, Roverella, hastened to the spot to prevent this, and succeeded in doing so.

In July, 1469, the war broke out afresh, Matthias having been two months previously solemnly elected King of Bohemia. No decisive advantage was gained by either party during that year or the next. The war was one of mutual devastation, and seemed likely to be endless. Notwithstanding all the efforts of his opponents, George held his ground, paying his partisans out of the spoils of the Church. He failed, however, to accomplish his plan of founding a Czech dynasty by securing the succession to one of his sons.

Meanwhile, the "greatest, and, in regard to his moral character, the most estimable, of the enemies of Bohemia in the Sacred College", Juan Carvajal, had died in Rome (6th December, 1469). At the same time it was reported that one of the Cardinals had advocated a pacific arrangement with Podiebrad; this induced the latter to express to the Cardinal in question, whose name is unfortunately unknown, his desire for reconciliation with Rome. He declared that he had never intended to injure the Holy Father, and yet had undeservedly to endure his severe displeasure. He had never believed himself to be outside the Holy Church, in which alone is salvation. If in any way he had departed from the unity of the Faith, he had done it in ignorance. Although he had already entrusted his reconciliation with Rome to King Casimir of Poland, he now sent another Ambassador, whom he hereby accredited to the Pope.

If these endeavours at reconciliation were really sincere, the increasing danger from the Turkish power gave them a prospect of success. But when matters had gone so far a higher Hand intervened. On the 22nd February, 1471, Rokyzana,

“the soul of all the anti-Catholic efforts of the Utraquists”, died in Prague, and on the 22nd March George Podiebrad followed him. The opinion that the King was, before his death, reconciled to the Church is erroneous. It is, however, certain that Gregor Heimburg, the man who had exercised so potent an influence on his anti-Roman policy, did, before his death (1472), make his peace with the Church.

The struggle about the Compacts, which were not really observed in any of the Utraquist Churches, was not terminated by the deaths of the spiritual and temporal chiefs of the party; the Polish Prince Wladislaw, when elected by the Bohemians in May, 1471, as their King, was obliged expressly to bind himself to uphold them. The hopes cherished by the father of the newly-elected sovereign, that the Bohemian position would be recognised by Rome were accordingly without foundation; for this was no mere question of externals, but a deep-seated and essential separation which might be for a time concealed by a formula of union, but could not be conclusively settled by any such means.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PEACE OF 1468. SECOND JOURNEY OF FREDERICK III TO ROME.

PAUL II, who was by nature anything but warlike, was in the early part of his reign more successful in his conflicts with tyrants in the States of the Church than in his expeditions against the Turks and Hussites. The robber Knights of Anguillara were the first to claim his attention.

The cruel Count Everso of Anguillara had already given great trouble to his immediate predecessors. During the Pontificate of Pius II he had taken possession of all the territory formerly held by the Prefects, and there in his mountain fortresses securely guarded the spoils gathered from the plunder of towns, pilgrims, and merchants. Like Malatesta, he had been the ally of all the enemies of the Pope. Cardinal Ammanati says that he despised God and the Saints and yet made pious foundations. Much has lately been heard of the portion of his Palace which still exists, a gloomy tower in Trastevere, which was in danger of falling a sacrifice to a destructive work of restoration. Happily this interesting building, which commands a splendid view of the City, has for the present escaped; who can say, however, how long it may be spared?

Count Everso, who had to the last defied Pius II, died on the 4th September, 1464. His two sons, Francesco and Deifobo, began by making the fairest promises to the Pope, but soon betrayed a disposition to follow in the footsteps of their father, and ruin the peace of the whole neighbourhood. Paul II then determined to make war upon this race of tyrants, who had braved the authority of four successive Popes, and were a scourge to that portion of the States of the Church. His prudence and caution enabled him to take the Counts completely by surprise.

At the end of June, 1465, the sentence of Excommunication was pronounced against them, and Cardinal Niccolo Forteguerri, Federigo of Urbino, and Napoleone Orsini at once advanced with an armed force. They were joined by troops from the King of Naples, who had a personal quarrel with Deifobo. Thirteen castles, some of which had been deemed impregnable from their position and fortifications, were taken almost without a blow. In these robbers' nests were found implements for coining Papal money, correspondence of a compromising character, and numbers of unhappy captives, doomed by the tyrants to perpetual imprisonment. Deifobo escaped to Venice; Francesco was imprisoned, together with his children, but was soon liberated at the instance of Stefano Colonna. Twelve days sufficed to break the power of the Anguillara; the conquered towns and fortresses came under the immediate rule of the Holy See.

The year 1465 also witnessed an extension of Papal authority in the Romagna. By virtue of the treaty concluded in 1463 with Pius II, the towns possessed by the Malatesta were, on the extinction of their line, to revert to the Holy See. Malatesta Novello, Lord of Cesena, dying childless on the 20th November, 1465, his nephew, Roberto, sought to occupy Cesena and Bertinoro. His efforts were, however, frustrated by the loyalty with which these cities adhered to the promise given to the Holy See. The inhabitants had good reasons for preferring immediate dependence on the government of the Church, which allowed them far greater liberty, and did not harry them with oppressive taxation. In order to conciliate and win over the warlike Robert, Paul II. invested him with the fiefs of Meldola, Sarsina, and some other small places, and took him into his service as a captain of mercenaries.

Not long after the downfall of the Anguillara, the Pope came into conflict with the King of Naples, "the terrible and faithless Ferrante".

The unreasonable demands of the King, and his prevarications about the payment of his tribute, had, even at the beginning of the Pontificate, caused some estrangement between Naples and the Pope. Although, according to the Bull of Investiture granted by Pius II, the severest penalties—such as Excommunication, Interdict, deposition from the throne, and forfeiture of his fief—were to be incurred by non-payment of the tribute, Ferrante steadily neglected it. When called upon to pay, he never failed to find some excuse; at one time he pleaded the great difficulties occasioned by internal troubles, at another the expenses in which he had been involved by his share in the war against the Anguillara. The tension constantly increased. When Ferrante, who already owed the Pope 60,000 golden ducats, sent the customary palfrey, but not a farthing with it, the Pope returned it. The King went so far as to threaten that, if the claim were still insisted upon, he

would enter into alliance with the Turks, whereupon the Pope answered that he would provide for having Ferrante driven from his kingdom, and the Turks expelled from the Christian dominions.

The complicated relations which existed between Naples and the Apostolic See made it possible for the King to keep the Pope in perpetual alarm, by constantly making fresh demands. The real ground of Ferrante's hostility was the jealousy with which he viewed the consolidation of the Papal power in the States of the Church, and accordingly he harassed the Pope in every way that he could.

The energetic measures of Paul II against the lawless Barons in the Roman territory had not perfectly restored peace; feuds were constantly breaking out amongst them, as well as amongst the lesser nobles, while bloody and barbarous revenges were of frequent occurrence. Yet much had been gained. The Pope laboured unremittingly, by means of his Cardinals and Prelates, to bring about reconciliations. At the same time he did what he could to maintain among the Italian powers that peace which the danger of Turkish invasion rendered so necessary. His prompt action at the critical moment of the death of Francesco Sforza, which occurred on the 8th March, 1466, after an illness of but two days, was specially judicious and effective. This unexpected event caused the greatest consternation at the French Court, as well as in Florence and in Rome, where the news arrived on the 16th March. A Consistory was at once held, in which, at the Pop's suggestion, it was determined that the Holy See should use every possible means for the maintenance of peace. Paul II forgot all previous differences with Milan, and sent a special Ambassador to express his sympathy, and declare his intention of standing by the Duchess and her children. He also addressed Briefs to all the Italian Governments, informing them of his determination to maintain peace in the Peninsula, and earnestly exhorting them to avoid all disturbances. The warning was needed, especially in regard to the Republic of St. Mark, whose policy had given the Pope just cause for dissatisfaction. Many exiles from Florence had at this time betaken themselves to Venice to hatch in safety conspiracies against the rule of the Medici. The Signoria, ever ready to fish in troubled waters, while avoiding any open breach of the peace, by no means discouraged these plots. The old grudge against Florence, on account of the defeat of their schemes against Milan by Cosmo, revived. The resentment of the banished Florentines was to be turned to account to establish a government there, which should be dependent on the support of Venice, and to overthrow the Sforzas in Milan. Bartolommeo Colleone, an ambitious and avaricious Condottiere, was to be the instrument employed for the accomplishment of these designs. In order to enable the exiled Florentines to avail themselves of his services, the Signoria dismissed him with promises of money.

In face of the threatening attitude of Colleone, the Ambassadors of Florence, Naples and Milan, on the 4th January, 1467, entered into a defensive alliance at Rome, under the protection of Paul II, with a view of securing the peace of Italy. This was a time of great anxiety for the Pope; he placed no confidence in Ferrante, who showed symptoms of meditating an attack on the temporal possessions of the

Holy See. In the month of March the Ambassador of Modena was of opinion that Ferrante would declare war on the Pope.

Besides Colleone, the Florentine exiles took Ercole of Este, Alessandro Sforza of Pesaro, Pino degli Ordelassi, Lord of Forli, the Lords of Carpi and Galeotto de' Pici della Mirandola into their pay. An army, 14,000 strong, was assembled. The Republic of Florence engaged the services of the Count of Urbino, while Ferrante sent auxiliary troops, and Galeazzo Maria himself hurried to the front, at the head of 6000 men. The two most famous Italian Generals of the day, Colleone and Federigo of Urbino, thus stood opposed to one another, each at the head of a considerable force. On the 23rd July, 1467, they met at La Molinella, in the territory of Imola; but the battle led to no decisive result.

After this action, more than half a year was spent in useless marches and entrenchments, and in wrangling, recriminations and negotiations. At last Paul II determined, on the Feast of the Purification, 1468, after Mass at Araceli on the Capitol, to proclaim peace by his own authority. The Bull published on this occasion first insists on the necessity of peace in face of the danger from Turkey, then relates the efforts made by the Pope for the restoration of tranquillity, and requires Venice, Naples, Milan, and Florence, within the space of thirty days, to come to terms. Colleone was named General of the Christians, with a salary of a hundred thousand florins, to which all the Italian States were to contribute, and he was to carry on the war with the Turks in Albania; the territory which he had won from the Florentines, and from Taddeo Manfredi of Imola, was to be restored within fifty days.

Milan and Naples, however, would not do anything towards paying Colleone. A chronicler sums up their reply in the following words : "We desire peace, but as to Colleone, we will not give him even a biscuit". Other difficulties were also raised; and for some time it seemed as if the war must break out again. Paul II was obliged to give up the stipulation regarding Colleone. On the 25th April peace was proclaimed in Rome, and soon afterwards in Florence, and celebrated everywhere with brilliant festivities. Some fresh obstacles were now created by Venice, but finally these, too, were happily overcome, and on the Feast of the Ascension peace was proclaimed in the territories of the Republic. By the 8th May the conditions had been officially drawn up in Rome in the Pope's presence.

On Ascension Day there was a magnificent procession, in which Paul II himself took part on foot. Hymns were composed for the occasion by Lionardo Dati and an eloquent discourse was pronounced by Domenico de' Domenici.

Paul II's satisfaction at the advent of peace was enhanced by the hope which it encouraged that Italy would now offer a serious resistance to the Turks. For this object he had already expended no less than the sum of two hundred thousand florins, and his disappointment, when clouds again overspread the political horizon, must have been in proportion to his interest in the cause.

Ferrante of Naples was the disquieting element. In the summer of 1468, when Paul II had attempted to occupy the important fortress of Tolfa, which commanded the alum mines, he had been prevented by the Neapolitan troops, who

not only supported the Orsini, who were the lords of the soil, in their resistance, but even threatened Rome itself. The Pope was so much alarmed that he meditated flight. His most valuable property had already been hidden in St. Angelo, when the Neapolitan army turned against Sora.

During the contest for the throne of Naples, Pius II had become Sovereign of this important Duchy, and he had maintained his rights over it against all the efforts of Ferrante. On the accession of Paul II, the King had again endeavoured to recover Sora. He now deemed the moment to have arrived for the forcible accomplishment of his object, and certainly the opportunity seemed favourable. Paul II, who always shrank from outlay for military purposes, was almost defenceless; in vain did he reproach the faithless Monarch with ingratitude towards the Holy See, to whose favour he owed his crown. Fortunately for him, Cardinal Roverella was successful in persuading Ferrante not to advance any further. In October, 1468, the Pope gave orders that fresh troops should be levied, to occupy the frontier between the States of the Church and Naples, which shows how little confidence he had in his neighbour. Paul II was unsuccessful in his attempts to obtain possession of Tolfa; subsequently, an amicable arrangement was arrived at, and in June, 1469, the Apostolic Treasury purchased the place for 17,300 golden ducats.

Ferrante was also the Pope's chief opponent in regard to the territory of Malatesta.

In the October of 1468, Sigismondo Malatesta, who had not long returned from the Turkish war, died without leaving any legitimate heir, and accordingly, in virtue of the treaty which had been made, Paul II justly claimed Rimini. Sigismondo's wife, Isotta, however, assumed the government of the city. Roberto Malatesta, who was at the time in Rome, promised the Pope, by oath and in writing, that he would deliver up Rimini to him. Upon this he was at once commissioned to take possession of the city on behalf of the Holy See. But no sooner had he succeeded, with the assistance of the inhabitants, and by means of the subsidies granted by Paul II, in getting rid of the Venetian garrison and making himself master of the citadel, than he informed the Pope that he did not consider himself bound by the promise he had given. A secret alliance with the King of Naples encouraged him to venture on this step. "The Pope, finding himself thus betrayed, collected an army, and in a short time nearly all the Italian States were involved in the war about Rimini".

Such was the political situation of the Italian Peninsula when Frederick III determined to undertake a pilgrimage to Rome, in fulfilment of a vow which he had made in 1462, while a prisoner in the Castle of Vienna, and of which he had repeatedly postponed the accomplishment. The Emperor's suite was not a large one; it consisted of fourteen Princes and Counts, and a number of knights, and amounted altogether to 700 horsemen. All were in mourning garb on account of the death of the Empress.

Frederick travelled by the same route as that which he had followed sixteen years before; it led through Treviso to Padua, where the Venetian Ambassadors met

him and paid their respects, then by Rovigo to Ferrara. At Francolino on the Po, Borso d'Este welcomed his noble visitor. From Ferrara the pilgrims continued their journey by Ravenna along the coast to the Sanctuary of Loreto. The gates of Rimini were closed by Robert Malatesta, who distrusted the Emperor. This obliged him to alter his route, but the swampy character of the ground compelled him again to approach the city. The inhabitants at once armed themselves and hastened to the walls, where they remained until the travellers were out of sight. He met with even greater rudeness from the Ambassadors of Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza, who, when informed by Frederick that he looked upon Milan as belonging to the Empire, had, we are told, the audacity to reply, that Galeazzo's father had won the Duchy by the sword, and that his son would not lose it save by the sword.

Paul II looked forward with some apprehension to the Emperor's arrival. He took precautions against possible disturbances in Rome by bringing large bodies of troops into the city. Special Briefs were sent to all the officials of the States of the Church, desiring them to receive Frederick III with honour, and to entertain him at the expense of the Holy See. The Governor of the March of Ancona, by order of the Pope, accompanied the Emperor to Rome, and a number of members of the Papal Court were appointed to meet him. On Christmas Eve Frederick approached the walls of Rome. He had proceeded by water from Otricoli to Castell Valcha, where Cardinals d'Estouteville and Piccolomini met him with a numerous escort.

He was met at Ponte Molle by the Vice-Camerlengo, the City Prefect, the Conservators, and the rest of the municipal authorities, with the Roman nobles, by command of the Pope. The Sacred College had a long time to wait at the Porta del Popolo. The late hour at which Frederick arrived made it difficult to carry out the order of the procession, every detail of which had been arranged by Paul II.

At this gate of the city, Bessarion made a speech, and he and Cardinal d'Estouteville then took their places, one on each side of the Emperor. They then proceeded first to S. Marco, all the streets through which they passed being richly decorated. The Emperor, clad in black, rode with the Cardinals under a baldacchino of white silk damask, embroidered with gold, and bearing the Papal and Imperial arms. One of Frederick's suite estimated the number of torches in the procession at 3000.

The Imperial pilgrim was met in front of St. Peter's by the clergy of the city bearing a cross and relics. At the fifth hour of the night he entered the venerable Basilica, and, going at once to the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles, knelt for a long time in prayer. The Pope, who was very exact in matters of the kind, had most minutely arranged the ceremonial to be observed at the meeting of the two chief powers of Christendom. This appeared to their contemporaries so significant as a token of the relations then existing between them, that Augustinus Patritius, the Papal Master of Ceremonies, carefully transcribed the whole in a special note-book.

"As soon", Patritius says, "as the Emperor beheld the Pope upon his throne, he bent the knee before him, and repeated this act several times during his approach. When he had got up to the Pope, he did homage to the Vicar of Christ by kissing his feet. Paul II bent his eyes upon Frederick with an expression of great

benevolence, put his arms round him, and permitted him to kiss both his knees; then he rose a little and embraced him warmly. He pointed out to him the place he was to take on his right hand above the Cardinals. The Emperor's seat, which had a back, was covered with green cloth, embroidered with gold; the Papal throne was so placed that the Emperor's seat was at the same height as the feet of the Pope". After the conclusion of the ceremonies in St. Peter's, which were accompanied with chanted psalms, "the Emperor departed to a noble palace, hung with cloth of gold and precious tapestry, wherein he was to have his abode, and every one of his people, according to his rank and dignity, was conducted to a well-appointed chamber therein".

The Christmas festival was celebrated with great splendour. "When it came to the holy Gospel", says Wilwolt von Schaumburg, "the Emperor put on a dalmatic. The Pope gave him, as was fitting, a costly hat; they say that it must have been worth 8000 ducats. And when the Emperor was to begin singing the Gospel, one of the highest of his servants, who was appointed for the purpose, took the hat from his head, and put the naked sword, which was commonly carried before him, into his hand. The Emperor held it solemnly aloft, and ever and anon, while he sang the Gospel, he brandished the sword lustily".

After the Offertory, the Emperor was incensed next after the Pope; Paul II, having given him Holy Communion with his own hand, bestowed on him the kiss of peace. The Pope administered the Blessed Sacrament to the Emperor, Deacon and Sub-Deacon, under the species of Bread only, although it was usual to give the Chalice in such cases to all who communicated with him. On this occasion the practice was discontinued on account of the erroneous teaching of the Hussites.

After the conclusion of Mass, the Pope and the Emperor venerated the veil of St. Veronica. Then Paul II solemnly imparted his Blessing, and an Indulgence was proclaimed. After the customary form, the words, and for our Emperor Frederick, that the Lord God may grant him victory over the heretical Bohemians, the Turks, and the other enemies of the Christian name, were added.

Throughout these solemnities, and during the days which followed them, Frederick III behaved towards the Pope with the utmost respect and deference. When Paul II returned his visit, he accompanied him back to his chamber, and, on New Year's Eve, when they quitted the Lateran together, Frederick sprung forward to hold the Pope's stirrup. The Pope, however, declared that he would not allow this, and refused to mount until the Emperor had dispensed him from receiving, and himself from rendering, this service. "The Pope's affability", Patritius observes, "was thought all the more of, because the credit of the Papacy is no less than in former times, and its power is far more considerable; for God has so disposed things, that the Roman Church, through the sagacity of her Pontiffs, and especially of the present Pope, has so increased in power and wealth, that she can hold her own by the side of kingdoms of the first rank. The Roman Empire, on the other hand, has fallen into such deep decay, that nothing but the name is left to its chief. Under these altered circumstances, the smallest mark of honour comes to be very highly regarded". In the sequel he lays much stress on the Pope's courtesy towards the Emperor, and says that he treated him in all points as an equal.

The ceremony at which, in presence of the Pope, the Emperor conferred knighthood on 125 Germans in the middle of the bridge over the Tiber, provided an imposing pageant for the Romans. On this occasion Frederick III also declared Galeazzo Maria to have forfeited the Duchy of Milan, and granted investiture of this fief to his grandson.

The first point to be discussed between Frederick III and the Pope was the war against the Turks and the Hussites. A Public Consistory for this purpose was held but four days after Christmas. The Emperor began by declaring, through his spokesman, that it was not merely his vow which had brought him to Rome, but also his concern for the general good, and that he desired to learn the views of the Holy Father in regard to the measures to be adopted against the Turks. Paul II caused all the efforts of the Holy See for this great object to be related, saying that his resources were now exhausted, and it had become the duty of the Emperor to counsel and to act. When Frederick explained that he had come to receive, and not to give, counsel, the Pope repeated what he had already said.

The Emperor then, with his Counsellors and all the Ambassadors who were present, withdrew into an adjoining hall to deliberate on the subject, and remained there for an hour. As the result of their consultation, he proposed that a general assembly should be held at Constance, in the presence of the Emperor and the Pope. Afterwards, Ammanati informs us, most of those who were accustomed to weigh matters at that period doubted whether the proposal had originated from the Emperor, who might have been anxious to show his zeal for the Faith, or from the politic Venetians. The Pope and the Cardinals, however, were agreed that the existing state of affairs did not demand such a measure, which past experience had shown to be dangerous. It was at last settled that the Ambassadors of all the Christian Princes should be invited, in the name of the two heads of Christendom, to a Congress, to be held in Rome in September, and that the Venetians should be allowed to levy a tenth part from the clergy, the twentieth part from the Jews, and the thirtieth from the laity, in their dominions.

It is equally hard to ascertain the exact nature of the claims which Frederick at this time made on the Pope, and the special purpose of the Imperial pilgrimage. According to Dugoss, he sought, but did not obtain, from the Holy See the confirmation of the succession in Hungary and Bohemia to himself and his son Maximilian. He would seem also to have tried unsuccessfully to procure the transfer of the electoral vote belonging to the Crown of Bohemia to the house of Austria. The Court of Rome looked upon King Matthias as its principal champion in Christendom, and would consent to nothing that would be distasteful to him. In reference to the Crown of Bohemia, moreover, its views differed wholly from those of the Emperor, as it desired the suppression of this dignity. The Emperor, on the other hand, obtained the confirmation of the Order of St. George, as also the commencement of the process of canonisation of Margrave Leopold of the house of Babenberg, and the erection of two Bishoprics, one at Vienna and one at Wiener-Neustadt. This last measure fulfilled a desire which had been ardently cherished by Rudolf of Hapsburg.

On the 9th January, 1469, the Emperor left Rome, enriched with many Indulgences, relics, precious stones, and pearls. The Pope had borne all the expenses of his suite. Cardinals Capranica and Borgia escorted him as far as Viterbo. Here, as well as in Rome and throughout his return journey, Frederick III conferred many honours.

Soon after the Emperor's return, the war, which Roberto Malatesta's treacherous usurpation of Rimini had rendered inevitable, broke forth. The Pope and the Republic of Venice, formerly rival claimants for the possession of the city, now united against Roberto, who had deceived them both. On the 28th May, 1469, an alliance was concluded, by which Venice undertook to assist the Pope energetically, both by land and sea. Paul II made haste to collect troops, and took Napoleone Orsini and Alessandro Sforza into his service. Lorenzo Zane, Archbishop of Spalatro, was appointed Legate for the Papal army. The war began in the month of June, and it seemed as if the crafty Malatesta was doomed to destruction.

Things, however, took a different turn. Roberto's escape was principally due to Federigo of Montefeltre, an ancient enemy of his house, who unexpectedly became his friend and helper. Federigo, the most powerful feudal lord in the States of the Church, looked upon the Pope's zealous and successful efforts to diminish the number of feudal potentates in his territory as a danger to himself. For the same reason, not only the King of Naples, who was almost always more or less at variance with the Pope, but also Milan and Florence, declared against him. All these powers were agreed that any increase of the authority of the Popes in their temporal principality, at the expense of its feudal nobility, was to be strenuously resisted. The element of weakness, caused by the partition of the States of the Church among a number of feudal nobles, must be retained.

The support of these allies emboldened Roberto Malatesta to command his General, Federigo of Montefeltre, to assume the offensive. On the 30th August, just when Rome was celebrating the sixth anniversary of Paul II's elevation to the Chair of St. Peter, he attacked the Papal army, and completely routed it. Three thousand prisoners, a number of guns and other booty from the enemy's camp, were seized by the victors. Amongst the spoils was all the Legate's silver plate.

The consequences of this victory might have been serious, but Federigo of Montefeltre shrank from attacking the actual territory of the Holy See. He contented himself with subjugating thirty castles and the territories of Rimini and Fano to the authority of Roberto Malatesta, and then, in November, 1469, disbanded his troops.

The cooperation of Florence and Naples, which had made this successful resistance on the part of his rebellious vassal possible, deeply incensed the Pope. Before the assembled Consistory he broke forth into bitter complaints of the Medici and of Ferrante. "The King", he said to the Milanese Ambassador, "immediately after my elevation, demanded the surrender of Ascoli and other things so preposterous that I can never be his friend. He is so crafty and malignant that no

one can trust him. Moreover, he is no son of King Alfonso's; Pope Calixtus told me the names of his real parents”.

The confederates were in no way intimidated either by Paul II's complaints or by the warlike preparations which he carried on with much energy. On the contrary, in July, 1470, Naples, Milan, and Florence renewed their alliance, and determined, with their united forces, to protect Malatesta against the Pope, not only in the possession of Rimini, but also in that of all the conquests which he had since made in the States of the Church or might yet make, unless within two months the Pope should agree, on his restoration of these spoils, to be reconciled to him and to invest him with the remainder of his family dominions playing a very double game, more intent on the extension of their own power in the Romagna than on the support of the Papal government. A yet more decisive influence was exercised by an event which now filled Christendom in general and Italy in particular with fear: Negropont was taken by the Turks.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FALL OF NEGROPONT.— SUDDEN DEATH OF THE POPE.

EVER since the naval fortunes of Venice had under the command of Niccolò Canale (1468), taken a more favourable turn, Sultan Mahomet, with the energy which was his characteristic, had laboured to increase and improve his fleet. Many new ships of war were built, and numerous Jews and Greeks, then deemed the best seamen, were engaged to man them. In the spring of 1470, he thought that the favourable moment had arrived for avenging his former defeat and dealing a crushing blow to the Venetian power. Mahomet himself set out for Greece at the head of an army more than 100,000 strong, while Mahmoud Pasha, with a fleet of about 400 vessels, 1000 which were men-of-war, put to sea. In the latter half of June the tidings that this great expedition was on the way reached Venice, and from thence passed on to Rome. It was not yet known for certain that Euboea, the pearl of the Italian dominions in Greece, was its goal, but the greatness of the peril was manifest.

A Consistory was at once summoned in an unusual manner by the Pope; Cardinal Gonzaga informs us that he was prepared, for the sake of restoring peace in Italy, to renounce his claim to Rimini and the other places taken from him in the war, and that a Congregation of Cardinals was appointed to take counsel regarding

further measures. In view of the confusion prevailing in the whole of Europe, and more particularly in Italy, and the failure of all former attempts at combination against the ancestral enemy of Christian civilisation, the task was somewhat hopeless.

Yet Paul II at once issued an urgent general appeal for help. King Ferrante of Naples, who, next to Venice, seemed the most immediately threatened, declared his readiness not only to join a general alliance of all the Christian powers, but also to enter into a special agreement with Venice and Rome. As the bitter enmity which existed between Venice and Milan left little prospect of a general alliance among the Princes of Christendom, Paul II, forgetting the injuries which he had received from the Neapolitan monarch, accepted his second proposal. He gave orders that eight of the Cardinals, postponing all other business, should assemble once in every four days to take counsel regarding the measures to be adopted. Their first meeting was held on the 8th August, at which time no answer had yet been received from either Milan or Florence to the Papal Briefs despatched to them at the same date as that to Naples. From the outset it was evident to all experienced persons that the negotiations were likely to be extremely protracted. On the 3rd of August a fresh Brief had been addressed to Florence, and also to Milan, insisting on the imminent danger with which the siege of Negropont threatened Italy, and exhorting these powers to despatch Envoys.

Meanwhile, the growing power of Islam had again given proofs of its strength; on the 12th July, after a desperate resistance on the part of the besieged, Negropont, which had been accounted impregnable, had fallen into the hands of the Turks. The terrible tidings caused the greatest consternation throughout Italy, and nowhere was the feeling more intense than in Venice. The Milanese Ambassador to that city, in a despatch of the 7th August, said that he had seen the proud nobles weep as if their own wives and children had been slain. "All Venice", he added, some days later, "is struck with dismay; the inhabitants, half-dead with fear, say that the loss of all their possessions on the mainland would have been a less disaster". "The glory and credit of Venice are destroyed", wrote the chronicler Malipiero, "our pride is humbled".

The conquest of Euboea by the Turks was in fact an event of such importance that the latest historian of Greece considers it as the close of an epoch. All the Greeks, with the exception of a small fraction, were now in the clutch of the Sultan. Venice was driven back into Crete and a few small islands and fortresses on the outer rim of Greece.

The alarm of the Venetians was increased by the strained relations which existed between them and the Pope, the Emperor and the King of Hungary, as well as by the openly hostile attitude of Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza, who was the centre of a party which sought to take advantage of the misfortunes of the Republic, and recover the territory surrendered in 1454. In Bergamo, Crema, and Brescia an immediate invasion of Milanese troops was apprehended; guards were doubled, and the work of strengthening the defences was carried on day and night. Happily, the King of Naples declared to the representative of Milan that, in presence of the actual danger from Turkey, he would take no part in any attack upon Venice. The

attitude of the King of Hungary, on the other hand, was by no means reassuring. Paul II, however, with a true sense of his high position, laid aside all resentment against Venice, and laboured earnestly for the restoration of peace and the conclusion of an alliance against the Turks.

On the 25th August he informed all the Christian powers of the fall of Negropont, drew a vivid picture of the danger which lowered from the East, and urgently implored assistance : prompt action on their part, he said, would give him the greatest consolation. The Pope earnestly entreated the Duke of Milan, who had attacked the Lords of Correggio, to lay down his arms, and urgently admonished the Venetians to desist from the works they had begun on the Mincio, which were a menace to the Marquess of Mantua, and were calculated to excite fresh troubles. Paul II himself set a good example, by determining to waive his rights regarding Rimini, and to refrain from punishing the Neapolitan King. On the 18th of September an invitation was addressed to all the Italian powers, calling upon them to send Ambassadors as soon as possible to Rome, in order to consult on measures for the general defence and the preservation of their own liberties.

The Pope had no more zealous supporter in his labours than Cardinal Bessarion, who addressed several long circular letters to the Italian Princes and people, vividly representing the magnitude of the common peril and the necessity for unanimous action against their cruel foe. With the impression of his soul-stirring words fresh on their minds, the Italian Envoys commenced their deliberations in Rome. There were apprehensions to be removed and disputes to be settled, but at length the efforts of Paul II, were crowned with success. On the 22nd December, 1470, a general defensive alliance of the Italian States against the Turks was concluded, on the basis of the League of Lodi, Roberto Malatesta being included among its members. Public thanksgivings were offered and bonfires kindled throughout the States of the Church by desire of Paul II.

But this time again the hopes of the Pope were far from being realised. Sforza did not ratify the treaty, ostensibly because his wishes were disregarded in some unimportant points in the draft of the document, but in reality because he disliked committing himself to a war against the Turks. Although the Florentine Signoria sent their ratification, Guicciardini put it aside, because Lorenzo, who desired to hold with Milan, and, like his grandfather, not to break with the Sultan, had secretly instructed him not to sign.

In France and Germany the prospect was not any brighter. The Pope sent special envoys to both countries. Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, the Legate for Germany, left Rome on the 18th March, 1471, to proceed in the first instance to Ratisbon, where a Diet was to open at the end of April.

Piccolomini was chosen for this mission, first, on account of his distinguished personal qualities, and secondly, because he could speak German, and was a nephew of Pius II, whose memory was still warmly cherished at the Imperial Court.

He entered Ratisbon on the 1st May, where all his energies had first to be applied to the allaying of the ill- feeling occasioned by the prolonged delay of the

Emperor. His position was by no means an easy one: he desired and was even bound to defend the Emperor, and yet he could not altogether deny the justice of the complaints made by the impatient Assembly. At last, on the 16th June, Frederick III arrived, and the great Christian Diet began on the 24th. During the deliberations which ensued, the zeal displayed by Cardinal Piccolomini fully justified the repeated commendations of the Pope. But neither his acknowledged eloquence, nor the urgent entreaties of the unhappy victims of the Turkish invasion from Croatia, Carniola, and Styria, sufficed to remove the manifold obstacles in the way of unanimous and energetic action.

“The question of aid against the Turks proceeds so slowly”, wrote an Italian Ambassador on the 7th July, “that the Cardinal Legate is wearied to death, and looks for little result from this Diet, on which he had built such great hopes!”. After fully four weeks of negotiations, no decisive resolution binding all the states of the Empire had been arrived at. All went well till it came to the determination of the amount to be contributed by each power, because, up to that point, general promises and offers sufficed; but when definite engagements were to be set down in black and white, difficulties of all kinds were raised, absurd pretexts invented, conditions imposed, and fresh proposals made to escape the obnoxious task. For a little while, to the delight of the Cardinal, things seemed again to take a more favourable turn; but the issue of this Diet, the largest within the memory of man, was no better than that of those which had preceded it. Private interests on all sides outweighed the general interests of the Empire. Only two among the Princes—Ernest, Elector of Saxony, and Albrecht of Brandenburg, who had made his peace with the Pope at Ratisbon—sent troops to the threatened frontiers; none of the others stirred.

“O the blindness of men!” exclaims Rodericus de Arevalo. “The Catholic Princes see the blazing torch of the infidel at their very doors, ready to set fire to all the kingdoms of Christendom, while they are squabbling each one for his portion. With their own eyes they behold the destruction of the Faithful, while every heathen jeers at their struggles to conquer each other, without thinking of saving themselves”.

Besides the threatened danger from Turkey, the year 1471 had brought many other troubles to Paul II. At its very outset, disturbances had broken out in the Bolognese territory; in Florence, as well as in Venice, there had been troublesome discussions about the contributions for the Turkish war, and scarcely anywhere, either in Italy or elsewhere, was any genuine zeal for the defence of Christendom to be found. Tidings of a very anxious nature had come from the Knights of St. John at Rhodes. It would appear that, for some time past, the Christians in that island had completely lost heart. Paul II hastened to encourage the Knights to stand firm, promised assistance, and exhorted them to put the fortifications of the island into a state of thorough repair. A serious attack of the Turks might, under the actual circumstances of the island, have been successful. Happily, no such attempt was made, the attention of Mahomet being at that time much engaged by the Turcoman Prince Usunhassan.

Of all the Italian Princes, no one was on more friendly terms with Paul II than Duke Borso of Modena; there was much intellectual sympathy between them, both were warm patrons of Art, and had a taste for external splendour, which the Duke, as well as the Pope, believed to have a great effect on the popular mind. Borso's most ardent desire was to add the ducal title of Ferrara to that of Modena; during the pontificate of Pius II he had vainly laboured for the realisation of this wish. Under Paul II further negotiations were carried on, and, in the spring of 1471, they were brought to a successful conclusion.

Borso came to Rome to receive his new dignity. On the 13th March he left Ferrara with an almost royal train. The Lords of Carpi, Correggio, Mirandola, and Scandiano formed part of the company, and a host of nobles and knights; there were more than 700 horses and 250 mules, all adorned with costly trappings, and some of them bearing the arms of Este. Paul II sent his friend, the Archbishop of Spalatro, to welcome the Duke, who, on his arrival in Rome, was received by Cardinals Barbo and Gonzaga, all the great Barons, the Ambassadors, the Senate, and all the other city dignitaries. A contemporary informs us that, in the opinion of the Romans, no such honours had ever been accorded to any King or Emperor as were now paid to Borso. Festal music resounded through the richly-decorated streets which he traversed on his way to the Vatican. Shouts of "Paulo, Paulo! Borso, Borso!" from the crowd mingled with the clang of the trumpets. The Pope received his visitor seated on a throne adorned with gold and ivory, and the Palace of Cardinal Castiglione, which adjoined the Vatican, was assigned to him as his residence. The rest of his followers were provided for, at the expense of the Apostolic Treasury, in the numerous inns which then existed in Rome.

On Palm Sunday, after Mass, Paul II assembled the Cardinals and informed them of his intention regarding Borso. They all approved of the Pope's decision, and the Duke was then called in. Paul II told him what had passed, and Borso warmly expressed his gratitude.

Easter Sunday (14th April) was the day fixed for Borso's solemn investiture with the title of Duke of Ferrara. All the Cardinals, Bishops, and Prelates then in Rome, together with all the members of the Court, were assembled in the Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, where Borso was in the first place made a Knight of St. Peter. The Pope himself handed him a naked sword, saying: "Take this in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and use it for your own defence and that of God's Holy Church, and for the destruction of the enemies of the holy Cross and of the Faith". The High Mass then began, the music being rendered by the Papal Choir. When the Epistle had been sung, Borso took the oath of allegiance to the Pope. After the Communion, he and his followers received the Sacred Host from the hands of Paul II, who then bestowed on Borso the Ducal robes and the other insignia of his new dignity. The veneration of the Veil of St. Veronica, the Papal Benediction, and the proclamation of a Plenary Indulgence closed this imposing function, which was witnessed by an immense multitude gathered from far and near. When Borso sought to accompany the Pope back to his apartments, his Holiness desired the Cardinals to pay that token of respect to the Duke, who

was enchanted with the distinctions heaped upon him. He wrote to his Secretary: "We have been treated as we were a King or an Emperor".

On the following day Borso accompanied the Pope to St. Peter's, and there received the Golden Rose. From there he rode, carrying the Rose, to the Palace of S. Marco, where a great banquet was prepared. During the ensuing days the same pomp and ceremony were displayed in various other entertainments provided for the new Duke, especially at a grand hunting-party, in which many of the Cardinals took part.

After all these festivities were over, the Duke still lingered in Rome. The extraordinary honours of which he was the object, and his frequent interviews with the Pope, had, from the time of his arrival, attracted general attention. Even the Cardinals were kept in the dark as to the subjects of these conversations. With a view of obtaining some information, Cardinal Gonzaga told Borso of the pleasure which it had given him to hear it said at the Court that the Pope meant to accompany the Duke back to Ferrara; and further expressed his opinion, that, considering the dispositions of Germany and the perpetual demands of France for a Council, such an Assembly might with advantage be held in that City. Borso replied that the Cardinal's view was most reasonable, adding: "Would to God that everyone thought the same". "These words", wrote the Cardinal to his father, "make me think that something of the sort may be in the wind". In a second conversation the Duke expressed his confident hope of bringing the Pope to Ferrara. Cardinal Battista Zeno, the Pope's nephew, at this time said that it would be wise to hold a Congress at some suitable place in Italy, for that by doing so in time, and of his own accord, the Pope would avoid the danger of having it forced upon him, when also some undesirable place would probably be selected.

The learned Bishop of Calahorra, Rodericus Sancius de Arevalo, had some years previously, in a treatise dedicated to Cardinal Bessarion, declared against the holding of a Council, the demand for which had always been the war-cry of the opposition. Nothing of the sort was required to deal with either the Turkish question or that of Reform. Hard fighting, not a Congress, was the means by which the Infidels must be repelled. From the outset of his pontificate, Paul II had done everything in his power to protect Christendom against them. The example of the Synod of Basle was not one to encourage another attempt of the kind. And as to the Congress of Mantua, it had been utterly fruitless, and even prejudicial, for it had made the disunion of Christendom patent to the Turks.

Another project to which Paul II had turned his mind seemed far more likely to prove beneficial than the meeting of a Congress. This was an alliance with the enemies of the Sultan in the East, and especially with the Turcoman Prince, Usun Hassan, who was now at the summit of his power. Following the example of the Venetians and of his predecessors, Calixtus III and Pius II, Paul I, leagued himself with this Prince, the only one among the Oriental rulers who could venture to measure swords with Mahomet. Usun Hassan indeed made such solemn promises of co-operation against the common foe, that powerful aid from the East seemed a certainty. At this crisis Paul II suddenly died.

The Pope, whose constitution was naturally strong, had appeared to be in excellent health. At the beginning of his reign he had suffered from the dangerous Roman fever; in 1466, and again in 1468, he had been ill, but had quite recovered; at this moment there seemed no cause for apprehension.

On the morning of the 26th July the Pope was perfectly well, and had held a Consistory lasting for six hours; he then dined bare-headed in the garden and freely indulged his taste for melons and other indigestible food. At the first hour of the night he felt ill, and his chamberlain advised him to postpone the audiences usually granted at that time, and to rest for a while. Paul II was suffering from a sense of oppression and lay down on a bed, while the chamberlain left the room to dismiss those who were waiting without. After an hour had passed, he heard a knocking on the door of the bed-chamber, hurried in, and found the Pope half-insensible and foaming at the mouth. With difficulty he lifted the sick man on to a bench and rushed out to summon assistance. By the time he returned the Pope had expired, having died of a stroke. Cardinal Barbo was at once called, and the corpse, accompanied by a few torches, was borne to St. Peter's. Here the obsequies for the departed took place; the mortal remains of Paul II were deposited in an imposing monument erected by Cardinal Barbo in the Chapel of St. Andrew. It was the work of Mino da Fiesole, an artist who exercised a very important influence on sepulchral decoration, and with whom began a new and brilliant epoch in monumental art. Fragments of the tomb are still to be seen scattered about in the Grotto of St. Peter's.

"Pope Paul", says the chronicler of Viterbo, "was a just, holy, and peaceable man; he established good government in all parts of his dominions".

His labours, as a practical ruler, to strengthen and consolidate the authority of the Holy See throughout the States of the Church, may indeed be considered one of the chief characteristics of his reign. A modern historian sums up his judgment of the Pope in the following words: "Paul II was certainly a born ruler, and one animated by the most noble intentions". It may be regretted that the mitre was compelled to give way too much to the tiara, and that his pontificate displayed an excess of worldly splendour, but it cannot be said that ecclesiastical interests suffered in any direct way from this. In many matters he was a zealous reformer.

Witnesses who are above suspicion attest his determination in opposing all simoniacal practices. If, weighed down beneath the burden of affairs, he was not always successful in accomplishing the good he desired, we must not be harsh in our judgment of one whose uprightness is admitted even by his enemies. The nepotism from which he was not free, never took the offensive and mischievous form which we have to lament in his immediate successor. Even his enemies do not venture to say that it was ever hurtful to the Church.

In opposition to Platina's calumnies, it must be remembered that Paul II opposed only that heathen abuse of learning which seemed dangerous to religion; apart from that he encouraged it. It was not the learning of the Humanists that he hated, but that tendency which Dante characterised as the stench of heathenism. All Platina's other charges against the Pope are merely insinuations, not facts.

“How virtuous”, concludes a non-Catholic scholar, “must he have been when so diligent and malicious an enemy as this Humanist could bring forward so little against him”.

The statement that Paul II did not realise the Turkish danger is also unjust. It is true that this war was not the one all-engrossing object of his life, as it had been with Pius II, but the silence of those who hated him most is in itself a proof that no cause of complaint can be found against him on this head. Recent investigations, moreover, have brought to light many facts which are much to his credit. It is impossible that a conclusive judgment can be formed until our information is completed by further examination of the Archives.

We have, as yet, before us but scanty particulars as to the negotiations which took place in 1471 for the purpose of organising defensive measures against the Osmanli. A newly-discovered letter of Cardinal Gonzaga, written on the 17th of January in that year, shows that Paul II was prepared to devote 50,000 ducats, the quarter of his annual income, to the expenses of the Turkish war. This sum does not include the revenue derived from the Alum monopoly, which, from the beginning of his reign, he had assigned to the objects of the Crusade. Subsidies and pensions were provided out of these funds for all the unfortunate exiles who had been driven by Turkish conquests to take refuge in the States of the Church. The account-books of his pontificate are full of entries of this description, sometimes reaching the annual amount of 20,000 to 30,000 ducats. The name of Thomas, the dethroned Despot of the Morea, appears as the recipient of a monthly pension of 300 florins. After the death of Thomas, the Pope continued this allowance to his children, who were brought up under the care of Cardinal Bessarion. Catherine, Queen-Mother of Bosnia, who migrated to Rome in 1466, from that time received 100 florins a month, and in the following year a further annual allowance of 240 florins was made to her for the rent of her house. To the Despot Leonard of Arta, were granted, as assistance in the war against the Turks, 1000 golden florins on the 12th March, 1465, 1200 on the 18th July, 1466, and another 1000 on the 2nd April, 1467. Monthly pensions were likewise bestowed on Queen Charlotte of Cyprus, Prince John Zacharias of Samos, Nicolaus Jacobus, a citizen of Constantinople, Thomas Zalonich, and many others. From the year 1467 the Archbishop of Mitylene and the Despot of Servia also received regular allowances, which were supplemented by occasional presents. These facts prove the princely liberality of Paul II.

It is also worth noting that now, as on many subsequent occasions, possession of the States of the Church enabled the Holy See to offer an asylum to the persecuted and exiled, and to succour the oppressed and unfortunate. The dominions of the Church have a characteristic which distinguishes them from all other kingdoms; in contradistinction to the exclusiveness of other States, they partake of the Catholicity of the Church. They form a separate realm; but as their Monarch is the Supreme Head of Christendom, this realm is the common patrimony of all Christians. No nationality is excluded from its offices and dignities, and its educational institutions and Convents are open to all races.

BOOK II
SIXTUS IV. 1471-1484.

CHAPTER I.

SIXTUS IV

The death of Paul II had occurred at a most critical moment. Steadily, like an advancing flood, the Turks streamed on to overwhelm the distracted West. It was not Italy alone which now found all barriers swept away between her coasts and the enemy. The defenceless frontiers of the Holy Roman Empire were overrun by these barbarian hordes, carrying rapine, murder, and devastation in their train as they pressed through Croatia into Styria. The terrible tidings of the destruction which threatened Italy and Germany alike, were well calculated to startle the most slothful from their slumber. Nevertheless, at the Diet which met at Ratisbon, under the influence of the Turkish panic, next to nothing was accomplished; the Papal Legate, Piccolomini, preached to deaf ears. Italy, like Germany, was rent by internal dissensions : no one seemed to realise the serious character of the times. As wave follows wave upon a storm-swept sea, so one political combination was perpetually giving way to another in a restless, aimless succession. This everlasting change of relations, this possibility of being at once mutually friendly and hostile; the impossibility of having any clear certainty of the position, at any given moment, of any State towards its neighbour, became more and more the characteristic of Italian political life.

During the vacancy of the Holy See in 1471, the Province of Romagna, always more or less unquiet, gave special cause for anxiety. Considerable excitement also prevailed in Rome. Immediately after the death of Paul II, the Secular Canons of the Lateran had, with the assistance of their Roman friends, driven out the Regular Canons introduced by the deceased Pontiff. On the 28th July a deputation from the people of Rome appeared in front of the Minerva, where the Cardinals had assembled, demanding, amongst other things, that, for the future, benefices in Rome should be conferred on none but Romans, and that the income destined for the Roman University should no longer be diverted to other objects. The Cardinals answered in a conciliatory manner, whereupon an order was issued that all should lay down their weapons, and that the outlaws should leave Rome. This did much to soothe the popular feeling. Other concessions were also made to the Romans. On the morning of the 29th, forty prisoners, confined in the Capitol for minor offences, were set at liberty. The Cardinals released two citizens of Ascoli and a Baron suspected of heresy, who were imprisoned in the dungeons of St. Angelo, on condition that they should not depart from Rome before the Coronation of the new Pontiff.

The City continued tolerably quiet during the ensuing days. Sixteen Cardinals were in Rome when Paul II died. Of those who were absent, none but Roverella and Gonzaga were able to reach the City in time for the Election. Roverella, Legate of Perugia, arrived on the 1st, and Gonzaga on the 4th August. Many persons expected that the latter would be Pope, others thought the election of Cardinal Forteguerri more probable. A Milanese Ambassador insists on the importance of the Turkish question in regard to the Election; he mentions the persons apparently best fitted to bring about its solution, in connection with the two parties, the Puschi and Pauleschi, already existing in the Sacred College. Of the former, he names in the first place, Forteguerri, then Eroli, Ammanati, and Roverella. Among the Pauleschi he looks upon Amicus Agnifilus and Francesco della Rovere as the most likely candidates.

The preponderance of the Italian element on this occasion was very remarkable. Of the eighteen electors, all but three (Bessarion, d'Estouteville, and Borgia) were Italians. The thirteen years which had elapsed since the Conclave Pius II had brought great changes, and the ascendancy of the foreign Cardinals was at an end. Foremost among the aspirants to the Tiara were Cardinals d'Estouteville and Orsini. The former eagerly endeavoured to secure the support of the powerful Duke of Milan. A confidential person was employed to inform him that his brother, Ascanio Sforza, would receive the red hat, and that he himself might be the wearer of a royal crown in the event of d'Estouteville's success. The wealthy Cardinal Orsini, a man of great capacity for business, was equally energetic in his efforts to obtain the supreme dignity. His brothers and relations had assembled in the neighbourhood of Rome, and it was reported that the former had determined to procure his elevation to the Papal Throne, whether by fair means or foul, and that the King of Naples favoured their design. The Ambassador of Mantua confirms this statement, and adds that Orsini, if his own cause seemed hopeless, would espouse that of Forteguerri and Eroli. Even before the beginning of the Conclave, serious differences occurred between Cardinals Orsini and Bessarion; the latter declared that he would not, under any circumstances, suffer the Election to be carried out in the same way as the last had been. Controversies also arose regarding the admission of Cardinals Savelli and Foscari, who had not yet been published. Orsini desired their exclusion, and his opinion prevailed.

On the morning of the 6th August, after the solemn obsequies of Paul II had been concluded, the Mass of the Holy Ghost was sung, and the College of Cardinals went in procession into the Conclave in the Vatican. There were seventeen present, and on the following day Cardinal Ammanati, who had been delayed by indisposition, was added to the number.

On the morning of the 9th August, Francesco della Rovere, Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, was elected Pope. As the Conclave had commenced on the feast of Pope Sixtus II, the new Pontiff assumed the name of Sixtus IV.

A number of fresh documents regarding the proceedings of the Conclave are now before us; they do much to complete the scanty details hitherto known, but leave some important matters still obscure. By far the most valuable of these are in the State Archives at Milan. They consist of two lists of the Electors, with an exact

account, on the one hand, of which candidate each Cardinal voted for, and on the other of the number of votes received by each, with the names of the voters.

The faithful and capable Nicodemus de Pontremoli managed to procure these lists for the Duke, his master, who had expressed a great desire for trustworthy Reports of the Conclave. The Ambassador himself was far from over-estimating their value, and, in order at the present day to appreciate them fairly, it is necessary to bear his observations in mind. After dwelling on the difficulty of obtaining these lists, he draws attention to the fact that most of the Cardinals in the Conclave voted for those whose votes they hoped by this means to win, and not for those whose Election they really desired; some few, he adds, reserved their votes to conceal secret engagements. According to these lists, which, unfortunately, do not enable us clearly to distinguish the several scrutinies, Roverella and Calandrini were at first seriously thought of in the Conclave, each of them receiving seven votes; Bessarion and Forteguerra followed next, each with six; d'Estouteville had only four in all, and Orsini but two. The same authority informs us that Cardinals Giovanni Michele, Teodoro of Montferrat, Battista Zeno, Roverella, Forteguerra, Agnifilius, Bessarion, Calandrini, and Orsini gave their votes for Francesco della Rovere; Borgia, d'Estouteville, and Barbo afterwards adding theirs.

The omission of the name of Cardinal Gonzaga from among the supporters of Rovere in the report of Nicodemus is very strange, for all the other accounts are unanimous in asserting that his Election was chiefly due to Orsini, Borgia, and Gonzaga, and that they were liberally rewarded for their share in securing it. Ample testimony exists in proof of the part taken by Cardinal Gonzaga. A Despatch from the Ambassador of Mantua to his mother details the reasons which had induced him to espouse the cause of Rovere. In the first place, there was the hope of winning the favour of the future Pope; secondly, Rovere was a person acceptable to the Duke of Milan; and thirdly, d'Estouteville had no prospect of success. Accordingly, says the Ambassador, our most gracious Lord Cardinal has taken the greatest trouble on behalf of Cardinal della Rovere, so that it may be said that he, more than any one, has made him Pope. His Holiness has shown his gratitude by confirming him in his appointment as Legate, and authorising him, if he chooses, to perform his duties by proxy. Moreover, the Abbey of S. Gregorio in Rome has been conferred on the Cardinal, and I believe that he will also have the Bishopric of Albano. The Ambassador then expressly says that the tenth vote for Rovere was given by Cardinal Gonzaga, the eleventh by Barbo, and the twelfth by d'Estouteville. The Duke of Milan's share in securing the election of Sixtus IV is confirmed by so many other authorities that we may look upon it as clearly established.

No mention, however, is made in the Ambassadorial Despatches of the part which, according to two chroniclers, the Franciscan Pietro Riario had in the election. Cardinal della Rovere brought him into the Conclave, where he was very useful to his patron in winning for him many undecided votes. The Election Capitulation, to observe which Sixtus IV was obliged solemnly to bind himself, is also only alluded to in these Despatches.

The election of Cardinal Francesco della Rovere caused great joy throughout Rome, especially, Nicodemus informs us, because the well-known piety and holiness of his life led all to hope that he would be an excellent Pastor for the Church and for the Christian Faith everywhere. Francesco, like Nicholas V, owed his elevation to the purple to his reputation as a learned theologian and a man of blameless life. He belonged to an ancient, but impoverished, Ligurian family, and was related to the Piedmontese Rovere, Lords of Vinovo. His father, Leonardo, lived in modest circumstances in the little village of Abezzola, not far from Savona. To escape from an infectious disease which broke out there, he and his wife, Luchina Monleone, migrated to Celle on the sea-coast, and here Francesco was born.

In consequence of his repeated sicknesses, Francesco's pious mother consecrated him by vow to St. Francis; and, in spite of the opposition of some worldly-minded relations, entrusted him, when nine years of age, to the care of the Minorite, Giovanni Pinarolo. Under the guidance of this excellent religious, the gifted boy learned to know and esteem the monastic life to which he was destined to devote himself. Later, he went to the High School of Chieri, and finally to the Universities of Pavia and Bologna, where he studied philosophy and theology. His talent for dialectics was displayed for the first time in the General Chapter of his Order held at Genoa when he was only twenty. On that occasion he acquitted himself so well in the Latin disputation, that the General, Guglielmo Casale, embraced him. After he had completed his philosophical and theological studies at Padua he undertook the duties of Professor, and taught with great success at Padua, Bologna, Pavia, Siena, Florence, and Perugia. The attendance at his lectures was so great that Johannes Argvropulos and Bonfrancesco Arlati subsequently declared that every learned man in Italy had been a disciple of Rovere's. Cardinal Bessarion is expressly mentioned as having been among his hearers, and ever after having held him in the greatest esteem. So much was this the case, that from that time he would not publish any of his works until the great Franciscan philosopher and theologian had revised and corrected them.

Francesco was also a distinguished preacher, and was, on many important occasions, a support to the General of his Order. He was afterwards called to fill the post of Procurator in Rome. When the General, Jacopo de Sarzuela, felt the burden of office too heavy for his advanced age, he chose Francesco as his Vicar for the whole of Italy, and made him Provincial of the Ligurian Province of the Order, where he was very successful in carrying out measures of monastic reform.

He won yet greater renown by the part which he took in the disputation regarding the Precious Blood, held in December, 1462, in the Vatican before Pius II. The learning and controversial ability which he then manifested doubtless had a share in bringing about his Election to the Generalate, at the great Chapter of the Franciscans held at Perugia in May, 1464. He at once determined vigorously to undertake the reform of his Order. A violent fever laid him low for a time, but did not hinder the accomplishment of his purpose. The skill and care of Ambrosius Grifus brought him safely through, and he hardly gave himself time to recover

before beginning the work of visitation and reformation in the Franciscan Convents and the educational establishments connected with them.

Francesco so ably defended the privileges of the Institute over which he presided that Pope Paul II abstained from the measures he had intended to take against the whole Order. A General Chapter was consequently held at Florence in 1467. In the summer, the General went to his home to recruit his health, which had been impaired by his sojourn in Rome; he then visited Pavia, and meant to proceed thence to Venice, and there to give theological lectures during the winter. He was ready to start on the journey, when, at the end of September, a letter from Cardinal Gonzaga, accompanied by another from Bessarion, informed him that he had been created Cardinal on the 18th September, 1467, by Paul II.

On the 15th November, 1467, the new member of the Sacred College reached Rome, where he received the red hat, and had S. Pietro in Vincoli assigned to him as his titular Church. The condition of the Cardinal's Palace adjoining this venerable Basilica was so dilapidated that Francesco was at once obliged to restore it, a work which his poverty would have rendered impossible, had it not been for the assistance of his colleagues. In the purple, the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, as he was styled, continued to be a simple Franciscan; in his house, which overlooked a great part of the ancient and of the modern City, questions of scholarship and ecclesiastical affairs were discussed, but no politics. Whatever leisure his new dignity allowed him was devoted to learned pursuits, and, during the four years of his Cardinalate, he published a number of works which brought him more and more into notice.

In the first place the Cardinal again took up the disputed question regarding the Precious Blood; his work on the subject, dedicated to Paul II, was printed in Rome in 1470, together with a treatise *On the power of God*. A philosophical and theological dispute in the University of Louvain was the occasion of a writing entitled *De futuris contingentibus*. A work on the Immaculate Conception bears witness to that devotion to the Blessed Virgin which continued unabated after his elevation to the Papal throne. With a view of composing the frequent disputes between the Dominicans and the brethren of his own Order, in which the one party appealed to Duns Scotus and the other to St. Thomas Aquinas, he endeavoured to show that the two authorities, although differing in words, were really of one mind. In the midst of these labours the voice of his colleagues summoned him, at the age of fifty-seven, to fill the Chair of St. Peter.

A portrait from the hand of his Court-painter, Melozzo da Forli, which is still preserved, represents the new Pope as a man of middle stature and strong, compact frame. The features are regular, the nose and forehead forming an oblique line, with a gentle curve between them. The powerful head impresses us with an idea of uncommon energy and force, which difficulties could not daunt; while the lines on the brow bear witness to a life of hard and unremitting toil.

Sixtus IV commenced his reign by conferring favours on the Cardinals, and in this proceeding formed such a contrast to his predecessor, that, as an Ambassador wrote, every one felt as if they were in a new world. In the first place, those who had

brought about his Election were rewarded. Cardinal Borgia received the Abbey of Subiaco *in commendam*, and Gonzaga that of S. Gregorio, while Orsini was made Camerlengo, and as such took the oath as early as the 12th August. The position of Legate to the Marches was promised to Cardinal Forteguerri, but report said that he declined it, preferring to remain at the Court; it was accordingly conferred on Roverella, and Ammanati was sent to Perugia.

On the 13th August the Pope gave a banquet to the Cardinals at St. Angelo. After its conclusion, the money and valuables collected by Paul II were inspected. Great interest was at this time felt regarding these treasures, which had hitherto been so carefully preserved, and, in conformity with the Election Capitulation, were to be expended on the cause of the Faith. The Pope and the Cardinals were occupied for the whole day in examining these precious stores. One of the Cardinals told the Duke of Milan's Ambassador that they had found, in the first place, fifty-four silver shells, filled with pearls, valued at 300,000 ducats. These were sealed up by all the Cardinals, and were to be sold to defray the expenses of the war with the Turks. Next were seen the jewels and the gold belonging to the two tiaras which Paul II meant to have had rearranged, worth about 300,000 ducats. A magnificent diamond, estimated at 7000 ducats, was pledged to Cardinal d'Estouteville for monies which he had advanced to the deceased Pontiff. The amount of gold, silver, jewels, precious objects, and other ornaments filled them with astonishment, and their value was deemed to be a million ducats. "But", the Ambassador adds, "the worth of these things depends on the opinion of those who will buy them". The money found amounted only to 7000 ducats, and was chiefly in the form of *carlini*. Deposits of 100,000, 60,000, 80,000, and 30,000 ducats were entered in a note laid up in a chest. The place where these sums were concealed could not at first be discovered; but their actual existence was certified by the fact that Paul II, in a Consistory held not long before his death, had spoken of half a million of ducats which he would expend on the war if the Christian Princes would undertake an expedition against the enemies of the Faith. All these treasures, which the new Pope had sworn not to touch, were sealed up by the Cardinals, and placed in the custody of the Castellan of St. Angelo.

After Sixtus IV had been consecrated Bishop, his solemn Coronation took place on Sunday, the 25th of August. The tribune where the Pope received the tiara of St. Gregory the Great from the hands of Cardinal Borgia was so lofty that all the people could witness the ceremony. According to ancient custom, he then proceeded to take possession of the Lateran. In the splendid procession were to be seen the Despot of the Morea and Skanderbeg's nephew. A tumult occurred in front of the Lateran; the Pope himself was in danger, and Cardinal Orsini had much difficulty in appeasing the excited populace. The impression made on Sixtus IV by this untoward event was such that he returned to the Vatican at the first hour of the night.

The letters by which the Pope made his elevation known to the temporal powers are dated on the day of his Coronation; in these he begs for the support of fervent prayers that he may rule the Church to the praise and glory of God, and the salvation of the people committed to his care.

When the tiara first rested on the brow of Sixtus IV the figure of Nicholas V, amongst his immediate predecessors, must have presented itself most vividly to his mind, for he also was a native of Liguria, and like Sixtus himself, but unlike Pius II and Paul II, had risen from a modest position. Again, he was by nature a scholar, and only after his elevation had developed the princely magnificence whose traces were visible wherever ruined Rome bore the aspect of a new city. That the new Pontiff should resolve to follow in his steps, and with the good fortune of the Rovere, to carry out the work begun by his energetic countryman, was but natural. But he had not the clear start from the first that Nicholas had. Nicholas V had been freely elected, his actions were untrammelled. Sixtus, in order to be elected, had permitted himself to be bound, and the conditions of the Papal power also had undergone a complete change in the interval.

In Italy itself the Apostolic See had no trustworthy friends. Sigismondo de' Conti tells us that the excessive obstinacy of Paul II had almost everywhere provoked distrust and hatred. The jealous fears of Italian politicians in presence of the increasing power of the States of the Church may have exercised a yet more potent influence. Sixtus IV at once sought to establish friendly relations on all sides. Under Paul II the disputes with Naples and Venice seemed to be interminable. Sixtus IV at once came to an understanding with these two powers, although at the cost of considerable sacrifice on his own part. Without any great trouble Ferrante obtained the satisfaction of seeing the rich Abbey of Monte Casino conferred upon his youthful son, while the Protonotary Rocha was made Archbishop of Salerno.

"This Pope evidently intends to be on good terms with every one", wrote the Marquess of Mantua's Ambassador, briefly describing the beginning of Sixtus IV's pontificate.

Before he had an idea of being Pope, or even Cardinal, Sixtus IV had had amicable relations with the Duke of Milan, and this in a measure explains the warm interest taken by Galeazzo Maria Sforza in promoting the election. After it had been carried, he was one of the first to congratulate the new Pope. Sixtus IV replied at once on the 16th of August by an autograph letter of the most flattering character. He began by recalling their former relations, praised the Duke's piety and devotion to the Holy See, of which he had given proof in the Romagna during the vacancy of the Chair of St. Peter, and finally assured him that his pontificate should bring the Duke nothing but happiness and blessing.

The bond between the new Pope and the Florentines was even closer. He looked upon the Medici, the patrons and friends of the modest Thomas of Sarzano, as his natural allies. This was made very apparent when the Florentine Embassy, headed by Lorenzo de' Medici, arrived in Rome to pay homage on behalf of the Republic. Its reception was most cordial and honourable. Two antique marble busts were presented to Lorenzo, and he was allowed to acquire gems and cameos from the collection of Paul II at a very moderate price. The Pope's confidence and good-will were also manifested in other very substantial ways. The financial affairs of the Papacy were confided to the Roman Bank of the Medici, by which arrangement a rich source of wealth was opened to Lorenzo and to his uncle

Giovanni Tornabuoni. Further concessions in regard to the alum works were granted to him. Emboldened by so many favours, the practical-minded Medici at last took courage to remark that he had but one desire unfulfilled, and that was to see a member of his family admitted into the Sacred College. To this request Sixtus IV also lent a favourable ear, for he was unwilling to refuse Lorenzo anything. The latter soon left the Eternal City, laden with all possible tokens of the Pope's goodwill, which was soon to be repaid with ingratitude.

For a time indeed Filippo de' Medici, Archbishop of Pisa, endeavoured to maintain good feeling between Florence and Rome. "The Pope has shown me such honour", he wrote on the 15th November, 1471, from Rome to Lorenzo de' Medici, "that a hundred tongues would fail me to express it. He told me to rest assured that I might dispose of Sixtus IV as I would. Had you not yourself been here I would write yet more particularly regarding His Holiness' affection for our house, but as you know it, I think it unnecessary".

On the 28th November the Venetian Envoys appeared in Rome. One of them, Bernardo Giustiniani, made an elaborate speech in the Pope's presence, the principal subject of which was the unspeakably deplorable condition of the East. It was not indeed necessary to remind Sixtus IV of this, for he had already turned his attention to the terrible danger with which the steady advance of Islam threatened Christian civilisation. He aimed at the formation of a league of the European powers, to be directed exclusively against the Turks. A great Congress was to carry the idea into effect. During the days which immediately followed his Election, it was rumoured that, in accordance with the Capitulation, the Pope intended as soon as possible to convene such an Assembly. Cardinal Gonzaga at the same time endeavoured to have his paternal city chosen as the place of meeting, and his proposal was favourably received, although Cardinal Orsini exerted himself on behalf of Florence. Piacenza and Pavia were also spoken of. On the 30th of August the matter was discussed in Consistory. Bessarion and others among the older Cardinals sought to deter the Pope from leaving Rome, and to induce him to hold the Congress in the Lateran; others again preferred Mantua or Pisa. No definite decision was yet arrived at. A letter was now received from the Emperor, who asked that Udine might be selected, but the Duke of Milan and other Italian Princes declared against this city. Sixtus IV accordingly proposed, first Mantua and then Ancona, but all in vain; the Princes neither understood nor sympathised with the aims of the Holy See, and all proposals were wrecked on the rocks of their indifference and private interests.

Sixtus IV was not as much distressed by this failure as he otherwise might have been, because at this moment a dangerous enemy was threatening Turkey in the rear. The Turcoman Prince, Usunhassan, with the hope of completely supplanting the Sultan, seemed disposed to make common cause with European Christendom. At the time of Sixtus IV's accession the conflict between Mahomet and Usunhassan in Caramania appeared to be tending to a great catastrophe, while the relations between Mocenigo, the Doge of Venice, and Usunhassan were such that they seemed only to need to be drawn a little closer to make the position of the Turks absolutely hopeless. The Turkish question might thus be said to have become

a matter of worldwide importance, and accordingly the Pope inaugurated his action in it with a certain magnificence.

On the 23rd December a Secret Consistory was held, and five Cardinals were appointed *Legates ad latere*, with the object, as the Consistorial Acts declare, of calling upon the whole Christian world to defend the Catholic Faith against the Turk, the enemy of the name of Jesus. Bessarion was sent to France, Burgundy, and England; Borgia to Spain, Angelo Capranica to Italy, and Marco Barbo to Germany, Hungary, and Poland, while Oliviero Carafa was to command the naval forces which were to be assembled with the assistance of the King of Naples.

A few days later the Pope issued a solemn Bull, in which he described the Turkish preparations for the conquest of Christendom, and called on the powers to take common measures of defence. The aged Bessarion was certainly the most worthy of all the Legates. Although he feared that the burden would be beyond his strength, yet in the hope of being able, at least, to effect something, he had resolved to accept it. On the 20th April, 1472, he left Rome, but instead of directly proceeding to France, he remained some time longer in Italy. According to Ammanati, he lingered from dread of undertaking the arduous task; other accounts attribute his delay to the fact that Louis XI kept him waiting a long time for a letter of safe conduct. When once he had received it, he travelled as rapidly as his infirm health permitted. On the 15th August he wrote from Saumur to the French King, exhorting him to peace, and, on the same day, he also sent letters to the Dukes of Brittany and Burgundy.

Shortly before this time an understanding had been arrived at, by direct negotiations with Rome, in regard to the abnormal condition of ecclesiastical affairs in France, but this agreement met with violent opposition in some quarters. There can be no doubt that the Greek Cardinal touched on these matters in his interviews with the King. He also tried to obtain the release of La Balue, but his efforts proved unsuccessful, as did also those which he made to reconcile the French Monarch with Charles the Bold of Burgundy, and to win him for the Crusade. Sick and disheartened, he started on his homeward journey. When he reached Ravenna, his illness assumed a dangerous character, fever came on and soon consumed the little strength which yet remained to him, and on the 18th November, 1472, he died. His mortal remains were borne to Rome, where they arrived on the 3rd December, and were deposited in the Church of the Holy Apostles. Sixtus IV was present at the obsequies.

Cardinal Borgia, who had been appointed Legate for the whole of Spain and the neighbouring islands, was not more successful in advancing the cause of the Crusade. On the 15th May, 1472, he went to Ostia, there to embark for his native land. His task was no easy one, for the Peninsula was at this time in a state of great agitation and disorder. Ammanati speaks most unfavourably of Borgia's proceedings in Spain. He says that he showed himself everywhere vain, luxurious, ambitious, and greedy. Yet, in a letter which is still extant, this same Ammanati writes to Borgia in the most flattering terms, and praises the way in which he had carried out his Spanish mission. Such a writer has no claim to our credit. It is, however, extremely probable that Borgia considered a Cardinal Legate as a very

important person, and acted accordingly; in fact, treated his countrymen to a considerable amount of Spanish pride. A recent historian, by no means prejudiced in Borgia's favour, speaks of the discharge of his diplomatic duties in terms which form a complete contrast to Ammanati's account. "The Legate", he says, "had, as far as lay in his power, fulfilled his mission to Spain. It was time for him to return to Rome, and render an account to the Pope of the state of things which he had found on his arrival, of that which prevailed during his sojourn in the country, and of the result of his efforts. Matters had certainly improved in Aragon; in Castille the situation depended on factors which were entirely beyond the sphere of a Legate's authority, and which were working themselves out independently of him. His task was fulfilled when he had done what he could in helping to direct affairs along the only path which could lead to peace and quiet".

On the 11th September, 1473, Cardinal Borgia made his will, and began his return journey. Off the coast of Pisa he encountered a fearful storm; one of his galleys sank before his eyes, and the ship in which he himself sailed almost met the same fate. More than 200 of his suite were drowned, and amongst them three Bishops; the loss of property was estimated at 30,000 florins, and was aggravated by the depredations of wreckers on the coast.

There can be no doubt that the task entrusted to Cardinal Barbo was undoubtedly the most difficult of all, while at the same time the most important, for, with regard to the Turkish war, nothing was more indispensable than the aid of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia, and these were involved in almost hopeless discord. Barbo's zeal is evidenced by the fact that he left Rome on the 21st February, 1472, his instructions directing him to proceed in the first place to the Emperor. Until the autumn of 1474, the Cardinal Legate's labours in Germany, Poland, and Bohemia were unremitting. Even those who judge him most severely, highly praise his persevering efforts for the restoration of peace; success, however, was not granted him. The internal dissensions of the European nations had reached such a pitch that it was beyond the power of any individual to allay them. Frederick III, who, from the point of view of that day, was the natural leader, was extremely slow in his decisions, especially in cases where a pecuniary sacrifice was in question. Unbounded egotism prevailed among laity and clergy; their attitude towards the great danger in the East was one of almost absolute indifference.

Sixtus IV, however, did not permit the indifference of the great European powers to damp his zeal in regard to the war. During the earlier months of 1472 he was engaged in negotiations for the restoration of peace in Italy, and particularly in the equipment of galleys. Repeated letters were addressed to all the Faithful, urging them to contribute towards these warlike preparations; and at the same time the Pope made repeated efforts to awaken the interest of individual Princes in the cause.

Sixtus IV was all the more dependent on extraneous contributions for the naval preparations on account of the deplorable state in which he found the Papal finances at his accession. The general belief that Paul II had left large sums of money had soon proved to be a delusion. Treasure and jewels were not wanting, but of actual coin there was not more than 7000, or, according to other accounts,

5000 florins. The Cardinal-Camerlengo put the officials of the Treasury in prison, but nothing could be extracted from them. Creditors of previous Popes took the opportunity of coming forward and demanding payment. Sixtus IV had to sell many of the gems and works of art, handed down by his predecessors, to satisfy them. Some few of the Cardinals, amongst them d'Estouteville, now presented old claims.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the arming of the fleet proceeded. The account-books show that in 1471-72 144,000 golden ducats in all were devoted by Sixtus IV. to this object. A treaty was entered into with Venice and Naples, in accordance with which both these States equipped a fleet for the war. The Pope himself furnished twenty-four galleys and 4700 soldiers, who embarked at once on the Adriatic. Four ships came up the Tiber for Cardinal Carafa. On the Feast of Corpus Christi, the 28th May, 1472, he sang a solemn High Mass at St. Peter's, in presence of the Pope and the whole Court. Sixtus IV then blessed the banners for the fleet, which were presented to him on his throne by the Ambassadors. In the afternoon, a new and unwonted spectacle was witnessed; the Pope on horseback, accompanied by all the Cardinals, went in procession from the Vatican to the ships, which lay at anchor in the Tiber below S. Paolo. Sixtus went on board the Legate's galley, and, from a platform at the stern, blessed the ships, the commanders with their followers, and the crews. He then bestowed a farewell embrace upon his lieutenant, and left him in the ship, himself returning to the Vatican as the sun was declining.

The Cardinal-Admiral Carafa is described as a man "of resolute character and full of good-will". He went by way of Naples, where he was most honourably received, to Rhodes. Having appeased some internal dissensions among the Knights of St. John, he joined the Neapolitan and Venetian ships. The whole fleet now numbered eighty-seven galleys, to which were added two from Rhodes. In a Council of War, it was determined that an attack should, in the first instance, be made on the port of Satalia on the coast of Caramania. The southern coast of Asia Minor was selected, on account of the alliance which existed between the Caramanian Princes and Usunhassan, who was also on very friendly terms with the Venetians, and with the Pope. Another reason for commencing operations here was the opportunity it afforded for showing the strength of the Crusaders' fleet to their Asiatic allies. The chains which defended the harbour of Satalia were burst, and serious injury was inflicted on the Turks by the destruction of its rich warehouses and suburbs, but the city proper, with its strong fortifications, successfully resisted the attack. Jealousies between Naples and Venice soon reached such a point that the Neapolitan fleet returned home, yet it was resolved that the war should be carried on. The wealthy city of Smyrna was taken by surprise. Carafa wished to preserve it as an important basis of operations, but the Venetians were of a different opinion, and it was given up to plunder, and then set on fire. This dispute broke up the friendly relations which had existed between the Papal forces and their Venetian allies, and, when winter began, the fleet of the Republic retired to the harbours of Modone and Napoli di Romania, while Carafa returned to Italy. On the 23rd January, 1473, he made his entrance into Rome, bringing with him a number of Turkish prisoners on camels. The Cardinal hung up portions of the

broken harbour-chain of Satalia on the door of St. Peter's; these trophies are now placed over the entrance which leads to the Archives of the Basilica.

Carafa's successor as Legate, Lorenzo Zane, Archbishop of Spalatro, and a Venetian by birth, sailed with ten galleys for the East at the end of April, 1473; he was not able to do anything, and Usunhassan's defeat at Terdschan (26th July, 1473) gave a decided advantage to the Turks. Moreover, the Venetian Commander, Mocenigo, held aloof from the Papal Legate, fearing that the latter would frustrate his designs on Cyprus.

Hopes had been entertained that the marriage of Princess Zoe, niece of the last Byzantine Emperor, with the Russian Grand Duke, Ivan III., would enlist a new champion for the Crusade, and bring about the reunion of the Russian with the Roman Church. These hopes were doomed to disappointment. On the 25th May, 1472, Sixtus IV. had received the Russian Ambassadors in Secret Consistory, and, on the 1st June, Zoe, who was acknowledged by her contemporaries to be the legitimate heiress to the Byzantine throne, was married by proxy to the Grand Duke. What took place on this occasion, in regard to the question of religion, is not clear, but Rome was probably deceived by fair promises. The Pope gave the Princess rich presents and the sum of 6000 ducats, provided for her a suitable escort, and sent letters of recommendation to the different States through which she was to pass on her journey to the North.

The Greek Princess left Rome on the 24th June, 1472; everywhere, both in Italy and in Germany, the Pope's letters procured for her a brilliant reception. His kindness was but ill repaid, for, from the moment she set foot on Russian soil, she showed herself a schismatic. On her entry into Moscow (12th November), the Papal Legate who accompanied her was only admitted into the city *in incognito*, for it was feared that his public appearance with his cross would imply an acknowledgment of the Pope's Supremacy. The new Grand Duchess completely conformed to the Orthodox Church.

Four years later, we again hear of negotiations between Sixtus IV. and the Russian Grand Duke, who was then seeking to obtain the Crown. Poland at the time dreaded the consequences of their success, and worked against the Union which it had supported at Kiev. Michael Drucki, the Metropolitan of that place, had, with the consent of his clergy, sent an Embassy with a letter to the Pope, expressly acknowledging his Primacy; and his successor, Simeon, is said to have been in favour of Union.

CHAPTER II.

RAPID ELEVATION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILIES OF LA ROVERE AND RIARIO.—THE CARDINAL OF SAN SISTO.

THE admirable energy with which, in the earlier years of his pontificate, Sixtus IV devoted himself to the defense of Christendom, is, in great measure, clouded by the extravagance with which, from the moment of his accession, he heaped favours upon his numerous, and, in many instances, unworthy relations.

Foremost among his kindred appear the sons of his brother Raffaello, Giuliano, Bartolomeo, and Giovanni della Rovere, of whom the first two embraced the ecclesiastical state, while Giovanni remained in the world, and, under Federigo of Montefeltre, studied the art of war. Lionardo, who afterwards became City Prefect, was the son of Bartolomeo della Rovere, another brother of the Pope's.

Three sisters of the Pope had respectively married into the families of Riario, Basso, and Giuppo; and from these marriages sprang a number of descendants, "over all of whom the oak spread its branches, so that the golden fruit fell into their laps". Bianca della Rovere, the wife of Paolo Riario, had two sons, Pietro and Girolamo, and one daughter, Violante; Violante married Antonio Sansoni and was mother of Cardinal Raffaello Riario Sansoni, well-known in connection with the Pazzi conspiracy. Luchina, the Pope's next sister, had, by her marriage with Giovanni Guglielmo Basso, five sons, Girolamo, Antonio, Francesco, Guglielmo, and Bartolomeo, and a daughter, Mariola. Antonio was a man of pure and blameless life; and in 1479 he espoused a relation of the King of Naples. The christian name of the Pope's third sister, who married Pietro Giuppo, is not known; a fourth, Franchetta, is mentioned as married to Bartolomeo Armoino, and dying in 1485.

A new epoch for his kindred began with the elevation of Francesco della Rovere to the Throne of St. Peter. As early as the autumn of 1471, we find three of his nephews in the Papal service. In the following spring, two of his sisters, probably Bianca and Luchina, migrated to Rome, where Sixtus IV had prepared for them a suitable dwelling. The arrival of the other relations was not long delayed.

All the members of the Ligurian colony which assembled around the Pope well understood how to take advantage of the fact that "Sixtus did not know the value of money, and, having grown up from his youth in a mendicant Order, gave with full hands as long as he had anything to give". These relations, who had mostly been in very needy circumstances and humble positions, in the course of

a few years found themselves in the enjoyment of wealth, and of ecclesiastical and temporal dignities such as hitherto they had never dreamed of.

Sixtus IV had not occupied the Papal throne for many months before two of his youthful nephews, Giuliano della Rovere and Pietro Riario, were admitted into the Sacred College. The Pope was deeply indebted to Paolo Riario of Savona, the father of the last-named young man. Leone Cobelli, in his Chronicle of Forli, has recorded some interesting particulars regarding their earlier relations. A certain Franceschino of Savona, he tells us, of the Order of the Minorites, was studying in that town, and was on very friendly terms with Paolo Riario. Paolo, a worthy and benevolent man, observing the young monk's love of learning, resolved to receive him into his house, and to support him. Franceschino accordingly instructed the sons of his patron, and was enabled by the latter to complete his own education. This generous assistance could not have been better bestowed, for the needy student became one of the best professors in his Order. In the fullness of his gratitude to Paolo Riario, Franceschino said to him : "I well know that to you, after God, I owe it that I have become what I am; I will show myself grateful; let me have your son Pietro for my son: I will give him the best possible education, and make a notable man of him". Paolo gladly consented; Francesco clothed his *protégé* with the Franciscan habit, and showed him the greatest kindness. When a Cardinal, he took Fra Pietro with him to Rome, where he is said to have played an important part in the Conclave. Almost immediately after his accession, Sixtus IV bestowed on Pietro an Abbey on the Franco-German frontier, with a yearly income of 1000 ducats, and the Bishopric of Treviso. But he was destined ere long to mount yet higher.

In the second week of December, 1471, it was reported that the Pope was about to create new Cardinals; that he purposed to make an alteration in the Election Capitulation, and meant to elevate his two young nephews to the purple. Sooner than had been expected, these anticipations were realized.

On the 16th December, 1471, a Consistory was held, and Pietro Riario, aged twenty-five, and Giuliano della Rovere, aged twenty-eight, were created Cardinals, though not immediately published. To the former was assigned, as his title, on the 22nd December, the Church of S. Sisto, while Giuliano received that of S. Pietro in Vincoli, previously held by Sixtus IV himself. On the following day, although not yet published, both of the young Cardinals appeared with the Red Hat, a thing which the Marquess of Mantua's Ambassador mentions as hitherto unheard-of.

The promotion of these two nephews afforded to those who had not approved of the first acts of Sixtus IV, and had deemed themselves overlooked, a welcome occasion for angry and injurious comments. Cardinal Ammanati speaks of the elevation of two youths, now for the first time brought out of obscurity, and altogether inexperienced, as an act of imbecility. "He declaimed against the nepotism of La Rovere, quite forgetting that his own patron, Pius II, had been far from blameless in this particular".

This first creation of Cardinals by Sixtus IV was certainly an infringement of the Election Capitulation, but the uncertain position of the new Pope, surrounded as he was on all sides by experienced, influential, and skilful prelates, who desired to use him as a tool for their own selfish designs, justifies this step, to which Bessarion lent his approval and aid. Sixtus IV, to ensure his independence, required the support of trustworthy coadjutors, whose energies should be absolutely at his disposal.

Giuliano della Rovere was certainly the most remarkable of the two nephews. Even at an early age he gave evidence of those qualities which rendered his long and brilliant career so distinguished alike in the political history of Italy and in the annals of intellectual culture. If, like others, he profited by the abuse which had now become a system, and allowed numerous Bishoprics and Abbeys to be conferred upon a single individual, with the sole object of enriching him; if his uncle made him Archbishop of Avignon and of Bologna, Bishop of Lausanne, Coutances, Viviers, Mende, and finally of Ostia and Velletri, and Abbot of Nonantola and Grottaferrata, heaping benefice after benefice upon him, Giuliano manifested in the expenditure of his income, and in his whole manner of living, a prudence and seriousness which contrasted favourably with the conduct of many other prelates. If his moral character was not unblemished, his outward demeanour was always becoming, and, immediately after his elevation to the purple, he began to devote that attention to the fine arts, and especially to architecture, which won for him lasting renown. The serious character of his other studies, although they were mostly directed to secular subjects, contributed to develop those exceptional abilities of which his labours in later life gave such signal proof, and which had begun to manifest themselves even during the pontificate of Sixtus IV.

Giuliano della Rovere was born on the 5th December, 1443, at Albizzola, near Savona, where his parents were living in very poor circumstances. Having entered the Franciscan Order, he pursued his studies at Perugia. Sixtus IV, even while a Cardinal, treated him with exceptional favour. The grave and resolute character of this nephew justly inspired him with confidence. Like himself, he had been trained in the strict discipline and privations of the monastic life, and there had been an almost constant interchange of thought between them. Giuliano's appearance was striking. Melozzo da Forlì's fresco of Sixtus IV, surrounded by his Court, appointing Platina Librarian of the Vatican, represents his tall figure, his face in profile, looking down upon his uncle with great dark eyes full of seriousness and dignity. He wears the purple cape, lined with ermine. His black hair is surmounted by a bright coloured skull-cap. The round head, with its angular cheek-bones, and the firmly closed mouth betoken the man of deeds, who wastes no words, but acts.

Pietro Riario was a very different character. He was intelligent and cultivated, courteous, witty, cheerful, and generous, but his good qualities were counterbalanced by a lust of power, a boundless ambition and pride, and a love of luxury, which rendered him utterly unworthy of the purple. Unfortunately, Sixtus IV fostered these faults by lavishing rich benefices on him, even more

abundantly than on the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli. The Archbishopric of Florence, which had so lately been held by a Saint, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Abbey of S. Ambrogio, and a number of Bishoprics were soon concentrated in the hands of this young man. His yearly revenues before long exceeded 60,000 golden florins; but even this sum was far from satisfying his requirements, for Riario, transformed in one night from a mendicant friar into a Croesus, plunged into the maddest excesses. The Cardinal, says Platina, set himself to collect together unheard-of quantities of gold and silver plate, costly raiment, hangings and carpets, splendid horses, and a multitude of servants in scarlet and silk. He patronized young poets and painters, and delighted in contriving and carrying out pageants and tournaments on the most magnificent scale. He gave extravagant banquets to some of the Ambassadors, and to Leonora, daughter of the King of Naples. He was very generous to scholars, and to the poor. Moreover, he began a palace in the vicinity of the Church of the Holy Apostles, the extensive foundations of which bespoke a colossal superstructure. He seemed to vie with the ancients in pomp and grandeur—and, it may be added, in vices. All morality was openly defied by this upstart. Instead of the habit of St. Francis, he went about in garments laden with gold, and adorned his mistress from head to foot with costly pearls.

The ostentation of Cardinal Riario, says Ammanati, surpassed anything that our children will be able to credit, or that our fathers can remember.

The Reports of Ambassadors then in Rome show that Ammanati's expressions were not exaggerated; the Ambassadors of the Duke of Milan seem unable to say enough of the brilliant tournaments and the rich banquets given by the Cardinal, especially during the Carnival.

Great astonishment was excited by a feast to which Riario invited four Cardinals, all the Ambassadors, and several prelates on the 1st February, 1473. The sons of the Despot of the Morea, the City Prefect, and the Pope's nephews, Girolamo and Antonio, also took part in it. The walls of the dining-hall were adorned with precious tapestry; in the middle, on an elevated platform, was a table where the so-called King of Macedonia sat, in splendid robes, and attended by four Counsellors and an interpreter. At the left of this platform was the Cardinal's table, to which those of the guests were joined; there were two sideboards laden with silver, and a multitude of torches made a blaze of light. The feast lasted fully three hours. Before every course the seneschal appeared on horse-back to the sound of music, and each time in a fresh costume. The banquet was followed by a Moorish dance and other pastimes. At its conclusion, came a Turkish Ambassador, bearing credentials, and accompanied by an interpreter; who complained that Cardinal Riario had bestowed on the King of Macedon a kingdom which belonged to the Turks, and threatened that unless he gave up his usurped insignia, war should be declared. The Cardinal and the King replied that they would let the matter be decided by arms. Accordingly, on the following day, the combat took place in the square before the Church of the Holy Apostles, and the Turk—being taken captive by Usunhassan the King of Macedon's General—was led through the streets of Rome in fetters.

Before the year was over, Riario again gave an entertainment on a yet larger scale, surpassing in mad extravagance anything that the sumptuous age of the Renaissance had yet produced. The occasion for this further display was the passage through Rome of Leonora, the daughter of the King of Naples, on her way to her husband, Ercole of Ferrara.

On the 5th June, 1473, after a short rest at Marino, Leonora approached the walls of Rome. Ercole's brothers, Sigismondo and Alberto, together with many nobles from Ferrara and Naples, accompanied her. Cardinals Carafa and Ausio, and several Prelates, awaited her arrival at the third milestone from the City, and conducted her to the Lateran, where she partook of some refreshment, and venerated the holy relics. Meanwhile, the Pope's two favoured nephews, Pietro Riario and Giuliano della Rovere, had come to bid her welcome, and, escorted by them, the Princess proceeded to the residence of the Cardinal of S. Sisto by the Church of the Holy Apostles, where preparations for her reception had been made in a style of unprecedented magnificence. In the square before the Church, Riario had caused to be erected a splendid house constructed of wood, rivalling the Palaces of ancient times. It had three halls, with wreathed pillars, surmounted by a rich frieze, on which the arms of the Pope, the Cardinal, and the Duke of Ferrara were hung. The open sides of these halls looked into the court, which, on its fourth side, was closed by a stage prepared for the theatrical representations which were to be given. In the middle of the court were two fountains, supplied with water from the roof of the Basilica. The whole open space was protected by an awning from the rays of the sun. Five spacious sleeping rooms for the Princess and her ladies opened into the first hall. The gentlemen of her suite were accommodated in fourteen chambers, similarly opening into that of the opposite wing. The middle hall, looking across to the stage, was in front of the Church over against its portico. Externally, the edifice was painted to resemble stone; within, the walls, ceilings, and floors were covered with gold-embroidered carpets and precious tapestries and stuffs, so that the wood-work nowhere appeared.

The banqueting-hall of this palace was kept cool by means of three bellows, out of sight, and here was to be seen the marvellous tapestry, representing the creation of the world, made by order of Pope Nicholas V, and believed to be unequalled in Christendom. This masterpiece of art was afterwards hopelessly lost. The luxury of the interior was indescribable; silk, damask, and gold brocade were lavished in reckless profusion; even the meanest vessels were made of pure silver and gilt! However highly we may estimate the extravagance of the age, such senseless prodigality must necessarily have given cause for scandal and offence.

On Whit-Sunday, after the Mass at St. Peter's, the Princess, attired with dazzling splendour, was received by the Pope, and in the afternoon the History of Susanna was represented by a Florentine troupe.

On Whit-Monday, Riario gave a banquet in her honour, which, in its sumptuous and unreasonable luxury, recalled the heathen days of Imperial Rome. If the silk-clad servants, and the splendid decoration of the hall, the great

sideboard, with its twelve epergnes and masses of silver plate, was enough to astonish the guests, the feast itself was even more marvellous. Before its commencement, sweetmeats, oranges encrusted with sugar, and malvoisie were offered to the company, and then rose-water for the hands. The guests took their places at the table to the sound of trumpets and fifes. Only ten persons sat at the principal table with Leonora, eight belonging to her suite, her host and Girolamo Riario. The banquet lasted six whole hours; there were three courses, during which forty-four dishes were served; amongst them were stags roasted whole and in their skins, goats, hares, calves, herons, peacocks with their feathers, and finally, a bear with a staff in his jaws. Most of the dishes were for show, the bread was gilt, the fish and other viands were brought to table overlaid with silver. The sweets and confectionery were countless, and all sorts of artistic shapes. Amongst other devices, the labours of Hercules were represented the size of life; and a mountain with a gigantic and apparently living serpent. Sugar fortresses, with towers and citadels from which banners waved, were borne in and thrown amongst the people from the balcony. Ten great ships sailed in, made of confectionery and laden with sugared almonds, which, in allusion to the arms of the Rovere, were shaped like acorns. Next came the triumph of Venus, drawn in a chariot by swans, then a mountain from which a man emerged and expressed his astonished admiration of the banquet. Allegorical figures also appeared during the feast, amongst others, a youth who sang verses in Latin, and announced: "At the command of the Father of the Gods I am come, and bring you joyful news: Envy us no longer the festivals of our Heaven, for Jupiter himself is a guest at your board".

Towards the end of the entertainment a ballet was danced on a stage by ancient heroes with their mistresses; while it was going on, ten Centaurs suddenly burst in upon the scene, with little wooden shields and clubs, and were driven away by Hercules. Bacchus, and also Andromeda, were represented, and "other things", says a writer belonging to the Princess's suite, "which I do not remember or did not understand, as I was not a proficient in Humanistic studies".

Leonora received many costly gifts from Sixtus IV and the Cardinals; she remained in Rome until the 10th June. Other spectacles, of a more Christian character, were provided in her honour, forming a striking contrast to the mythological representations we have described.

The splendid reception of the Neapolitan Princess had, in part, a political object; it was intended to make the alliance between the Pope and Ferrante evident to the world. This agreement had cost the Pope considerable sacrifices, but it put an end to a ceaseless series of disputes, and, for a time, delivered the Apostolic See from apprehensions which had caused much distress to Paul II. A family connection was to confirm the alliance with Naples. In the spring of 1472, on the death of Antonio Colonna, Lionardo della Rovere had become City Prefect. Soon afterwards, he married a natural daughter of Ferrante, and Sora, Arpino, and other territories were bestowed on the newly-married couple. Both outwardly and inwardly, Lionardo was so poorly gifted that he was the laughingstock of the

Romans. Thus the union was anything but an attractive one. In order to bring it about, Sixtus IV renounced his right of sovereignty over Sora, and Ferrante agreed to invest Rovere with that fief.

Not satisfied with what he had already obtained, the Neapolitan Monarch now brought forward the question of the feudatory tribute, and, in this matter also, Sixtus IV showed himself exceedingly complaisant, remitting the whole tribute, together with all other debts. The King, in return, bound himself to send a white horse yearly to Rome, in recognition of the tenure of his fief, to take part in the war against the Turks, to defend the coasts of the States of the Church against pirates, and, if necessary, to support the Pope, at his own expense, with an armed force. Platina admits that this agreement was disapproved of by many. Sixtus IV, in writing to the Duke of Milan, quotes the advice of the Cardinals and the intention of Pius II in justification of his renunciation of territory, adding that the fief had brought the Church more trouble than gain, and that the Duke himself had advised the measure.

After this beginning, a crafty diplomatist like Ferrante too clearly perceived the advantages promised by the alliance with the Pope to refrain from making use of it for his own ends. In the spring it was evident that nothing would come of the Italian League. The King soon succeeded in rendering the negotiations with the agents of the different States, who had come to Rome, ineffectual, and lost no time in writing to inform the Milanese of the dissolution of the compact between him and them.

This disturbance of the relations between Milan and Naples was extremely disagreeable to the Pope, who earnestly endeavoured to prevent a breach between the two powers. He had reason to hope for success, from the fact that his relations with Milan, which had always been good, had of late been drawn yet closer. Platina informs us that, either from jealousy at Rovere's elevation to the post of City Prefect and to the Dukedom of Sora, or else in obedience to the wishes of the Lord of Milan, the Cardinal of S. Sisto had exerted himself to promote the betrothal of his brother Girolamo with Sforza's grand-niece, the daughter of Conrad of Cotignola. Girolamo had hitherto been a grocer, or, some say, a public scrivener in Savona. The little town of Bosco was now purchased for him at the price of 14,000 golden florins. Riario even went so far as to have Cardinal Giuliano's youthful brother secretly conveyed from Pavia to Rome, because Galeazzo Maria Sforza had cast his eyes upon him, and expressed a wish that this nephew of the Pope's should be connected with his family by marriage. When Giovanni della Rovere so suddenly disappeared from Pavia, Galeazzo changed his plans. The Countess of Cotignola made difficulties about the dowry, with the result that this alliance was relinquished, and Girolamo Riario married instead Caterina Sforza, a natural daughter of the Duke, and was made Count of Bosco.

Meanwhile, all danger of war between Milan and Naples had ceased. On the 22nd June, the Pope had urged the Duke to keep on good terms with the King of Naples, assuring him that in no way could he give him greater pleasure. On the

17th July, he was able to express his satisfaction to Galeazzo in learning that he meant, for the future, to preserve amicable relations with Naples.

Cardinal Riario was now in the fullest enjoyment of the favour of the Pope. He seemed, says a contemporary, able to do whatever he wished. A chronicler speaks of him as being the first among the Cardinals, having the complete control of the Papal treasure, and the Pope himself entirely in his hands. Not the reserved, brusque Giuliano, but the versatile and agreeable Pietro was the one to conduct all negotiations, and, with undeniable skill, to assist Sixtus IV, who had little experience in diplomacy, in all the more important business of the State. The influence of the Cardinal of S. Sisto had in a very short time become so great that he was feared, not only by the Cardinals, but even by Sixtus IV. himself, to whom nothing but the Papal dignity seemed left, while all real power was in the hands of the favourite.

The year 1473 was one of trouble for Sixtus IV. In February he was attacked by an illness, in consequence of which he spent the hot season on the airy heights of Tivoli. All through the summer he was harassed by political anxieties. In May, tidings came that the Duke of Milan had sold Imola to the Florentines for 100,000 florins, and, at the same time, he heard that the Hungarians had entered into an agreement with the Turks, and meant to attack the Venetians in Dalmatia. The last of these reports was false, but the first proved correct.

The Pope was greatly, and very reasonably, disturbed by the sale of Imola. Neither he nor Ferrante could calmly witness the extension of Florentine domination into the Romagna, which would introduce relations of a very different order from those maintained with the small existing dynasties. Moreover, the measure was also unwelcome, because it would obviously tend to stimulate the desire of Venice for further annexations. On the 16th of May, a Brief of admonition and complaint was addressed to the Duke of Milan, informing him that the Pope would not, on any account, permit the sale of Imola. This declaration was repeated in Papal Missives to Florence itself, to the King of Naples, and to the Bolognese. A week later, Sixtus IV again begged the Duke to revoke the sale of this city, which belonged to the Church. "O my son!" he writes, in concluding his letter, "listen to your father's counsel; depart not from the Church, for it is written : Whoever separates himself from thee, must perish". Shortly afterwards, on the 6th June, another Brief was written to the Duke, who had meanwhile expressed his willingness to comply with the Pope's desire. The importance attached by Sixtus IV to the matter is manifested by the fact that he again wrote with his own hand.

On this occasion the Pope obtained all that he wished. Galeazzo Maria Sforza restored Imola to the Holy See for the sum of 40,000 ducats, and, with the consent of the Cardinals, Sixtus IV conferred it as a fief upon Girolamo Riario.

There can be no doubt that these circumstances were connected with the tour through Italy which Cardinal Riario undertook, in the middle of the summer of 1473, as Legate for the whole of that country. The commencement of this

journey was far from propitious. The Cardinal's efforts to compose the party strife in Umbria were unsuccessful. Spoleto and Perugia refused to obey his commands. The Legate indignantly turned to Gubbio, whither he had summoned the petty princes of the Flaminian and Pisan territory to meet him; but Niccolo Vitelli, who was practically tyrant of Città di Castello, answered his invitation by saying that he was a private individual, and a simple burgess of his native city; an assembly of Princes in no way concerned him, as he had never coveted so high a title. Thus the Legate was mocked, and the competency of his tribunal denied. The immediate punishment of the refractory Vitelli being impossible, Riario proceeded to Florence, to take possession of his Archiepiscopal See, amid great festivities. On the 12th September he entered Milan. The Duke received him with royal honours, conducted him in triumph to the Cathedral, and then to the Castle, where, as if he had been the Pope himself, apartments were given him, and the keys of the Citadel delivered to him each night. In the negotiations which ensued, the Cardinal succeeded in securing the favour of the Duke for himself. Report, moreover, spoke of a compact then entered into, by virtue of which the Pope was to make the Duke of Milan King of Lombardy, and give him possession of all the cities and provinces appertaining to this dignity. The Duke, in return, it was said, promised to help Cardinal Riario to obtain the Tiara. It was even asserted that, on his return to Rome, the Pope would resign the Chair of St. Peter in favour of his nephew!

From Milan, Riario proceeded by way of Mantua and Padua to Venice, where further festivities awaited him. By the end of October he was again in Rome. Soon afterwards Sixtus IV thanked the Duke of Milan for his splendid reception of Riario, and confirmed the arrangements entered into by the latter.

Two months more brought the scandalous life and ambitious projects of the Pope's nephew to an end. In the third week of December, 1473, Riario was attacked by a violent fever; on the 5th January, 1474, he was a corpse. Venetian poison was spoken of by some, but the statement of other contemporaries, who say that the Cardinal, though only eight and twenty years of age, fell a victim to his own excesses, is more probable. The Report of a Milanese Ambassador also informs us that Riario was converted before his end, received the holy Sacraments, and died truly penitent.

All Rome wept with Sixtus IV over the untimely death of the pomp-loving Cardinal. The feeling of the people is expressed by the Senatorial Secretary, Infessura, who says: "Our delightful feasts all came to an end, and every one lamented the death of Riario". In the short period of his cardinalate he had squandered 200,000, or, according to some accounts, 300,000 golden florins, and the debts which he left amounted to 60,000 florins. Justice, however, requires us to add that Riario had also spent some of his wealth on noble objects. "In his love of splendour we trace the taste of the period for that artistic embellishment of existence, without which the temporal rulers of the day, even the wildest and most warlike of them, deemed it impossible to live. "During his sojourn at his Palace of the Holy Apostles", continues Melozzo da Forli's biographer, "his love of the fine arts was evidenced by the way in which he

attracted to himself, and gathered into his service, all the talent that Rome afforded". This account is confirmed by the statement of a Roman scholar, who, after a thorough investigation of the subject, asserts that every poet at that time living in Rome has commemorated the Cardinal as a patron of talent. The funeral discourse pronounced at his obsequies makes mention of the valuable library which he was preparing to establish in his Palace, and also his restorations and embellishments of churches at Treviso, Milan, Pavia, and Rome.

CHAPTER III.

CHRISTIAN, KING OF DENMARK AND NORWAY, AND FEDERIGO OF URBINO IN ROME.— THE LEAGUE OF THE 2ND NOVEMBER, 1474.

SIXTUS IV consoled himself more quickly than had been expected for the death of his beloved nephew. For a few days he gave himself up to his sorrow, no one, not even the Cardinals, being admitted to his presence; but on the 10th January, 1474, the Mantuan Ambassador was able to inform the Marchioness that the Pope was beginning to get over Riario's loss. The question as to who would now exercise the influence wielded by the late Cardinal, whose jealousy had kept all others in the background, and on whom would his wealth devolve, was eagerly and generally discussed. Some predicted the elevation of Girolamo Riario, while others thought it would be Cardinal Orsini, who had now no opponent.

Riario's possessions, regarding which fabulous stories were circulated, passed to his brother, Girolamo, who inherited with them much of his influence. Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere also became a prominent figure. The conduct of this nephew of the Pope formed a happy contrast to that of Pietro Riario. Giuliano was not distinguished by brilliant intellect or fine literary culture, but he was a man of serious disposition and great prudence, though frequently rough in his manner and proceedings. He did not surround himself with an extravagant number of attendants, and indulged in no needless expense in apparel or in living, yet his taste was good in his house and furniture, and he loved excellent workmanship. On suitable occasions, he knew how to give free play to the largeness of his nature. Such occasions presented themselves when princely persons visited his uncle in the Eternal City, and in 1474 and 1475 they were of frequent occurrence.

Early in March, 1474, it was rumoured that King Christian of Denmark and Norway was coming to Rome. Sixtus IV at once declared his intention of showing all possible honour to the Northern Prince, and lodging him in the palace formerly occupied by Frederick III; he also wrote him a very cordial letter of welcome. If, as would seem probable from recent investigations, the motive of the King's journey was principally religious, the joy of the Pope and the attentions paid to his guest can easily be understood. Moreover, Sixtus IV hoped for the assistance of Christian I in the war against the Turks; he was aware that the King believed in a prophecy which had declared that a Northern Ruler was destined to conquer and expel the Infidel.

The King, a grave man, with a long gray beard, came with 150 followers; all were soberly clad, and pilgrims' staves were embroidered on the housings of their horses. On the 6th of April the travellers entered Rome. Christian I was overwhelmed with tokens of honour; the whole Court went to meet him and conducted him to St. Peters. Here Sixtus IV would have embraced him at once, but the King knelt down with all his followers, and begged for the Papal blessing. When he rose from his knees, the Pope embraced him and conducted him to his Palace. Cardinals Gonzaga and Giuliano della Rovere provided for the hospitable entertainment of the visitors.

During the whole time of his sojourn in Rome, Christian I paid such honour and attention to the Pope and the clergy, that he was often cited as an example to the Italians of the manner in which they ought to bear themselves towards the Church and her servants. The Pope gave the royal pilgrim a portion of the true Cross and other relics, a portable altar, a splendid mule with a bridle studded with gold, a valuable ring, and other precious things. On Maundy Thursday, after Holy Mass, Sixtus IV bestowed his blessing on the King, and granted him an Indulgence. On Easter Sunday Christian received Holy Communion from the hands of the Pope, and the Golden Rose. He also received costly gifts from the Cardinals, and, in return, presented them with beautiful furs, and other choice products of his kingdom.

King Christian remained in Rome for three weeks, Sixtus IV showing him honour in every possible way. The conversations between the Pope and the King dealt with the question of the Crusade, the affairs of the Northern Kingdom, and perhaps other political projects, such as the possibility of changing the Ducal Crown of Sforza into a Royal one. As the Papal Bull for the foundation of the University of Copenhagen is dated 12th June, 1475, the erection of such an institution in the North must also, at this time, have come under discussion. The Pope showed great readiness in meeting the wishes of his royal guest with regard to several other Bulls, and Christian was so much delighted with his sojourn in Rome that he had a medal struck to commemorate it.

After again devoutly visiting the seven principal Churches, Christian I started on the 27th April on his homeward journey. The Milanese Ambassador informs us that all the Cardinals conducted him, with every token of respect, to the gate of the City. Two members of the Sacred College accompanied him on his way, as far as the frontier of the Papal territory. According to the same

Ambassador, Christian was the bearer of important letters from the Pope to the Emperor, Frederick III, a fact which proves that the opportunity afforded by this pilgrimage for discussing political affairs had not been neglected.

Soon after the departure of Christian, Count Federigo of Urbino, a former friend of the Pope, arrived in Rome. On this occasion also, Cardinal Giuliano was splendid in his hospitality; he had given up his residence in S. Pietro in Vincoli to the City Prefect, and had moved to Bessarion's Palace, near the Church of the Holy Apostles. On the 28th May, the Count was solemnly received by the Pope; Sixtus IV had assigned him a place in the Chapel on the benches of the Sacred College, so that he sat immediately below the last Cardinal, an honour hitherto reserved for the eldest sons of Kings. Although d'Estouteville and Gonzaga were extremely annoyed at this arrangement, the Pope adhered to it. His motive was soon evident. A marriage was in contemplation between a daughter of Federigo and Giuliano's younger brother, Giovanni della Rovere, who was to be given Sinigaglia and Mondavio. Even before it had been discussed in Consistory the Pope had impressed upon the Count the impossibility of obtaining the consent of the Cardinals to the project. Jacobus Volaterranus informs us that it was looked upon in the Sacred College as a dangerous example of nepotism. Federigo was obliged to depart without effecting his purpose.

During the Count's sojourn in Rome, and at the very time when the Pope was occupied in taking precautions against an impending dearth, tidings reached him of the murder of Gabriello Catalani, the Guelph Lord of Todi, and of the outbreak in that city of an insurrection which seemed likely to spread. All the discontented from Umbria, and especially from Spoleto, with their partisans, flocked into Todi, and were headed by Giordano Orsini and the Counts of Pitigliano. Soon the whole of the province was in commotion. Rioting, murder, and incendiarism were the order of the day. If the whole place was not to be given over to absolute anarchy, it was necessary to act at once with a strong hand.

At the beginning of June, Sixtus IV sent Cardinal Giuliano to restore peace in Todi by force of arms. The task was one of great difficulty, but in selecting Giuliano the Pope had chosen a man well fitted to carry it out. Accustomed to privations, and to the stern discipline of the cloister, the Cardinal did not shrink from the hardships of a soldier's life. With the assistance of the valiant Giulio of Camerino, he forced his way into Todi. Giordano Orsini and the Count of Pitigliano withdrew, some of the insurgents were cast into prison and others banished, and all communication between the country people and the city was cut off.

Cardinal Giuliano then turned his arms against Spoleto, which, at the time, was in the hands of the party of the Orsini. At 3000 paces from the city he halted, and, through Lorenzo Zane, Patriarch of Antioch, called upon the inhabitants to lay down their arms. Thereupon many of the citizens fled, carrying their most valuable possessions to the mountain fortresses in the neighbourhood; the rest accepted the Ambassador's offers of peace, went to meet the Legate, and begged for pardon. Giuliano garrisoned the gates of the city, and had already

begun to endeavour to reconcile the contending parties, when, in defiance of his express command, the greedy mercenaries began to plunder. Most of these men were from Camerino and Ceretano, and were bent on retaliating on the people of Spoleto the depredations which they had suffered at their hands. The Legate's voice was powerless to restrain the lawless troops; indeed, his own life was at one moment in danger. He could only be thankful that he was able to save the Episcopal Palace and the Convents, and to preserve the women and maidens from outrage. "Such", observes Platina, "was the fate of the Spoletans, who had despised the Pope's commands, and had filled their city with the spoils of their neighbours".

At the end of June, the Cardinal proceeded to the upper valley of the Tiber, where Niccolo Vitelli, the tyrant of Città di Castello, replied to all remonstrances from Rome with words of open scorn. He was charged with having lent assistance to the insurgents in Todi and Spoleto: the time had come when he must be compelled to submit. His contumacy seemed all the more dangerous, because it found favour with his neighbours. Whenever any political dispute should break out with Rome, the forcible alienation of the important district on the borders of Tuscany was to be apprehended. The adjacent stronghold of Borgo San Sepolcro was still in the hands of the Florentines, to whom it had been mortgaged by Eugenius IV. The Pope was bound to put an end to this state of things. Not till all peaceable means had been exhausted did he proceed to force. And even to the last he declared that, if Vitelli would submit, he would again receive him into favour, for he only sought obedience, not vengeance.

Vitelli, meanwhile, had no idea of submission; he rejected the easy conditions offered by Cardinal Giuliano, who was accordingly compelled to lay siege to Città di Castello. Sorties were made every day, and the Papal troops repeatedly suffered serious losses. But a far greater danger threatened them in the consequences of an alliance which Vitelli had succeeded in negotiating with Milan and Florence. The Florentines, forgetful of benefits received from the Pope, even as recently as during the war of Volterra, had furnished the tyrant with money, and then, in spite of the absolute promise of Sixtus IV that their territory should remain inviolate, had sent 6000 men to Borgo San Sepolcro near Città di Castello, ostensibly for the protection of their frontier, but in reality with the object of assisting Vitelli whenever the situation should become critical. Sixtus IV justly complained of the shameful manner in which help was thus given to a rebellious subject, whom no kindness had been able to win to obedience.

During the siege of Città di Castello the attitude of Galeazzo Maria Sforza was very unsatisfactory. On the 5th June the Pope felt constrained to express his astonishment at the manner in which the Duke had written to him on this occasion, and to defend the justice of his action. The Pope said, "We ask nothing from Vitelli but obedience; if he will submit, and live as a private individual, We will be gracious to him, but no Prince can tolerate open rebellion. The excuse of the Florentines that they feared an attack on Borgo San Sepolcro, was hypocritical, for, on the 28th June, We had already pledged our word on this matter".

In the middle of July, Milan and Florence began diplomatic action in favour of Vitelli; meanwhile, the Pope refused to accede to the request that he would withdraw his troops from Città di Castello, giving a full account of the motives which influenced his decision. It is worthy of note that the King of Naples, who had received many benefits from Sixtus IV, also interfered on behalf of the rebels. Anarchy in the States of the Church was more in accordance with his wishes than peace and order. The ingratitude of the Duke of Milan seems to have been particularly distressing to the Pope, who, on the 28th July, 1474, sent him an autograph letter, reproaching him in touching language.

In this serious state of affairs Sixtus IV turned to the warlike Count Federigo of Urbino. In order to make yet more sure of his fidelity, he bestowed on him, on the 21st August, the Ducal dignity with the same pomp and ceremonies observed in the case of Borso of Este three years before. Two days after this, Federigo arrived at the Papal camp before Città di Castello. On the appearance of this General, who was reputed to be invincible, Vitelli expressed a willingness to negotiate. His bearing, however, was still anything but submissive. He knew that he had powerful friends to fall back upon, and he was also aware that Federigo had no intention of strengthening the Papal authority on his own borders. The daring rebel was able so to manage the negotiations, that the capitulation was not a submission, but an honourable treaty. It was decided that the Cardinal, with 200 soldiers, should be admitted into the city. The personal safety of the tyrant was guaranteed; Lorenzo Zane, Patriarch of Antioch, was to remain with a garrison in the castle until the return of the exiles and the completion of a fort, for the erection of which, Giuliano had given orders. The army then withdrew, and the Cardinal, accompanied by Duke Federigo who brought Vitelli with him, started for Rome.

The tidings of the fall of Città di Castello were received with great rejoicings in Rome; trumpets announced the event from S. Angelo, and more noise could not have been made about the taking of a Spartacus or a Sertorius; yet, adds Cardinal Gonzaga's Secretary, "I do not believe in a real submission, for there are crafty people who know how to mingle fire and water without disturbing any one".

The capitulation was, indeed, calculated rather to encourage than to subdue Vitelli. It was in harmony with the whole course of this affair, which clearly showed the character of the confederates with whom Sixtus IV had to deal. Surrounded by treachery, with such an ally as the crafty Ferrante of Naples at his side, and with neighbours like Lorenzo de' Medici, can the Pope be blamed for establishing his nephews firmly in the States of the Church, where a Cesare Borgia and a Pope like Julius II were needed to purge it from its oppressors great and small?

Platina informs us that the Legate, on his journey back to Rome, was met by Envoys from many cities, who congratulated him and brought him valuable presents. These the Cardinal either declined, not from pride, but as unbefitting a servant of the Church, or else devoted to pious objects, like the restoration of Churches and Convents. "On the 9th of September, early in the morning,

Giuliano with the Duke reached the Porta Flaminia. All the Cardinals had been commanded by the Pope to go and meet him, but the hardy Ligurian was too early for them. Before the sun had risen he was in the Church of S^{ta} Maria del Popolo. Thence he was conducted to his Palace with great pomp. The Duke, the City Prefect, and Count Girolamo rode in front, preceded by Vitelli amid some nobles". A Consistory was then held, and the vanquished rebel did homage. The Pope was prevented by indisposition from taking part in these proceedings.

During the Duke of Urbino's sojourn in Rome on this occasion he received honours even greater than those bestowed upon him in the spring. The rooms provided for him were immediately above those of the Pope. This, time the negotiations regarding the marriage were brought to a satisfactory conclusion. On the 10th of October Sixtus IV informed the Duke of Milan that "today the betrothal of our nephew, Giovanni della Rovere, with the Duke of Urbino's daughter, has been announced". Two days later, the Vicariates of Sinigaglia and Mondavio, which, after the death of Pius II, had revolted against Antonio Piccolomini, Duke of Amalfi, were conferred upon Giovanni. The document appointing him Vicar was signed by all the Cardinals, including those who before had voted against the measure, with the exception of Cardinal Piccolomini. The yearly salary was fixed at 600 ducats.

In attaching to himself, by benefits and by bonds of relationship, the warlike Federigo of Urbino, who might have been a dangerous enemy, Sixtus IV had achieved an important political success. Indeed, the Pope had much reason to congratulate himself on all that he had gained during the summer of 1474. The attempt to keep his hands full at home, by making troubles in the States of the Church, had not succeeded for any time, and its authors had been exposed. The intrigues of Lorenzo de' Medici were laid bare. He had most unwarrantably interfered in a private affair of the Pope's. Even Cardinal Ammanati, who certainly was no partisan of the Rovere family, thought it necessary to remonstrate with him. Not content with supporting the insurgents, he had, under cover of the confederation, sent letters and messengers about to excite disturbances throughout the whole of Italy, with the view of compelling the Pope to desist from the chastisement of the rebels. His efforts had failed, and Lorenzo de' Medici saw that his hopes of assistance from Milan and Naples were vain. He at once looked about him for new allies, and turned to Venice. The rulers of the Republic, however, felt that the league against the Turks bound them to Naples, and yet more to the Pope, who had sent money and provisions when Scutari was besieged. The Signoria, Navagiero informs us, answered Lorenzo's overtures by declaring that they had already concluded a league with Naples, and with the Pope, and that he was free to join it. The matter was to be dealt with in Rome, where Ambassadors from all parts would soon meet. The hopes of the Pope, that his wish for a general alliance among the Italian powers might yet be fulfilled, began to revive. The failure of this scheme, so necessary in view of the warlike preparations of the Turks, was in no way his fault.

The progress of the negotiations seemed at first to justify the brightest expectations. An agreement, which satisfied all parties, was framed. But at the

last moment, when the treaty was about to be signed, Ferrante, according to the testimony of a Venetian chronicler, instructed

his Ambassadors to break off the negotiations. On the 2nd November, 1474, Florence, Venice, and Milan concluded a defensive alliance for twenty-five years. The Duke of Ferrara, the Pope, and the King of Naples were invited to join this league. The Duke alone consented to do so. Sixtus IV gave a decided refusal, accompanying it with a full explanation of the reasons which induced it. He looked upon the league as a coalition against the Holy See, an attempt to isolate him and to reduce him to the position of a mere tool for carrying out the egotistical policy of the Tyrants. Such was the condition of Italy immediately preceding the Holy Year proclaimed by Paul II.

CHAPTER IV.

THE JUBILEE YEAR, 1475.—KING FERRANTE VISITS SIXTUS IV.—THE FALL OF CAFFA AND THE WAR WITH THE TURKS.

As early as the 26th March, 1472, Sixtus IV had confirmed his predecessor's decision that every twenty-fifth year should be a year of Jubilee; a further Bull of the 29th August, 1473, abrogated all other Indulgences and Faculties during the Jubilee Year. In Rome itself the Pope at once began various works of embellishment in preparation for the approaching solemnity. "From the autumn of 1474", writes Platina, "Sixtus IV devoted himself to the beautifying of Rome. The bridge, which, from its ruinous state, had long been called by the Romans the Ponte Rotto, was rebuilt from its foundations, at great cost, of square blocks of Travertine. This restoration was an immense boon, both to the Romans and to the strangers who came for the Jubilee, and Sixtus IV, with a justifiable pride, desired that it should bear the name of Ponte Sisto. It was a truly princely gift, and we appreciate it all the more, when we see that no Pope before him had ever attempted it. In my opinion", continues Platina, "this was done principally to guard against the recurrence of the disaster which occurred on the Bridge of St. Angelo, in the time of Nicholas V, and which I have already related, when, owing to a panic, numbers of pilgrims were crushed to death".

Infessura tells us that this bridge was begun in the spring of 1473. On the 29th of April the foundation stone was laid. The Pope, with the Cardinals and several prelates, proceeded to the bank of the Tiber, and, descending into the bed

of the river, inserted, in the foundations, a square stone, with the inscription: "Built by Pope Sixtus IV in the year of Salvation, 1473". Two years later the work was completed, so that this most durable and solid, though not beautiful, bridge was ready for the use of the pilgrims in the Jubilee Year. Two inscriptions on marble tablets also for many centuries bore witness to the care of Sixtus IV for these pilgrims.

Another work of great public utility, commenced in 1472, was finished in the Jubilee Year. The Aqueduct, conducting the Aqua Virgo to Rome, which had been almost stopped up, was cleared out and prolonged from the Quirinal to the Fontana Treve. The architectural decorations at its mouth were entrusted to Antonio Lori of Florence and Giacomo of Ferrara. Here, as in many other undertakings, Sixtus IV continued what Nicholas V had begun. Opposite to the simple inscription left by his predecessor, he placed one of his own, and surmounted it with a cornice which, with pillars, formed the facade.

The chief solicitude of Sixtus IV was for the restoration of those Churches and Sanctuaries which were the special objects of the pilgrims. He had St. Peter's thoroughly cleaned, and inserted several windows to admit more light. He caused a portion of the wall on the left side, which was in a dangerous condition, to be strengthened. The Basilica of Constantine was cleansed, and the side aisles were refloored and embellished. The Vatican Palace was restored; the bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, which was falling from age, was repaired, and placed in front of the Lateran on a larger marble pedestal decorated with trophies. The Church of the Holy Apostles was beautified, and many of the smaller Churches, which, even in those days, were very numerous in Rome, were renovated. "There was hardly a chapel in the whole City", says Sigismondo de' Conti, "to which the Pope did not contribute something in the Jubilee Year". Many inscriptions still remain which bear witness to his energy in this respect.

The Cardinals vied with the Pope in their care for the Sanctuaries of the Eternal City. "The ancient saying, that the people copy their Princes, was verified", wrote Platina, in the year 1474, "for so much building is going on throughout Rome, that, if Sixtus lives, the whole City will soon be transformed. Inspired by these examples, Guillaume d'Estouteville, the Cardinal Archbishop of Ostia, had vaulted the side aisles of the Basilica of the Holy Crib, now called Santa Maria Maggiore, and so embellished it, that nothing finer can be found in Rome".

In the early part of this pontificate the restoration of the ruined Hospital of Santo Spirito was begun. Here, also, care for the expected pilgrims was the chief inducement for taking the work in hand. Amongst many other instances of his solicitude for their welfare, we find exhortations addressed to the Italian Powers, calling on them to take care that the roads should be good and secure, to provide a sufficient number of inns for their accommodation, and not to burden them with tolls.

Similar considerations led Sixtus IV to revert to the plans for the improvement of the streets, already contemplated by the patron of Leon Battista Alberti. In a Brief, addressed to the Papal Commissary, Girolamo de Giganti, on the 14th December, 1473, we find the following passage: "Amongst countless other cares we must also attend to the purifying and beautification of our City; for, if any city should be clean and fair, certainly this one should be so, since, by reason of the Chair of St. Peter, it is the head of the whole world. Considering, then, that through the negligence of those whose duty it is to keep the streets in good order, they are in many places foul and unsightly, we command you for the future to pay special attention to this matter". Already in the year 1474 the paving of the streets between the Bridge of S. Angelo and the Vatican was put in hand. The other principal thoroughfares were then paved with blocks of stone, the road from Monte Mario to the Borgo repaired, and the walls and gates of the City restored.

In the beginning of the Jubilee Year appeared the celebrated Bull, which had, for its chief provision, the renovation of Rome. It opens with the following sentences : "If it is a part of our common duty to see to the welfare of all the cities in the States of the Church, then, certainly, our best-beloved daughter, the chief City of the Church, hallowed by the blood of the Princes of the Apostles, has a special claim on our care and attention. Unhappily, many calamities have befallen her, through which her buildings have fallen into decay, and the number of her citizens has been diminished. We therefore earnestly desire to see her population increased, her houses and palaces rebuilt, and all her other necessities duly provided for". Many valuable proprietary rights and privileges are promised to all who will contribute to the accomplishment of these objects.

It may easily be understood that the Pope met with great difficulties in carrying out his improvements, when they involved clearances to be effected in the narrow streets beyond the Leonine City, belonging to the Roman burghers. Haughty barons could not easily be induced to sacrifice their private property, or the unkempt comfort of their dwellings, to the higher end of the common good. Thus progress was necessarily slow, but the Romans dated the obnoxious measures from the visit of the King of Naples, who certainly encouraged the Pope in his plans, although he was not their originator.

In December, 1474, an approaching visit from the Neapolitan monarch began to be talked of, the motives of which were rather political than religious. Ferrante and Sixtus IV had been drawn closer together by the League of November 2, 1474, which was a cause of grave apprehension to them both. A personal interview was now to afford the opportunity of deciding on the attitude to be adopted towards this new combination.

The reception of the King of Naples was honourable in the extreme. Rodrigo Borgia and Giuliano della Rovere, two of the most distinguished among the Cardinals, welcomed him in Terracina, on the borders of the States of the Church. When he entered Rome on the 28th January, 1475, all the Cardinals met him before the Porta S. Giovanni. Splendid festivities followed. The King and his brilliant suite, however, remained but three days in Rome. Infessura says that the

numbers of falcons which the Neapolitans brought with them completely cleared the City and all the neighbourhood of owls.

The King and the Pope interchanged rich presents, nor did Ferrante forget the Roman officials and the Churches. When he left Rome, on the 1st February, all the Cardinals accompanied him to the Porta S. Paola and four of their number as far as S. Paola itself, where he heard Mass before starting for Marino, Rodrigo Borgia and Giuliano della Rovere being with him on this occasion, and Federigo of Urbino having also arrived. At Grottaferrata he received the Order of the Garter, sent to him by the King of England.

On the 8th February, 1475, the Mantuan Ambassador wrote word that Ferrante was to return to Rome secretly by night. On the 5th a report was current that the King had come privately to the Pope. According to Paolo della Mastro's Chronicle, he was in Rome on the 13th and 14th February.

The subject of these interviews between the Pope and Ferrante was at first unknown to the majority even of the Cardinals. On the 17th February, Cardinal Gonzaga thought he had some inkling of it. On that day Sixtus IV summoned a Consistory, in which he announced that the danger from Turkey called for a general League of all the Italian Powers, and the levy of a tithe from the clergy. This decision was then imparted to the Ambassadors appointed to attend the Consistory, but the Neapolitan Envoy was the only one who displayed any alacrity in responding to the wishes of the Pope. There can be no doubt that negotiations had also been carried on between Sixtus IV and Ferrante regarding the attitude to be adopted by them towards the League of the 2nd November, 1474.

The concourse of Jubilee pilgrims, which commenced on Christmas Day of that year, did not at first equal the great expectations entertained. The wars in France, Burgundy, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Spain, and other countries were, according to the Chronicle of Viterbo, the reason why so few people came; also, respect for the clergy had been much shaken by former experiences. An encouraging token of a return to a better state of feeling was, however, manifested by the much-decried courtiers, who eagerly availed themselves at Easter of the graces of the Jubilee. The pilgrims now became more and more numerous. One of the Ambassadors gives 200,000 as the number present when the Pope solemnly blessed the people on Ascension Day. This is, no doubt, an exaggerated estimate, but the report of this eye-witness fully establishes the fact that the concourse was immense.

Entries in the Confraternity-Book of the Church of the Anima show that a great many pilgrims, both clerical and lay, came from Germany during the "golden year".

Among the princely personages at Rome on this occasion we may mention Queen Dorothea of Denmark, Nicholas of Ujlak, whom Matthias Corvinus had made King of Bosnia; Anthony of Burgundy, the "Great Bastard"; and finally, Charlotte of Lusignan. Charlotte had left Rhodes on the 4th July, 1474, and was never again to see that island or Cyprus. She had gone first to her husband at Montcalier, and now journeyed to Rome, where her rights were recognized. In

the latter part of May she reached Civita Vecchia, and on the 3rd June entered Rome. The Cardinals went to meet the deposed Princess, and during her stay in Rome she was entertained at the Pope's expense.

Sixtus IV caused the reception of Charlotte of Lusignan to be portrayed among the frescoes in the Hospital of S. Spirito. Beneath the picture, still visible, which represents the Queen, adorned with the insignia of her rank and surrounded by her attendants, kneeling before Sixtus IV, is a somewhat fulsome inscription, which declares that the Pope received the unhappy lady with such kindness, that, in her overflowing gratitude, she was incapable of words and could only weep. Charlotte spent the next year in Rome, supported by a pension from the Pope; a house in the Leonine City, now the Palazzo de Convertende, was assigned to her as a residence.

The Jubilee year closed sadly for the Pope. The City Prefect fell ill at the end of October, and died on the nth November. Sixtus IV conferred the vacant post on his nephew, Giovanni della Rovere. During the same month, the Tiber rose and overflowed a great part of the City. The mud, which it deposits more abundantly than almost any other river, and the continued dampness of the flooded quarter, produced malaria and pestilence. Under these circumstances, many were prevented from coming to Rome to gain the Jubilee Indulgence. The roads had also become more insecure, and accordingly, to avoid exposing pilgrims from a distance to these risks, the Pope commanded that the Jubilee should be held at Bologna during the Eastertide of 1476, and granted the Plenary Indulgence to all who, besides fulfilling the usual conditions, should visit the Churches of S. Pietro, S. Petronio, S. Antonio, and S. Francesco in that city. Countless pilgrims, therefore, knocked to Bologna, which had never before seen so many strangers within her walls. Participation in the graces of the Jubilee Year, without leaving home, was also granted to several other foreign Princes and countries; in most cases with the condition that the Jubilee alms should be devoted to the defense of Christendom from the Turks.

Besides his consultations with the King of Naples in the beginning of the Jubilee Year, the Pope was repeatedly occupied with the affairs of the Turkish war. Owing to the hostile complications in which Central Europe was involved through the Burgundian war, it had become powerless to resist the advance of the Turks. Sixtus IV, accordingly, on the 15th February, 1475, appointed Bishop Alexander of Forli Papal Legate for the restoration of peace. In the ensuing months the Pope made repeated appeals to the Italian Powers for help. The state of affairs in the East was indeed calculated to cause the greatest anxiety. Usunhassan had never been able to recover from his defeat, and thus the hand of the Sultan pressed more and more heavily on the Christians in Albania, the coasts of the Adriatic, and the Danubian Provinces. At the end of 1474 a powerful Turkish army attacked the brave Woiwode of Moldavia, Stephen the Great, who refused any longer to pay tribute. Stephen, with great skill, decoyed the superior forces of the enemy on through the forest to the Lake of Rakowitz (north-west of Galatz), and there inflicted on them a severe defeat (10th January, 1475).

Meanwhile, a fleet of 300 sail, with 40,000 men on board, had been made ready at Constantinople. Candia was, at first, supposed to be its destination, but it took an easterly course, ran into the Black Sea, and, on the 31st of May, appeared before Caffa in the Crimea, a rich and important Genoese colony. On the 6th of June the place was in the hands of the Turks, and its fate was soon shared by the whole southern coast of the Crimea.

Strenuous efforts for the preservation of this city had in former days been made by Popes Calixtus III, Pius II, and Paul II. The tidings of its fall reached Rome in September, 1475. Further details were soon received from the Knights of St. John, and the accounts of the cruelties exercised by the Turks on its unfortunate inhabitants caused general horror and dismay, which were intensified by the impossibility, under the melancholy circumstances of the West, of that united defensive action which alone could have promised success. Discouraging as the result of his former attempts had been, the Pope again fulfilled his duty. He sent special Briefs to all the Princes of Christendom, informing them of the disaster, and calling on them to resist the indefatigable foe. Sixtus IV, at the same time, exhorted them to send Ambassadors to Rome. It would seem that he still hoped to bring about a League of all the Powers against the Osmanli; but he met with little response! In November negotiations began, and they lasted for months. Their result may be learned from the fact that the flames of the places the Turks had set on fire were soon visible from the belfry of St. Mark's. In March, 1477, Cardinal Ammanati wrote: "Our Pope is doing everything in his power. He did not dismiss the Italian Ambassadors, as he wishes to obtain more than the tithe. The tithe from the clergy, and a twentieth part from the Jews, has been granted to him, but how little is that compared to such a war. What are a few hundred thousands for the defense of a needy king against the ruler of all Asia and a good part of Europe? The assistance of the laity, so anxiously desired by His Holiness, has not yet been afforded. We strive as far as in us lies, to copy the indefatigable zeal and courage of our Father. May God enlighten our minds and hearts, that we may not walk in darkness and the shadow of death, and, when we have lost this valiant champion, too late lament that we have not sooner known the way of our salvation".

CHAPTER V.
BEGINNING OF THE RUPTURE OF SIXTUS IV WITH LORENZO DE'
MEDICI.

THE pestilence, which had already visited Rome in the Jubilee Year, returned early in the summer of 1476, with such violence that residence in the City became almost intolerable. At the beginning of June the Pope determined to seek the heights of Viterbo; on the 3rd he commended his States to the Protection of King Ferrante; on the 10th he left Rome, accompanied by Cardinals d'Estouteville, Borgia, Carafa, Nardini, Gonzaga, and Michiel. Cardinal Cybò remained behind as Legate. Later on, the City was visited by terrible thunderstorms and tempests. The Palace of the Senate was closed, and justice was administered at the foot of the steps. Penitential processions thronged the streets. Infessura mentions one in July, in which the venerated image of our Lady from S. Maria Maggiore was carried with much devotion.

The Pope was obliged, immediately on starting, to alter his route, for the terrible malady had appeared at Viterbo; he went, therefore, first to Campagnano, then to Vetralla, then for a time to Amelia and Narni, and finally settled at Foligno. Thence he visited Assisi, where, in the month of August, he celebrated the Feast of St. Francis, the founder of his Order, and venerated his relics with great devotion.

As the pestilence abated very slowly, Sixtus IV remained at Foligno until the autumn. When Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere returned, on the 4th October, from his mission to France, he found the Pope still in this charming little town, which he only left on the 7th of the month. He spent the first night at Spoleto, and then, probably because the Plague was still claiming many victims, travelled so slowly that he did not reach his capital until the 23rd of October.

Just as this calamitous year was closing, all Italy was struck with horror at the assassination of the Duke of Milan (26th December, 1476). This crime was a tyrant-murder of the ancient type, and was directly attributable to the influence of ideas zealously propagated by the false Humanist, Cola Montano. The Annals of Siena expressly state that the conspirators had studied Sallust, and Sigismondo de' Conti also informs us that Lampugnani had, from early youth, chosen Catiline as his model.

"The peace of Italy is at an end!" exclaimed the Pope, on hearing of the death of Galeazzo Maria Sforza; and, indeed, the existing political system seemed entirely upset. The Duke of Milan was the only Prince sufficiently rich and powerful permanently to counterbalance the ambitious King of Naples, his heir

was still a child; the Regency was in the hands of the Duchess Bona, a weak woman, entangled in the meshes of her intriguing brothers-in-law.

Fully alive to the dangers which threatened Italy, Sixtus IV, on the first day of the new year (1477), addressed a Brief to all the Italian Princes and Rulers, earnestly exhorting them to the maintenance of peace. Cardinal Giovanni Mellini was also sent as special Legate to Milan and Lombardy, and instructed to use every effort for the same object. The newly-appointed Legate was a man venerable alike for his age, his learning, and his goodness; he started on the 27th January, and returned on the 7th May.

The course of affairs in Milan was watched, not only by the Pope, but also by Lorenzo de' Medici, with the keenest interest. Peace was for the present preserved, and the Duchess remained in power, but her authority rested on no solid foundation. Lorenzo sought in every way to confirm it. "But", as a friend of the Medici writes, "it is perfectly incomprehensible how, at so critical a moment, when the support of Milan was most uncertain, he could think of giving just cause of complaint to neighbours whom he knew to be already dissatisfied with him. Yet this is what he did".

At the beginning of his reign, Sixtus IV had been very favourably inclined towards the Medici; the reception which Lorenzo met with in Rome, the fact that the financial affairs of the Holy See were, much to their advantage, entrusted to their care, and that the Alum works at Tolfa were farmed out to them, were plain proofs of this good-will. If these friendly relations were of brief duration, it was only because Lorenzo openly manifested his ungrateful purpose of making troubles for the Pope.

The Florentine Expedition against Volterra, in the year 1472, was the first occasion on which these differences appeared. The Pope had sent auxiliary troops to aid the Florentines in suppressing the revolt of that city; this act of friendship towards Lorenzo led to disastrous results. After twenty-five days of bombardment, the city capitulated, on condition that the lives, honour, and property of the burgesses should be spared. No sooner, however, had the undisciplined troops entered the place, than a general plunder began. "In vain did Federigo of Montefeltre remonstrate; Volterra was sacrificed in the most shameful manner. This seemed to have delighted the Florentines. When the victor came, with a heavy heart, to their city, they overwhelmed him with marks of gratitude to console him for the wound that his honour had sustained; but the Pope saw his credit abused, and general compassion excited on behalf of the ruined city. His magisterial hand, which had been laid upon the balance in favour of the Medici, was stained with blood".

Then followed the purchase of Imola. The acquisition of this territory from the Duke of Milan interfered with the designs of the Republic, which had eagerly sought an extension of its domain in that direction. Lorenzo had made the greatest efforts to make it impossible to obtain the money required. Henceforth the Court of Rome could no longer employ him in a financial capacity. That which had once been so generously offered to him was now withdrawn. The

management of the Apostolical Exchequer was transferred to the Bank of the Pazzi, who, in spite of the Medici, had advanced the sum; that was all, but it was enough.

The tension between Sixtus IV and Lorenzo was also greatly increased by the faithless conduct of the latter at the time of the siege of Città di Castello. He repaid the assistance rendered to him by the Pope, during the war with Volterra, by vigorously supporting rebellion in the States of the Church. The persistent aid accorded by Florence to Vitelli rendered his complete subjugation impossible. Thus the capitulation, which was at last brought about, is characterized by Cardinal Ammanati, favourably disposed as he was towards the Medici, as an insult to the victors, for the terms were dictated by the vanquished.

The next dispute had to do with a more ecclesiastical question. On the death of Cardinal Riario, Francesco Salviati had aspired to the Archbishopric of Florence, but had been compelled to give way to Lorenzo's brother-in-law, Rinaldo Orsini. In 1474, Filippo de' Medici, Archbishop of Pisa, a man much devoted to the interests of his relations, died. Without consulting the Florentines, the Pope now raised Francesco Salviati to the vacant throne. It is not to be supposed that the Pope made this appointment with the intention of wounding the Medici and the Republic, but from a letter of Cardinal Giuliano to Lorenzo, it is evident that he knew it would not be welcome. The Cardinal commends the Archbishop-elect to Lorenzo, and emphatically declares that there had been no intention of offending his Magnificence by the nomination. Girolamo Riario earnestly entreated Lorenzo to overrule the opposition that would be made to the acceptance of Salviati. As this letter was not answered, Girolamo Riario wrote again on the 26th October, 1474, and this time with his own hand. "If", he says, "you would have me see that I am loved by you, and that my friendship is agreeable to you, and would also have our Master perceive that you are towards His Holiness all that I have ever declared you to be, then deal with me in this matter as you wish me to deal with you and your affairs". Two days before this letter was written, the Pope had exhorted the Florentines to be reasonable, and to acknowledge the newly-appointed Archbishop; but neither the Republic nor Lorenzo had any idea of yielding. Lorenzo, writing to the Duke of Milan, declared that to consent to recognize the Archbishop would be to betray the honour of the city. Early in 1475 Girolamo sent his Chancellor to Florence to enter into negotiations for an agreement; but a long time passed without any settlement. All the Pope's exhortations failed to obtain Salviati's reception. For three whole years the Florentines held out. Salviati remained in Rome, and the resentment which he cherished was soon shared by others. "Lorenzo", says an historian by no means prejudiced against him, "could not fail to perceive that this affair was seriously disturbing his relations with the Pope and his adherents. It is easy to understand that the feeling of animosity was directed against Lorenzo personally; men had come to look upon him as the head of the Republic, and everything, whether good or evil, was ascribed to his influence".

A fresh manifestation of the hostile disposition of the Florentines towards Sixtus IV occurred in the autumn of 1475. Niccolò Vitelli was then endeavouring

to regain his former position in Città di Castello. The enterprise failed, but the Pope's request, that the faithless rebel should no longer be permitted to dwell in the territory of the Republic, was refused.

After all this, it is not surprising that Sixtus IV did not grant the petition that a Florentine should be admitted into the Sacred College, but put off the Republic with hopes for the future.

In the spring of 1477 Lorenzo placed further difficulties in the Pope's way, by encouraging the mercenary captain, Carlo Fortebraccio, to abandon the Turkish war and return to the Umbrian frontier. Carlo desired to win for himself the quasi free city of Perugia, where his father and brother had formerly ruled. Without the consent of the Florentines this was impossible, as free passage through their States and maintenance for his troops were indispensable; but they also had designs upon the city. They wished to draw it into their league, to alienate it from the Pope and to bring it under their own influence. They therefore incited Carlo to attack the Sienese; he nothing loth began, on the most frivolous pretexts, to plunder and to levy contributions in the valleys of the Chiana and the Arbia. The Medici viewed with satisfaction these troubles of their neighbours, hoping that they would tend to incline them to submit to their domination. Moreover, it was desirable that the Pope's attention should be diverted from Perugia, until the conspiracy for the betrayal of the city should be mature.

The Sienese, thus attacked in time of peace, complained to the Pope and the King of Naples, and from both received promises of assistance. Sixtus IV remembered that Carlo's father had threatened to make Pope Martin say twenty Masses for a *bolagnino*. A division of the army, under Antonio of Montefeltre, advanced to chastise the mercenary chief, who had thus wantonly disturbed the peace of the district. Carlo Fortebraccio made a feint of going to meet the enemy, but on a day agreed upon with some of the nobles who were in league with him, suddenly appeared before Perugia. Happily the plot was discovered, and the seizure of the place prevented. Carlo thus saw the scheme, for whose accomplishment he had come to Tuscany, frustrated, and, as the hostile army had meanwhile increased in strength, he retired first to Montone and afterwards to Florence. Duke Federigo of Montefeltre had, by this time, led a large force into the Perugian territory. Montone was surrounded. The stronghold of the Bracci stood on a steep height, and was defended by lofty walls and various outworks, erected by the old Condottiere. All the plunder amassed by Fortebraccio was collected in this mountain fortress, and his wife, who was in charge, appeared with dishevelled hair, urging the garrison to offer a brave resistance. Carlo himself also sent messengers and letters from Florence to encourage them, promising that a powerful army should soon arrive to raise the siege, for he was assured of the assistance of the Medici and their allies ; but no castle had yet been able to hold out against Federigo, a stormer of cities like Demetrius, the son of Antigonus. The troops sent from Florence were repulsed, and Montone compelled to capitulate. "As pardon had been promised to them", says Sigismondo de' Conti, they remained unharmed from first to last, and were,

moreover, through the Pope's goodness, indemnified for their losses, but the walls were destroyed, and a nest of rebellion was thus rooted out".

The Sienese from this time forth were greatly alarmed: they concluded a close alliance with Sixtus IV and Ferrante of Naples (8th February, 1478). Lorenzo himself could cherish no illusions as to the untoward position in which his own fault had placed him. He looked round about him for allies. He thought he might depend upon Milan, and then turned to Venice to ask if he might, in case of necessity, reckon on the troops of the Republic ; the answer was in the affirmative. Interests and parties became more and more sharply separated. Sixtus IV, Count Girolamo, Ferrante, and Siena being on one side, and Florence, Venice, and Milan on the other.

Lorenzo's attitude towards the Pope remained unchanged. It is hard to discover in these proceedings his customary circumspection and political penetration. Even his biographer, Niccolo Valori, is not able to reconcile his conduct towards Sixtus IV with the claims of either statesmanship or gratitude.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONSPIRACY OF THE PAZZI, 1478.

AT the beginning of the year 1478 the tension between Rome and Florence was such as to render a catastrophe almost inevitable. Wherever the opportunity had occurred, Lorenzo de' Medici had thwarted the Pope; he had done everything in his power to prevent the consolidation of the temporal principality of the Pope and to foster the elements of weakness which existed in the States of the Church. His ambition and masterfulness had increased beyond all bounds: he would have been prepared to sacrifice even the precious blessing of ecclesiastical unity to carry out his own schemes. His confidential letter of the 1st February, 1477, to Baccio Ugolini shows that he would have contemplated a schism without shrinking. In this letter he says, in so many words: "For any one in my position, the division of power is advantageous, and, if it were possible without scandal, three or four Popes would be better than a single one".

The downfall of the Medici, who had become the very soul of the anti-Papal agitation in Italy, appeared the only hope of security for the future. No one

maintained this view with more warmth and eloquence than the Pope's nephew, Girolamo Riario, who felt that, as long as that family governed Florence, his hold upon Imola must remain precarious. The weakness of Sixtus IV allowed to Girolamo an overweening influence in public affairs, and his ambition had become absolutely unbounded since his marriage with Caterina Sforza (May, 1472), a woman of a spirit kindred to his own. "I am not", she said, "Duke Galeazzo's daughter for nothing : I have his brains in my head".

Lorenzo, more or less by his own fault, had made many enemies in Florence as well as in Rome. Eaten up with pride, he cared for no one and tolerated no rival. Even in games he would always be first. He interfered in everything, even in the private lives of the citizens, and in their marriages; nothing could be done without his consent. In the work of casting down the mighty and raising up those of low degree, he refused to act with that consideration and discretion which Cosmo had always been careful to observe. Among the old nobility, in particular, there was great dissatisfaction. It was an essential part of the policy of the Medici to prevent any family, even if allied or related to their own, from becoming too powerful or too rich. Lorenzo de' Medici carried out this principle to the utmost. The Pazzi soon perceived that he was planning their ruin. They saw themselves excluded from all honourable offices and influential positions in the Republic, and at last found their property also attacked. Grievances such as these drove them into the party of Lorenzo's opponents, whose motto was, the Liberty of the Republic.

The enemies of the Medici soon formed themselves into two groups, one of which gathered round the Pazzi, and the other round Girolamo Riario. The hostility of the Pazzi towards the Medici was purely political, or, perhaps, social and political, in its character. With Sixtus IV and his right hand, Riario, its motives were chiefly ecclesiastical.

The indignation of the Florentine nobility against the purse-proud tyranny of the Medici was so deep and so wide-spread that, independently of Roman influence or co-operation, it must sooner or later have led to a catastrophe such as it had often already produced. The outbreak was hastened on by the alliance of the Pazzi with Girolamo, which had become closer since the purchase of Imola.

It is uncertain whether the idea of effecting a change in the form of government in Florence by violent means originated with the Pazzi or with Girolamo. However this may be, Francesco de' Pazzi, the Roman banker, was quite as active and as eager in the matter as Riario. Together they induced the Archbishop of Pisa, Francesco Salviati, who was living at the Roman Court, and very bitter against the Medici, to join them.

The first most important point was to discover what line the Pope would take in regard to their plan. There was no doubt that, in his present state of irritation, he would favour any attempt to bring about a change of government in Florence. But Girolamo Riario was also well aware that his uncle would not lend himself to any undertaking which could imperil the honour of the Papacy. They

must aim at securing a free hand to carry out the revolution, without letting the Pope know how it was to be accomplished. He must be led to believe that the ill-will in Florence against the Medici was already so great that they could be easily overthrown in the usual manner, that is to say, by an insurrection without assassination. Giovan Batista da Montesecco, a vassal of Riario's, was selected, after the blow had been struck, to march into Florence with an armed force, and follow up the advantage gained. He consented, but warned the conspirators that the business might not be so readily accomplished as they thought.

Montesecco had also another misgiving as to what the Pope would say to the plan. The answer given by Girolamo and Salviati is most significant. "Our Lord, the Pope", they said, "will always do what we persuade him, and he is angry with Lorenzo, and earnestly desires this". "Have you spoken to him of it?". "Certainly", was the reply, "and we will arrange that he shall also speak of it to you".

This interview, at which Salviati and Girolamo alone were present, soon took place. According to the later and thoroughly credible statement of Montesecco, the Pope from the first declared that he wished for a change of government in Florence, but without the death of any man.

"Holy Father", replied Montesecco, "these things can hardly be done without the death of Lorenzo and Giuliano, and, perhaps, of others also".

The Pope answered : "On no condition will I have the death of any man: it is not our office to consent to the death of any, and, even if Lorenzo is a villain (villano), and has wronged us, I in no way desire his death; what I do desire is a change of government".

Girolamo then said, "What is possible shall be done to avoid such a casualty, but if it should occur, will your Holiness forgive its authors?".

"You are a brute", rejoined Sixtus, "I tell you I do not desire the death of any man, but only a change in the government; and to you also, Giovan Battista, I say that I greatly wish that the government of Florence should be taken out of Lorenzo's hands, for he is a villain and an evil man, and has no consideration for us, and if he were out of the way we should be able to arrange matters with the Republic according to our mind, and this would be a great advantage".

"What your Holiness says is true", said Riario and the Archbishop. "If, after a change of government in Florence, the State is at your disposal, your Holiness will be able to lay down the law for half of Italy, and everyone will have an interest in securing your friendship. Therefore, be content to let us do all that we can for the attainment of this end".

Hereupon Sixtus IV again spoke very decidedly, without any reserve or ambiguity. "I tell you", he said, "I will not. Go and do as seems good to you, but no one's life is to be taken".

At the close of the audience, he gave his consent to the employment of armed men. Salviati said, as he withdrew: "Holy Father, be content to let us steer

this bark, we will guide her safely". The Pope said, "I am content". Sixtus IV could only understand that those present fell in with his views, and he gave his consent.

The Pope, who had grown up in the cloister, and was little acquainted with the world, evidently believed that the advance of the troops assembled on the frontiers of the Republic, to join the discontented Florentines, would make it possible to overpower and capture the Medici. The conspirators had other views. After repeated consultations, Girolamo and Salviati determined to act in opposition to the clearly expressed desire of the Pope. Preparations were at once commenced.

It is important to observe that Sixtus IV again sent a message through a Bishop to urge the confederates to consider the honour of the Holy See and of Girolamo himself. Had he known anything of the purpose of assassination, such an exhortation would have been absolutely meaningless. For, even if it succeeded, if both the Medici fell at once, and the Republic declared itself free, the honour of the Holy See would be compromised. Sixtus IV accordingly remained, as is perfectly clear from the whole of Montesecco's deposition, under the impression that the plan was to take both the Medici prisoners: Lorenzo on his journey to or from Rome, Giuliano perhaps on his way from Piombino, and then to issue a Proclamation from the Republic. An unprejudiced critic cannot arrive at any other conclusion from the documents before us.

Circumstances had hitherto been unfavourable to the execution of the scheme. As, however, many had been initiated, it became necessary to act promptly, to avoid the risk of discovery. Francesco de' Pazzi had at last won over his brother Jacopo, the head of the family : among the other conspirators may be named, Bernardo di Bandini Baroncelli and Napoleone Franzesi Jacopo, son of the well-known Humanist, Poggio Bracciolini, two of the Salviati, and two clerics, Stefano of Bagnone, a dependent of Jacopo de' Pazzi, and Antonio Maffei of Volterra, who had been led to take part in the plot by grief at the misfortunes of his native city, whose ruin he attributed to Lorenzo. Francesco de' Pazzi and Bandini were to murder Giuliano, while Lorenzo was to be killed by Montesecco; Salviati was to seize the Signorial Palace, and Jacopo de' Pazzi to arouse the Florentines.

Just at this time, in the spring of 1478, the young Cardinal Rafaello Sansoni-Riario came to Florence, in consequence of an outbreak of the Plague at Pisa, and took up his abode at the Villa of the Pazzi. According to the original plan, the Medici were to be assassinated at a banquet; but, as Giuliano was prevented by indisposition from attending it, the murder was postponed. Cardinal Rafaello, who was but eighteen, had no suspicion of all that was going on, and held free and friendly intercourse with Lorenzo de' Medici. Lorenzo repeatedly urged him to visit his Palace and the Cathedral, and Rafaello Sansoni promised to do so on Sunday, the 26th April, 1478. The conspirators determined to take advantage of this favourable opportunity for carrying out their purpose.

Lorenzo had invited a brilliant company to dinner in honour of the Cardinal. Many Ambassadors and Knights, among them Jacopo de' Pazzi and Francesco Salviati, were invited. On the morning of the eventful day, the Cardinal, with a few companions, among whom were the Archbishop and Montesecco, went into the city. Giuliano de' Medici excused himself from the feast on the plea of ill-health, but promised to be present in the Cathedral. This caused a change of purpose, and the church, instead of the banqueting-hall, was selected as the scene of the murder. Montesecco, however, at the last moment refused to perpetrate the crime in the Cathedral, either because he shrank from shedding blood in a church, or, on maturer consideration, from the affair altogether. In his stead, the two clerics, Stefano and Maffei, undertook the deed.

The beginning of the second part of the High Mass was the signal of action for the conspirators. With the cry "Ah! traitor!" Bernardo di Bandini Baroncelli made a rush at Giuliano, and plunged his dagger in his side. Severely wounded as he was, he strove to defend himself, and, in doing so, pushed against Francesco de' Pazzi, from whom he received a thrust in the breast. After this he staggered about fifty paces further, and then fell to the ground, where Francesco de' Pazzi stabbed him repeatedly till life was extinct. Stefano and Maffei had meanwhile attacked Lorenzo, but only wounded him slightly. While his servants and some youths ward off further blows with their cloaks, he fled into the old sacristy, and its bronze door was fastened at once by Angelo Poliziano.

All this was the work of a moment. Very few persons could see exactly what took place. This, and the horror which paralyzed the senses of the immediate witnesses, accounts for the many variations in the details which have reached us. Those who were at a little distance did not know what was going on, and many thought that the dome of the Cathedral was about to fall in.

Salviati's attempt to take possession of the Signorial Palace was equally a failure. Jacopo de' Pazzi's cry of liberty met with no response, while the people rose on all sides to that of "Palle" (the balls in the armorial bearings of the Medici). The slaughter of the guilty at once began. Archbishop Salviati, his brother, and his nephew Jacopo Bracciolini, with Francesco de' Pazzi, were all hung up together from the window-bars of the Signorial Palace. Then the ropes were cut, so that the bodies fell amidst the crowd, where they were torn in pieces, and the severed heads and limbs borne in triumph through the streets. All who were supposed to be enemies of the Medici, whether guilty or innocent, were butchered. The two assassins who had fallen upon Lorenzo had their noses and ears cut off before they were killed.

Montesecco was seized on the 1st, and beheaded on the 4th, May. Neither his withdrawal at the last moment, nor the disclosures which he made in regard to the ramifications of the conspiracy, availed to mitigate his sentence. His statements are of the greatest importance in their bearing on the question of the participation of Sixtus IV in the events of the 26th April. It is certain that he desired that the Medici should be overthrown by force. It is equally certain that he can have known nothing beforehand of the details of the attempted assassination, for these were only arranged in haste on the very morning of the

deed, when it had been found necessary to abandon the plan of murdering the brothers at a banquet.

The further question, whether Sixtus IV approved of the murderous intention of the conspirators, must be answered in the negative. Had this been the case, Montesecco, whose interest it was to make the least of his own share in the crime, would scarcely have concealed the fact. His depositions bear upon them the stamp of truth; they have sometimes been taken in their obvious sense, and sometimes arbitrarily interpreted. In face of such evidence, to continue to make the Pope an abettor in the murder is worse now than it was 400 years ago.

It is, however, deeply to be regretted that a Pope should play any part in the history of a conspiracy. Lorenzo had given Sixtus IV good ground for a declaration of war; the principle of self-preservation demanded active measures for future security, and amongst them, the overthrow of this malignant enemy; but open warfare would certainly have been more worthy of a Pontiff than participation in a political plot, even had it involved no bloodshed.

CHAPTER VII.

THE TUSCAN WAR.—FRENCH INTERVENTION IN FAVOUR OF THE FLORENTINES.

AN unsuccessful conspiracy always strengthens the power against which it has been directed. Lorenzo, who showed admirable skill and tact in making the most of his advantage, now rose to absolute power in Florence. Even those who had hitherto been heartily opposed to him, from Republican convictions, came over to his side. The baseness of this attack on his life, to which was added the abuse of the sacred place and the most solemn act of worship, and the presence of a Cardinal, had called forth the greatest indignation. Immediately after the failure of the plot, this anger found vent in the indiscriminate slaughter of all the enemies of the Medici; and, as time went on, far too much license was permitted to the mob. Twenty-three days after the event, boys were allowed to drag the half-clad corpse of Jacopo de' Pazzi through the streets, and fling it, with ghastly jibes, into the Arno. Cruel reprisals continued even into the year 1480: a well-informed contemporary doubts the guilt of those then sentenced. Renato de' Pazzi, a peaceful man, devoted to study, who had refused to take any part in the conspiracy, was certainly innocent. Nevertheless, he was executed. Bandini was pursued to Constantinople, where the Sultan gave him up to Lorenzo. This

circumstance, and, in a yet greater degree, the letters of condolence which he received from all sides, from Princes and Republics, Statesmen and Cardinals, helped to make him haughtier than ever.

Many ecclesiastics who had nothing to do with the conspiracy were also executed. The Archbishop of Pisa was brutally scourged, without trial of any sort, and Cardinal Rafaello Sansoni-Riario, although perfectly innocent, was imprisoned. These things greatly angered Sixtus IV. Sigismondo de' Conti thus describes his feelings when the tidings first arrived from Florence. "The Pope expressed his horror at the crime, in which the conspirators had added sacrilege to murder. He was also deeply grieved at the danger of Cardinal Sansoni, the disgraceful slaughter of innocent priests, and the ignominious death of the Archbishop. He saw that a serious indignity had been inflicted on the Church. This latter point was specially distressing to him, because it made peace impossible, for it would be a dangerous example for the future, if those who had so gravely infringed her rights were to be left unpunished". Accordingly, Sixtus IV claimed satisfaction from the Florentines for their violations of ecclesiastical immunities, and also demanded the liberation of Cardinal Sansoni, and the banishment of Lorenzo.

The first two demands were undoubtedly just. Donato Acciaiuoli, the Florentine Ambassador in Rome, though he had been deeply affronted by Riario, strongly advised his Government to fulfil the promise which they had made in writing to release the unoffending Cardinal. Florence, he observed, gained nothing by his detention, and the refusal to comply with the righteous request of the Pope must lead to serious danger. But the reasonable representations of their trusty servant, and Ferrante's warning not to add fuel to the fire, were alike unheeded.

It was decided that the Cardinal should for the time be retained in captivity, as a hostage for the safety of the Florentines in Rome. On the 24th May, Sixtus IV sent the Bishop of Perugia to the city with a letter from the Cardinal-Camerlengo to Lorenzo, informing him that a commission was already appointed to commence proceedings against the Republic, unless the Cardinal was at once set free. Venice also advised the Florentines not to give their enemies just cause of complaint by keeping Sansoni in prison. All, however, was in vain; although there had been ample time to establish the innocence of the young Prelate, they would not hurry themselves, and matters daily grew worse.

Sixtus IV was at last weary of waiting. He would, no doubt, have preferred a reconciliation with Florence, but that had been rendered impossible. Accordingly, on the 1st June, fully four weeks after the tragedy, and, therefore, when the excitement of the first moment had subsided, he issued a Bull excommunicating Lorenzo and his adherents. The Bull began by enumerating the whole series of Florentine offences : the protection afforded to the Pope's enemies, the attack on the Papal territory, the hindrances placed in the way of those who were going to Rome, and the detention of convoys carrying provisions to the Court there, finally their treatment of Francesco Salviati. Passing on to the events which had succeeded the conspiracy, Sixtus IV declared that the vengeance taken in the

form of executions and banishments had been cruel and excessive. Lorenzo, the Gonfaloniere, and the Prior in their mad fury, and by the instigation of the devil, had even laid hands on ecclesiastics. They had hanged the Archbishop at the window of the Palace in the sight of the crowd, and, cutting the rope, allowed the corpse to fall down into the street. Other innocent clerics, of whom some belonged to the suite of Cardinal Sansoni, had also suffered death. Finally, although the Bishop of Perugia had been sent as Legate to apply, in the name of the Pope, for the release of the Cardinal, he had not been released. On account of these crimes, the sentence of the greater Excommunication was pronounced against Lorenzo and the other functionaries, and, in the event of these guilty persons not being delivered up, the city would be laid under an Interdict and its Archiepiscopal dignity cancelled. In spite of the severity of this Bull the Cardinal was still kept in prison, though the rigor of his captivity was somewhat mitigated. Its character may be gathered from the description a Sienese chronicler gives of his appearance when he was at length set free. "On the 13th June", says Allegro Allegretti, "Cardinal Sansoni-Riario came to Siena, more dead than alive from the terror he had endured, and still feeling as if the rope were about his neck".

On the 20th June the Cardinal arrived in Rome. The deadly pallor of his face bore witness to the torments he had undergone, and this he retained to the end of his life. Francesco Gonzaga had left the City two days previously for Bologna, where the friendship of the Bentivogli with the Medici awakened some anxiety. The instructions given to Gonzaga betray the Pope's uneasiness, and his consciousness of the bad impression produced by Florentine events. They also show that there had been a possibility of reconciliation; for, after exhorting the Bolognese to be faithful, Sixtus IV observes, "We have not taken it ill, nor do we blame our people for their friendliness towards the Florentines when the tidings of these disturbances first reached them. On the contrary, we approved of this manifestation of sympathy with their neighbours, as the Republic had as yet done nothing against the Church, and we ourselves wrote to Florence to express our regret at the occurrence. But, now that they have committed such shameful outrages on the ecclesiastical state, and have incurred the censures of the Church for their persistent violations of her rights, the Bolognese can no longer in honour continue to stand by them. Such a course would constitute an attack upon us, and would not assist them".

The long-deferred, but practically inevitable, release of the Cardinal, whose innocence could not be denied, was the only concession made by Florence to the Pope. The Excommunication was despised; the Interdict, pronounced on the 20th June, was disregarded; and the alliance of other Powers, especially that of France, was sought. Memorandums, couched in violent language, and evading any real answer to the very definite charges made by the Pope, threats of a Schism, and preparations for war were the only reply vouchsafed by the once pious and fastidiously refined Florentines to the exhortations of Sixtus IV, who was convinced of the justice of his cause.

Although the Florentine Government set the Excommunication and Interdict at naught and constrained the clergy to perform their sacred functions,

they still complained of the distress which these censures had occasioned. The document known by the name of the *Synodus Florentina* bears eloquent testimony to the fanatically anti-Roman temper of the party of the Medici. In it Sixtus IV is called "the adulterer's minion" and the "Vicar of the Devil". He is loaded with accusations, and the hope is expressed that God may deliver His people from false shepherds who come in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves.

War began in July. Ferrante, hoping by this means to gain Siena, espoused the Pope's cause. Lorenzo looked for support to Venice and Milan, and especially to Louis XI, King of France.

The relations between this monarch and Sixtus IV had, from the first, been precarious. In 1472 he had, indeed, sent an Embassy to Rome to do homage, but it soon became evident that the King adhered to his former policy of holding the Pragmatic Sanction and the Council over the Pope's head, to be used as a bait or a rod according to circumstances. The agreement arrived at by direct negotiation with Rome, in the summer of 1472, lasted but a short time. The University resisted it as contrary to the Basle Decrees. Although Louis XI. ratified the Concordat on the 31st October, 1472, the Pragmatic Sanction continued practically in force.

The Mission of the Bishop of Viterbo to France made no change in the state of affairs. In the following year the tension between France and Rome increased. At the French Court it was asserted that the creation of Cardinals by Sixtus IV on the 7th May, 1473, was simoniacal. The Pope justified himself in a letter addressed to the King on the 22nd August, 1473. Louis' reply is a combination of reclamations and insults. He angrily complained that the Pope had passed over the names of those whom he had proposed for the purple, while the wishes of other Princes were taken into consideration. He thought that he deserved better treatment than this, after having abolished the Pragmatic Sanction in his kingdom. He concludes with an appeal to Almighty God and to St. Peter and St. Paul!

At the end of 1474 Sixtus IV had remonstrated with the King about his breach of the treaty of 1472. Louis answered by issuing an Ordinance on the 8th January, 1475, for the protection of Gallican liberties, making the Royal Placet necessary for the publication of all Papal Decrees. Measures of a more hostile character soon followed. The King began to agitate for the holding of a General Council, in which the Church might be reformed, and a lawful Pope elected in the place of Sixtus IV, who had obtained his elevation by simony. Secret Dispatches, taken from a Hungarian Envoy, show that Louis was seeking to win over the Emperor Frederick to this scheme. The King of Hungary, upon this, represented to the Duke of Burgundy that he and the King of Naples thought that the only way of counteracting these manoeuvres was for the Pope himself at once to summon a Council. He had obtained the consent of Sixtus IV, and urged the Duke to join them.

In January, 1476, Louis XI issued a decree convening an Assembly of the French Church at Lyons. Thus, the Council so much dreaded in Rome threatened to assume a tangible form. There can be no doubt that the Mission of the Legate, Giuliano della Rovere, to France was connected with this movement. His presence there was also rendered desirable by the state of affairs in Avignon, of which city Giuliano was Archbishop; to this dignity was now added that of Papal Legate. Louis XI, who was by no means favourably disposed towards the Cardinal, did everything in his power to have the former Legate, Charles of Bourbon, reappointed. A violent dispute ensued, in which it seemed probable that Avignon would have been lost to the Holy See. At last the difficulty was settled by the elevation of Charles of Bourbon to the purple. Giuliano founded a College in Avignon for poor students, and was received with great honour in Rome when he returned in the autumn. In the difficult negotiations with the French monarch, he received much assistance from his skilful judicial adviser, Giovanni Cerretani.

In March, 1476, while Giuliano was still in France, a letter from Louis XI was affixed to the door of St. Peter's, commanding all Cardinals, Prelates, and Bishops of his kingdom to appear at Lyons on the 1st May, to deliberate upon the assembling of a General Council. In the latter part of April a French Embassy presented to the Pope the strange request that he would consent that a Council should be held at Lyons, and would be present there in person! Naturally, this request was not granted. For a considerable time it was reported that the Pope, in order to be beforehand with the opposition, would himself summon a General Council to meet in Rome. In the end, neither Assembly came to anything.

Trusting in the schismatical tendencies of Louis XI, Lorenzo had, on the 2nd May, 1478, begged him to interfere in the contest between Florence and Rome, and a little later had recommended that the usual means of intimidation, the proposal to hold a Council, should be employed. Louis XI did not need much persuasion. "The King", writes a contemporary Ambassador, "has long cherished the plan of bringing about a schism in the Church. That which has taken place in Florence has furnished him with an excellent pretext. He is, therefore, sending Philippe de Commines to Turin, Milan, and Florence. Commines will not go to Venice, the King being persuaded that, in consideration of the close alliance existing between him and the Signoria, the intimation of his wishes by a simple letter will suffice".

Sixtus IV did not allow himself to be cast down by the threats of the French King. On the 4th July an outbreak of the Plague obliged him to betake himself to Bracciano where he was joined by the representatives of Venice, Milan, Florence, and Ferrara, together with two new French Envoys. On the 1st August all the Envoys met together in the Castle of the Orsini, and declared that the conduct of Sixtus IV towards Florence and towards Lorenzo was a scandal to Christendom, because it hindered the Turkish war. Repeated requests for the removal of the censures had been made to him without any effect. For this reason, and also because all countries, chiefly through the faults of their rulers, needed thorough reform, they demanded the assembly of a Council in France. On the 16th August

Louis XI strictly forbade the transmission of any money to Rome. In September the temporal and spiritual magnates of France met at Orleans. They left it to the King's choice, either in the following year to summon a National Council at Lyons, or to prevail on the Pope to hold an Ecumenical Council. Louis XI. deemed it best to attempt the latter alternative.

At the beginning of December, 1478, Sixtus IV, with the object of counteracting French intervention in the contest with Florence, as well as the schismatic tendencies of Louis XI and his Italian allies, sent two Nuncios to the Emperor Frederick III, requesting his mediation and assistance.

The Ambassadors of the King of France reached Rome in January, 1479, and at once presented a memorial desiring the assembling of a General Council. Sixtus IV replied that, if it were possible, such a measure would be very agreeable to him. At the same time, he made it plain that the Pope presides in an Ecumenical Council, and that to him belongs the right to summon it. He pointed out that the Prelates, who are all bound to maintain the liberty of the Church, would sit in it. No one of them would say that Lorenzo had the right to cause the Archbishop of Pisa to be ignominiously executed. All would rather be of opinion that he ought first to have been sentenced by an ecclesiastical tribunal. No Council could be called without the consent of the Emperor and the other Princes. The summoning of such an Assembly belongs to the Pope, and he would take council with the Cardinals on the subject. Sixtus IV went on to speak in detail of the ecclesiastical policy of Louis XI. As to the Pragmatic Sanction, he said, either it was a just measure, in which case the King ought not to have revoked it, or an unjust one, in which case he ought not to think of reviving it. In recalling the Prelates from Rome, he had done wrong: their Superior is the Pope. The King would do better to lead Lorenzo to acknowledge his errors, and to persuade him to make fitting atonement; if he did this, he would obtain pardon, and all else would be easily settled. A Papal Ambassador had, moreover, been sent to France, and would be able to give the King further explanations. Numerous letters received from members of the clergy bear witness to the indignation that would be felt if the Pope did not appear as the avenger of the insults offered to the Church in Florence.

On the 15th February another Consistory was held, and the Emperor's Ambassadors, who had meanwhile arrived, took part in it. They expressed themselves with decision regarding the rights of the Holy See, and did not think a Council necessary, but were of opinion that the Pope should deal mercifully with the Florentines, and conclude a peace, considering the present danger from the Turks.

Most of the Cardinals also desired the restoration of peace, but Count Girolamo and Ferrante laboured with all their might against it, and were at first successful.

The uncertain attitude of Bologna at this time caused the greatest anxiety to Sixtus IV, and Cardinal Gonzaga was sent there.

In the struggle with Florence, things at last seemed taking a more favourable turn, for, on the 4th April, 1479, the ecclesiastical censures were suspended, and a temporary cessation of hostilities proclaimed by the Pope. Emboldened by this partial success, the Florentines, on the 28th April, rejected the terms of peace then proposed by him. In order to bring pressure to bear upon Sixtus IV, on the 27th May the League, through the Venetian Ambassador, declared that, unless within a period of eight days he should agree to a peace, their representatives should be instructed to leave Rome. Sixtus IV was justly astounded at this communication, which was tantamount to a refusal to make any concession to his demands. The limit of eight days, also, was an insult, since it was obviously impossible for him to conclude a peace without the consent of his allies, Naples and Siena. On the 31st May the Ambassadors again assembled in the Pope's presence for further negotiations. Sixtus IV caused a long statement to be read, showing that he had tried every possible means for the restoration of peace. The Venetian Ambassador replied in a speech in which he greatly incensed the Pope, by dwelling largely on the obnoxious topic of the Council. When the French Ambassador, in the name of his master, and in accord with the League, endeavoured to enter a protest against the failure of the negotiations, Sixtus IV brought the meeting to a close. Soon after this the Envoys of the League left Rome, unaccompanied, however, by those of the French King.

The position of the Florentines grew much worse in the autumn. Discontent was more and more openly expressed; Lorenzo was told to his face that the city was weary of war and needed peace. It became evident that there was no hope of assistance from Louis XI, and this conviction had a great effect on public feeling.

In his necessity Lorenzo boldly resolved to go himself as a suppliant to Naples (6th December, 1479). The utter faithlessness of Ferrante now became evident. Regardless alike of the alliance concluded with the Pope, and of the loyalty which he owed to his suzerain, he did not hesitate to betray him. The treaty of peace, which was the result of his negotiations with Lorenzo and Lodovico il Moro, regarded nothing but his own interests, although he had but recently sworn that he would lose ten kingdoms and his crown rather than let Lorenzo go without securing the conditions desired by Sixtus. The Pope bitterly complained that the victory which had been in his hands was niched away, as it were, behind his back; but, that no one might accuse him of being an obstacle in the way of peace, he ratified the treaty, stipulating, however, that Lorenzo should come in person to Rome; from this time the Tuscan war languished.

Meanwhile Otranto had been taken by the Turks, and this loss did more than anything else to turn attention from these internal disputes to the dangers in the East, and to remove the last obstacles in the way of a complete reconciliation. The advantage which the Florentines derived from the altered condition of affairs was so manifest that many voices were heard which accused Lorenzo of having encouraged the Sultan to attack Apulia. Florence decided to send a solemn Embassy to Rome, praying for the removal of the Interdict. It arrived on the 25th November, 1480, and the negotiations for peace were

promptly brought to a happy conclusion. On the 3rd December the Florentines were released from all ecclesiastical censures.

CHAPTER VIII.

TURKISH EXPEDITIONS AGAINST RHODES AND OTRANTO.

IT has always been a part of the policy of the Eastern conquerors to profit by the quarrels of the Western Powers. From this point of view the last thirty years of the 15th Century had been an exceptionally favourable period for the Sultan. Half Europe was convulsed with wars, and, from 1478, Rome, hitherto always the foremost in the defense of Christendom, had been involved in an unholy struggle, with the result that for a time Sixtus IV did nothing in this direction.

From 1477 the outlook in the East had grown more and more gloomy. In May of that year, while a Turkish army blockaded Lepanto and Leucadia, Achmed Bey attacked Kroja, the capital of Albania, and, on the 15th June, 1478, this stronghold was compelled to capitulate. Schabljak, Alessio, and Drivasto also fell into the hands of the Turks; only Antivari and Scodra continued to hold out though besieged.

Even more distressing than these losses were the barbarous incursions of the Turks into the Austrian Alpine Provinces, Friuli, and Upper Italy. The Tuscan war deprived the Venetians of all hope of assistance from their fellow-countrymen; and an alarming outbreak of the Plague added yet more to their discouragement. The Signoria took the momentous resolution of abandoning the contest. On the 25th January, 1479, a treaty of peace was signed at Stamboul by Giovanni Dario, the Venetian Commissioner. The conditions were hard. Not only Kroja and Scodra, the Albanian chieftains, and the house of Tocco, but also even Euboea and Lemnos were abandoned to the enemy; however, the trade of the Republic with the Levant was preserved. From this moment a period begins during which the whole policy of Venice is devoted to the one object of maintaining this advantage.

In the very nature of things, for a conquering state there is no standing still. This was evident after the great successes gained by the Turks over the first naval power of the West. In the summer of 1479, Leonardo Tocco the Third was driven

from Leucadia. The unfortunate man sought refuge in Rome, where the number of fugitives from the East was constantly increasing. Sixtus IV generously gave him 1000 ducats at once, and allowed him twice that sum as a yearly pension, promising to do more when better times should come.

The next year an attempt was made to put an end to the rule of the Knights of St. John in Rhodes. They had been the terror of the Turks, and the object of their bitterest hatred. As there was no Christian naval power now to be feared, the task seemed an easy one; but the heroic valour of Pierre d'Aubusson and his Knights wrought marvels, and this last bulwark of Eastern Christendom was saved for a time (Summer of 1480). Tidings of the approach of succour from the West hastened the departure of the Turks. Sixtus IV had granted a special Indulgence to all who should do anything to aid the Knights; had called upon the Italian Powers to assist them, and besides himself sending two ships with provisions and war materials, was preparing for further exertions.

Western Christendom had not yet recovered from the agitation caused by the struggle in Rhodes, when a fresh disaster filled all hearts with terror and dismay.

Mahomet had long been gazing with covetous eyes on the wealth of Italy, the seat of his great enemy, the Papacy. There can be no doubt that the insane jealousy of Venice at the increase of the power of Naples, hurried on the impending attack. If the Signoria did not actually invite the Turks into Italy, they certainly allowed them to believe that their arrival would be far from unwelcome to them.

The result appeared in the dispatch of a Turkish fleet, with a number of troops on board, to Apulia. On the 11th August, 1480, Otranto was in the hands of the Infidel. Of its 22,000 inhabitants, 12,000 were put to death with terrible tortures, and the rest carried away into slavery. The aged Archbishop, who, with heroic courage, had remained to the last before the altar imploring the help of God, was sawn in two, as was also the Governor. Indescribable horrors were perpetrated. Many captives, who refused to become Mahometans, were slaughtered on a hill before the city, and their bodies thrown to the dogs.

The tidings that the victorious banner of the Crescent had been planted on Italian soil produced unutterable consternation. "In Rome", says Sigismondo de' Conti, "the alarm was as great as if the enemy had been already encamped before her very walls. Terror had taken such hold of all minds that even the Pope meditated flight. I was at that time in the Low Countries, in the suite of the Cardinal Legate Giuliano, and I remember that he was commissioned to prepare what was necessary at Avignon, for Sixtus IV had decided upon taking refuge with the French, if the state of affairs in Italy should become worse".

Ferrante's dismay was even greater than that of the Pope. His son, Alfonso, was immediately recalled from Tuscany, and the assistance of Sixtus IV, and all the other Princes of Italy, vehemently invoked with the threat that, unless active support were speedily given, he would throw in his lot with the Sultan for the destruction of all the others. We see, from the report of a contemporary historian

on the Papal side, how unfriendly were the relations between the Pope and the King of Naples at this time. "Sixtus IV", he writes, "would have witnessed with great indifference the misfortunes and losses of his faithless ally, had Ferrante's enemy been any one but the Sultan; but it was a very different matter when the common foe of Christendom had actually got a footing on Italian soil, and speedily the Papacy and Rome itself were threatened with utter ruin, unless he were promptly expelled. He at once sent all the money that he could get together, permitted tithes to be levied from all the clergy in the kingdom, and promised a Plenary Indulgence to all Christians enlisting under the banner of the Cross".

Immediately on the landing of the Turks in Apulia, Sixtus IV had appealed to the Italian Powers, and his cry for help was soon repeated in yet more pressing terms. "If the faithful", he said, "especially the Italians, wish to preserve their lands, their houses, their wives, their children, their liberty, and their lives, if they wish to maintain that Faith into which we have been baptized, and through which we are regenerated, let them at last trust in our word, let them take up their arms and fight".

In a Consistory, held on the 14th August, it was determined that every possible effort should be made to expel the Turks from Otranto.

On the 18th August Gabriele Rangoni was appointed Cardinal Legate to Naples, and, on the 23rd, he started for his post. On the 22nd September fresh Briefs were addressed to all the Italian States, desiring them to send representatives to a Congress to be held in Rome at the beginning of November. The example set by Sixtus IV, in his reconciliation with Florence, could not fail to have a good effect on his efforts for the restoration of peace in Italy. One of the conditions of the treaty with the Republic was that, it should furnish fifteen galleys for the war with the Turks. On the 4th December Cardinal Savelli was sent to Genoa, to endeavour to reconcile the contending parties there, and to superintend the equipment of the Papal fleet in the harbour.

The Divine assistance was invoked by an ordinance of the Pope, desiring that the Octave of the Festival of All Saints should henceforth be solemnly celebrated throughout Christendom. The preparations for the Crusading fleet were at once commenced; twenty-five galleys were to be built, partly in Ancona, and partly in Genoa. As the Papal Treasury was empty, Sixtus IV was compelled to have recourse to extraordinary taxation. A tax of a gold ducat was, in the first instance, laid upon every hearth in the States of the Church, and then a tithe imposed for two years on all churches and convents in the Papal territory.

A Brief of Sixtus IV to Bologna, dated 3rd January 1481, furnishes detailed information regarding the deliberations of the Envoys assembled in Rome. The Pope explains that, as a tax for the expenses of the Turkish war has to be imposed on all Princes, he and the Cardinals, in order to set a good example, have undertaken to contribute the sum of 150,000 ducats, although so large an amount is almost beyond his powers. 100,000 ducats of this is to be expended on the equipment of twenty-five triremes, and the remaining 50,000 to be sent to the King of Hungary. He, moreover, engages to collect 3000 soldiers for the

recovery of Otranto, to which place he has already sent troops. With regard to the building of the fleet, the Ambassadors are of opinion that 100 triremes must be prepared, and 200,000 ducats be sent annually to the King of Hungary. The money required for these purposes is to be raised among the several Powers ; he and the Cardinals having already contributed their share, the preparation should be completed by March. The Bolognese must not delay, for the danger was imminent.

The action of the Pope was not confined to Italy. He was unremitting in his endeavours to unite all the Princes of Europe against the common foe. The results varied in different places. King Edward IV. of England declared that it was unfortunately impossible for him to take part in the war. No help was to be expected from distracted Germany. Even now, the States assembled to take counsel together were unable to come to terms.

Tidings of a more favourable nature arrived from France, where Giuliano della Rovere was at this time acting as Papal Legate. He had been charged to bring about a peace between Louis XI, Maximilian of Austria, and the Flemings, to obtain the release of Cardinal de La Balue, and procure French assistance for the Crusade. Giuliano had been obliged to renounce the exercise of his full powers as Legate, but he was in great measure successful in regard to the Crusade. On the 28th August he was able to forward to the Pope a royal letter, containing the most satisfactory assurances as to the share France would take in the war. Envoys were to be sent to Rome to settle the details. In the instruction for this Mission, Louis XI says : "No sufficient resistance can be offered to the Turks at less cost than at least 100,000 golden scudi a month. He proposed himself to furnish 100,000 annually, and twice that sum if the Pope would allow him to impose a tribute on all ecclesiastics in his kingdom, and would send him a Legate provided with all the faculties desired by the King, and especially with full powers to absolve in cases reserved to the Pope. Other Christian Princes, however, must also contribute their share. The King counted on 40,000 scudi annually from Italy and the States of the Church; on 200,000 from Germany, which had so many rich Archbishops, Bishops and Beneficiaries, Princes and cities; and on the same amount from Spain. The King of England might contribute 100,000 scudi. Venice, he had heard, would not be unwilling to declare war against the Turks if help from Italy were certain. The plenipotentiaries were accordingly authorized to unite with the other Italian Powers in promising an annual subsidy of 300,000 scudi to the Republic. In the event, however, of the other Kings and nations not giving any definite promise, the French Envoys were only to undertake that their Government would contribute its just share of the burden. The Pope must also, above all, secure France against England".

Soon after the arrival of the French Mission (8th March) Sixtus IV wrote a circular letter to the Italian Powers, laying before them the proposals of Louis, as expressed in a Memorandum, in which the Envoys had embodied the result of their negotiations. It proclaimed a general peace throughout Italy, and decreed that speedy assistance against the Turks should be rendered with the least

possible delay. France promised troops, and was to be included in the alliance. The Emperor was also invited to join it, and a subsidy of 50,000 ducats was allotted to the King of Hungary. The Pope undertook to furnish twenty-five, and King Ferrante forty triremes. Genoa promised five galleys, Ferrara four, Siena three, and Bologna two, Lucca, Mantua, and Montferrat one each; while Milan engaged to give 30,000 and Florence 40,000 ducats.

According to the testimony of a contemporary historian, the Milanese and Florentines were not remiss in contributing money; the Venetians only held aloof, because they had concluded peace with the Sultan.

On Passion Sunday, the 8th April, 1481, Sixtus IV published an Encyclical, calling on all the Princes of Europe to take part in the Turkish war. Indulgences were proclaimed throughout Italy, and the tithe for the war was levied. On the 9th April the tithe was announced in France and Dauphine, and Giuliano della Rovere appointed Collector-General. Notwithstanding the daily increasing danger, there was still in many places but little zeal. The wealthy city of Bologna, for instance, declared that the tribute of hearth-money and the equipment of two triremes were too much for her; the Pope accordingly, on the 1st February, 1481, forgave the tribute, but urged that the two vessels should be prepared at once. A Papal Brief of the 3rd May to the Vice-Legate at Bologna shows that the city then professed itself willing to contribute 2000 ducats towards the expenses of the war. The Pope considered the sum very small, but had all the more hope that it would be sent without delay. In June we hear of difficulties. On the 7th of August it was still unpaid. At last, on the nth of September, it arrived! Several other cities behaved in the same manner.

Personally, Sixtus IV. gave the best possible example. He parted with his own silver plate, and sent a large quantity of sacred vessels to the Mint to meet the expenses of the Crusade.

In the midst of these anxious and hurried preparations came tidings of the death of the mighty conqueror, whose name, during one whole generation, had filled Europe and Asia with terror. By the end of May rumours of this event began to circulate in Rome, and, on the 2nd June, the report was confirmed by letters from the Venetian Government to its Envoys. Cannons were fired, and all the Church bells rang to announce the good news. The Pope himself went at once in thanksgiving to the Vespers at S^{ta} Maria del Popolo, which the Sacred College and all the Ambassadors also attended. As darkness came on, bonfires were lighted in all directions. On the 3rd of June, processions of thanksgiving were ordered during three successive days, and Sixtus IV personally took part in them. Briefs, dated the 4th June, pointed out to all Christian Powers that this was the moment for dealing a decisive blow. Sixtus IV was able to announce that he had already equipped a fleet of thirty-four ships at Genoa, which would soon be in the Tiber, and that men-of-war were being built at Ancona and would be added to the Neapolitan fleet.

On the 30th June the Pope, with all the Cardinals, went to S. Paolo for the blessing of this fleet, which brought the Cardinal Legate Savelli back to Rome,

and also its recently appointed Admiral, Cardinal Fregoso. After Vespers, the Pope held a Consistory. Savelli gave an account of his mission, and the ceremony of opening the mouth of Cardinal Fregoso then took place. Sixtus IV made him an address on the task which he was called upon to undertake, "gave him his Legate's ring and the banner which he had consecrated for the fleet. The captains of the ships then came in, kissed the foot of the Pope, and were signed with the cross on their breasts. At the close of the Consistory, the Pope, with the Cardinals and a great number of Prelates, proceeded to the river, where the galleys were lying at anchor, went on board each of the vessels, and gave the Apostolic blessing. The crew stood fully armed on the decks and saluted when he appeared. Weapons were brandished, swords drawn and struck upon the shields, and military evolutions executed as in actual battle. Hundreds of hoarse voices shouted the Pope's name amid the thunder of artillery; "it was a feast for both eye and ear", writes the chronicler, Jacobus Volaterranus.

On the 4th July the Cardinal Legate sailed by way of Naples for Otranto, and, together with Ferrante and his ships, took part in the siege of that place. The resistance of the Turks was most obstinate, and they did not lay down their arms until the 10th September. Ferrante at once informed the Pope of the happy event, and he, in his turn, transmitted the news to all the Powers.

Sixtus IV had, from the first, intended that, after Otranto had been retaken, his fleet, joined by the ships of the other Powers, should proceed to Vallona, and, with the help of the Albanians, wrest this important fortress from the Turks. As early as the 30th of August he had written to Genoa to this effect. The Portuguese fleet of twenty-five vessels, which had appeared before Ostia, was to form part of this expedition. Its Commander, the Bishop of Elbora, begged permission to go to Rome and receive the Pope's blessing, a favour which Sixtus IV could not refuse. But his annoyance may be imagined, when, on his return from a short absence, he found that the Portuguese officers had preferred sight-seeing in Rome to going to the war, while the sailors occupied themselves in robbing the Roman vineyards. It required stringent orders from the Pope to induce them at last to weigh anchor and proceed to Naples, but only to linger there in a similar manner, under pretext of completing their equipment. Sixtus IV repeatedly complained of the conduct of these Crusaders, and especially of that of their unprincipled chief. But it was all in vain.

Meanwhile, still more deplorable events had occurred at Otranto. Disputes had arisen among the victors about the partition of the spoil. On the 1st September the Cardinal Legate wrote word that the captains of the triremes were bent on leaving, because the Plague had broken out on board four ships, and, moreover, their pay had not arrived. Sixtus IV wrote to the Legate on the 10th September, maintaining that he was in no way to blame, he had fulfilled all his promises; he also exhorted Fregoso to use every effort to retain these captains. On the 18th September, after hearing that Otranto had been recaptured, Sixtus IV again urged his Legate to follow up the victory to the best of his power. Great, therefore, was his surprise when he learned from the King of Naples that the Legate had given out that the Pope had desired him to return with his fleet after

the capture of Otranto! Sixtus IV at once, on the 21st September, wrote to the King that he had, on the contrary, always intended and desired that the fleet, after delivering Otranto, should sail to Vallona. At the same time, he sent strict orders to the Legate to proceed thither at once, recapture the place, and destroy the Turkish ships. On the 23rd September Sixtus IV sent one of his naval captains to prevent the return of the Papal fleet, and to urge the Legate to start for Vallona.

All the Pope's efforts were, however, fruitless. By the beginning of October the Legate and his ships appeared before Civit  Vecchia. Sixtus IV hastened there to endeavour to prevail upon him to turn back. Protracted consultations ensued, in which the Pope presided, and the Legate, the Neapolitan Ambassador, and the captains of the ships took part. These last complained much of the conduct of the Duke of Calabria, while Fregoso represented, with all due deference, the impossibility of carrying out the undertaking. The outbreak of the Plague on board the ships, the impracticability of the men, whom no amount of pay could persuade to serve any longer, the advanced season of the year, the essential difficulty of the enterprise, its immense cost—for the repair of the fleet alone, 40,000 ducats would at once be required—all these things were brought forward to prove the enterprise hopeless; but Sixtus IV declared himself ready for every sacrifice. He would, like Eugenius IV, pawn his mitre, he would sell the rest of his silver plate: all was in vain. He was obliged to return to Rome without effecting his purpose, only leaving orders that the harbours of Civit  Vecchia and Corneto should be thoroughly repaired.

CHAPTER IX.

SIXTUS IV AND VENICE AT WAR WITH FERRARA AND NAPLES.— THE BATTLE AT CAMPO MORTO

WHILE Sixtus IV was zealously devoting himself to the Turkish war, Count Girolamo was occupied with matters of a very different nature. His ambition soon involved the too indulgent Pontiff in a new war in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, and even in the City itself. Giuliano della Rovere was at this time Legate in the Low Countries, where he had been sent to make peace between Louis XI. of France and Maximilian of Austria. His prolonged absence

rendered it easy for Count Girolamo to carry out his plans and abuse the affection of the Pope.

It was intolerable to Girolamo that Lorenzo had not only escaped the attempted assassination on the 26th April, 1478, but that it had actually served to render his position more secure. All his thoughts and desires were directed to the one aim and object of obtaining some compensation for this failure. His uncle's advanced age urged him to prompt action. Wholly incapable of making himself a name by valorous deeds, Girolamo, who cared for nothing but his own aggrandizement, was perpetually, by his schemes, running counter to all statesmanlike plans of policy. He thus entangled a generous nature like that of Sixtus IV in deplorable inconsistencies, and took advantage of his uncle's affection to urge him further and further down the steep incline which ends in ruin.

Ferrante of Naples had, during the Tuscan war, faithlessly abandoned the Pope and constrained him to make peace on very unfavourable terms. From this time forth, the chronicler says, the Pope's confidence, withdrawn from Naples, was bestowed on the Venetians. At the beginning of February, 1480, negotiations were set on foot which led to the conclusion of an alliance with Venice. Here Count Girolamo stepped in. Even during the war of Otranto he had formed close relations with Venice. Not content with Imola, he had taken advantage of the dispute which broke out after the death of Pino of Ordelassi, regarding the succession, and seized on the Countship of Forli. After this success he cast his insatiable eyes on Faenza. In January, 1481, Venice had made known her willingness to gratify him in this point also. The Council of Ten, however, warned him that another project of his, which aimed at nothing less than the expulsion of Ferrante from Naples, must be kept a profound secret. According to Sigismondo de' Conti, it was Virginio Orsini, the heir of Napoleone, who urged the Count on to this enterprise. Virginio claimed from Ferrante the Countships of Alba Fucense and Tagliacozzo, which formed part of his patrimony, and which the King had sold for 12,000 ducats to Lorenzo Oddone Colonna and his brother. Orsini was deeply wounded by this transaction, because his family had always been true to the King. He now hoped, by Ferrante's humiliation or downfall, to recover his rights. He promised Girolamo that his family would assist to the utmost in the war against the King of Naples. Sixtus IV, in his irritation against Ferrante, gave his consent to the scheme, but he and Girolamo were well aware that the cooperation of Venice was indispensable. This could only be obtained by offering some tangible advantage to the Republic. Ferrara was accordingly held out as a bait. Sixtus IV was incensed with the Duke, because, in the Florentine war, he had been at the head of his enemies, and because he persistently strove to evade his yearly tribute. Moreover, Ercole of Ferrara had so far forgotten himself as to prohibit the publication of several Apostolic Rescripts in his State, which he governed in the name of the Holy See.

In September, 1481, Girolamo Riario went to Venice. He was received like an Emperor, the Doge meeting him at the foot of the Palace steps. In a Secret Council the Count unfolded his plan for overthrowing Ferrante, and promised the

Venetians Ferrara if they succeeded in conquering it. They were only asked to furnish a fleet, to keep the King in check, and a few troops. Girolamo claimed nothing for himself, except Lugo and Bagnacavallo, two cities in the Flaminia, on the border of his Countship of Imola.

After the Pope's nephew had left the Council, deliberations began. Opinions were divided. The elder men, whose judgment was the clearest, objected to involving the Republic in a fresh war. They represented the difficulty of taking Ferrara, a strong and populous city, surrounded by swamps and a wide river; they averred that Ercole d'Este was a skilful soldier; that his neighbours were bound to him by ties of kindred and friendship, and that he had at his disposal treasures amassed by a long line of ancestors. Doubts were also expressed as to the trustworthiness of Riario, who was not considered scrupulously truthful; it was further urged that Sixtus IV was but mortal and had reached an age when death could not probably be distant, that he was a Ligurian and inconstant in his resolutions, that even if he adhered to his purpose the Sacred College would not stand by him, as they had never desisted from claiming the restoration of Cervia and Ravenna from the Venetians. The votes of the younger members of the Council, however, prevailed against these considerations, and war was decided upon. Girolamo returned to Sixtus IV, after having received the freedom of the city and been admitted amongst her nobles.

The beginning of the year 1482 seemed to offer some hope that peace might still be maintained. Giuliano della Rovere returned at this time from his Mission to France, and Ercole d'Este and Lorenzo de' Medici sought, by means of his powerful influence, to avert the war. They were well acquainted with the Cardinal's opinion of the ambitious and restless Riario, who just then had scarcely recovered from a violent fever, and this fact also made it more probable that the Pope might be induced to withdraw his consent.

In the middle of April the King commenced hostilities by the advance of his troops into the States of the Church. In Rome, preparations for war were but half completed, and Venice would not be ready till the end of April. Two fleets had been equipped by the Republic: one of them, under Vettor Soranzo, was to commence operations on the coast of Naples, while the other, under Damiano Moro, was to penetrate to the States of Ferrara. The land forces were also divided into two armies, under the command of Roberto Malatesta and Roberto da Sanseverino. At the beginning of May Venice declared war against Ferrara. The Marquess of Montferrat, Genoa, and Pietro Maria de Rossi, Count of San Secondo in the Parmesan territory, joined the Papal and Venetian league. Ferrara and Naples found powerful allies not only in Milan and Florence, but also in the Marquess Federigo of Mantua, Giovanni Bentivoglio of Bologna and Federigo of Urbino.

Unhappily for the Papal cause, the ancient feud between the Colonna and the Orsini at this time broke out again.

The immediate occasion of this outbreak was the hostility between the rich and noble families of della Valle and Santa Croce. In the autumn of 1480 the

whole City had been involved in this contest, the della Valle being supported by the Colonna, and the Santa Croce by the Orsini. Not till April, 1481, did the Pope, after much trouble, succeed in restoring peace. A Commission of three Cardinals was appointed to watch over its maintenance, and to arrange all differences that might arise.

As most of the great Roman Barons, with the Pope's consent, had entered the service of Ferrante, and were fully occupied by the war at Otranto, tranquillity for a time continued; but after the recovery of that city, quarrels recommenced, and, fomented by the King of Naples, became more and more violent.

In consequence of the tension which existed between Rome and Naples in the spring of 1482, the Pope recalled the Barons who, since the war with the Turks, had remained in Ferrante's pay. The Orsini, headed by Virginio, the intimate friend of Girolamo Riario, obeyed, and the Conti also, as well as Stefano Colonna of Palestrina, with his sons Giordano and Giovanni, re-entered the Papal service. The Savelli, on the other hand, and the Colonna of Paliano-Genazzano cast in their lot with the King of Naples. Their alienation was partly due to the enmity between them and the Orsini, which Ferrante took pains to foster, but partly also to the domineering ways of Girolamo Riario. The Pope endeavoured, by gentleness and consideration, to repair the harm which his nephew had done, and several Cardinals, amongst whom were Giuliano della Rovere and Stefano Nardini, did their best to pacify the offended Colonna, even at the last moment, but all these efforts were fruitless.

At the beginning of April a fresh incident occurred, which made matters worse. During the night of the 3rd of that month the Santa Croce, aided by the Palace guards, whom Girolamo had given them, attacked the house of the della Valle. Most unfortunately, in the struggle which ensued, Girolamo Colonna, an illegitimate brother of the Cardinal of S. Maria in Aquiro and of Prospero of Paliano, was killed. The Pope, in consequence, outlawed the Santa Croce, and caused their palaces to be destroyed. The exasperation of the Colonna from this time forth knew no bounds.

At this critical moment, several weeks before the Venetian declaration of war, the King of Naples commenced hostilities against Rome. In the middle of April his troops appeared in sight of the Papal residence at Marino, ostensibly for the purpose of defending the Colonna against the Orsini. Ferrante informed the Conservators that he was not taking up arms against Rome, but for the deliverance of the City and of Italy from the slavery to which the bad government of Girolamo Riario had reduced them.

On the 18th April the Pope admonished King Ferrante to withdraw his troops from Rome; on the 23rd he complained in Consistory of the presence of the Neapolitans at Marino, and declared that he could not grant the request of the King's son, Alfonso of Calabria, for a free passage through the States of the Church to support Ferrara.

The Ambassadors of Naples and Ferrara left Rome on the 14th May. They went, in the first instance, with great pomp to Lorenzo Colonna at Marino. Strengthened by the Savelli, and by constant reinforcements from Naples, Lorenzo now ventured to lead his men up to the very gates of Rome. On the 30th May his troops entered the City, but were driven back by the Orsini and Girolamo Riario. Prospero Colonna had previously gone over to the side of the Pope's enemies, and had received in Paliano (on the 22nd May) a garrison from the Duke of Calabria, who had meanwhile appeared before Rome as Commander of the Neapolitan troops.

Sixtus IV was naturally much incensed by this treachery, and all the more so because Prospero had recently drawn a portion of his pay. The Pope also fully realized how injurious to him was the loss of these villages. Therefore, Sigismondo de' Conti informs us, he resolved on a hazardous step, which, however, the sequel proved to have been a judicious one.

A Consistory took place at mid-day on the 2nd June. Count Girolamo and Virginio Orsini attended it, and accused Cardinals Colonna and Savelli of treason. The two Cardinals warmly defended themselves, openly condemning the conduct of their kinsmen and casting all the blame upon them. The meeting was stormy, and lasted until the evening. At last the Pope, to avoid worse evils, gave orders that the accused Cardinals should be kept as hostages for their disaffected families. Cardinal Savelli's brother, Mariano, who had a command in the Papal army, was also arrested. As disturbances were apprehended from the partisans of the Colonna, the Vatican was guarded by horse and foot soldiers. The captured Cardinals were honourably treated during the first day and the following night: Savelli in the house of Giuliano della Rovere, and Colonna with Girolamo Basso, who at that time lived in the Vatican. At the close of the second day an order arrived to transfer them to St. Angelo.

Several hundreds of light Turkish horsemen from the garrison of Otranto had gone over to Alfonso of Calabria, and now formed part of his army, which was encamped within sight of Rome. These wild troops ravaged the Campagna, and spread terror in every direction. On the 6th of June the Papal force was ready. Count Girolamo was Commander-in-chief, and under him were Count Niccolo of Pitigliano, Virginio and Giordano Orsini, Giovanni Colonna, Giacomo and Andrea de' Conti, the Count of Mirandola, and many others.

Sigismondo de Conti has left us a graphic picture of the state of things in Rome at this crisis. "In the Pope's antechambers", he says, "instead of cassocked priests, armed guards kept watch. Soldiers, equipped for battle, were drawn up before the gates of the Palace. All the Court officials were filled with terror and anguish; the fury of the populace was only restrained by the fear of the soldiers".

Thus, with the assistance of the Colonna, Alfonso of Calabria had succeeded in effecting his purpose, and transferring the war to Roman soil. He was perpetually making raids in the vicinity of the City walls, and carrying off men and cattle. The Papal army, encamped near the Lateran, did not venture out, either from a sense of its own weakness or from a fear that the angry

townspeople, in whose vineyards it lay, might shut the gates and prevent its return. To add to all, the Plague again broke out in the City. Alfonso took Albano, Castel Gandolfo and Civita Lavinia, without encountering any resistance. His father, Ferrante, meanwhile was active. With a fleet of twenty triremes he harassed the shores of the Roman territory. He further succeeded in making himself master of Terracina and Benevento by treachery. The Florentine army, under the command of Costanzo Sforza, took Città di Castello. The Pope was greatly alarmed, and commanded his chamberlains and domestics to take turns in keeping nightly watch. His anxiety increased from day to day, more particularly as the Venetian fleet, on which all his hopes rested, had not yet sailed.

Rome was insufficiently defended, and was shut in on every side by enemies. The perplexity and anxiety of the Pope were increased by accounts which reached him from the North of attempts which the Dominican, Andrea Zuccalmaglio, Archbishop of Carniola, was making to revive the Council of Basle. He had come to Rome in 1478, as Envoy from the Emperor, and received many presents and marks of distinction from the Pope. His ambition led him to aspire to greater dignities, and even to the purple, and, in October 1480, he induced the Emperor to address to the Pope and the Sacred College letters recommending him in pressing terms. In consequence of these letters, Sixtus IV, who readily made promises, seems to have given him some encouragement; but, as the red hat did not arrive, Andrea soon began to pour forth torrents of insolent abuse against the Pope, his nephews, and the Roman clergy. Sixtus IV admonished and warned him, but in vain. There was nothing for it but to call him to account for his calumnies. The Emperor's mediation soon procured his liberation from confinement in St. Angelo, where, out of consideration for Frederick III, he had been treated leniently. The same motive induced the Pope, in opposition to the desire of the Cardinals, to abandon the suit which had been commenced against him, and then to set him at liberty. Sixtus IV soon had cause bitterly to regret his indulgence. Andrea Zuccalmaglio went by way of Florence to Basle, where he falsely announced himself as the Emperor's representative, and even went so far as to assume the title of Cardinal of S. Sisto. On the 25th March, 1482, he entered the Cathedral of Basle during the celebration of Mass, and, with violent invectives against the Pope, proclaimed a General Council, to be held in that city. Even at this time, his secretary, Numagen, clearly perceived that he was not quite right in his head. He could not control himself, was incapable of deliberation, and would listen to no one's advice.

In April, Andrea went to Berne, and was at first cordially received by the authorities, but at the end of eight days the Bernese had discovered his real character. On the 4th May the alarmed Council sent a letter to Basle to warn that friendly city against the danger of espousing his cause. Berne apologized to Rome for having unwittingly shown honour to one who placed himself in opposition to the Church and the Pope.

In Basle, also, Andrea's abuse of the Pope had awakened some doubts, and a suspicion that he was influenced by personal hatred. Nevertheless, he was left

quite free when he formally announced the assembling of a Council at the beginning of May. The Emperor was duly informed, but did nothing, and waited to see what would come.

Sixtus IV was greatly disquieted, and, on the 4th May, wrote to Frederick III, and sent a special Envoy to ask him to take measures to secure the arrest of the Archbishop. The Emperor's attitude now became so strange as to excite suspicions in Rome that Andrea was acting on secret instructions from him. On the 21st July he called the Archbishop "trusty and well-beloved", and asked for information about his project, and, on the 23rd July, he merely recommended the Councillors at Basle to act with caution.

Andrea chose this very time to cut off all means of retreat. On the 20th and 21st July he issued two violent and ill-written appeals, the last of which "was no better than a pasquinade". In the opening words of this detestable production, Sixtus IV, whom he had but a few days before invited to attend his Council, is addressed, no longer as Pope, but as "Francesco of Savona, Son of the Devil, thou who hast climbed to thy high dignity through the window of simony instead of entering by the door, thou art of thy father, the Devil, and seekest to do his will".

If we remember that the Archbishop had not a single adherent among the German or French Prelates, these outrageous railings against the Head of the Church seem almost like the ravings of a maniac; but when we find that Andrea had allied himself with the enemies of the Pope in Italy, it is easier to account for his violence. This evidently took place when he went from Rome to Basle by way of Florence. He must then have received from the Florentines and other conspirators assurances without which he could scarcely have ventured on his hazardous enterprise. A bitterly exasperated Prelate, who promised to raise the whole of the North against the Pope, was, under the circumstances, an important ally, however dubious might be his motives, and however great the peril to which he exposed the Church. The last consideration did not certainly weigh with Lorenzo de' Medici, who already was of opinion that it would be for his advantage to have three or four Popes instead of one.

The experiences of Lorenzo during his first conflict with Sixtus IV, however, deterred him from again exposing himself to the risk of Excommunication. Andrea was, therefore, for the time, only to be supported in secret, and very cautiously. When he had been in a measure successful, and the Pope had been thoroughly intimidated, the allies would proceed to advocate a Council. Not till the 14th September did Lorenzo's confidant, Baccio Ugolini, accompanied by a Milanese Envoy, arrive in Basle.

Ugolini's Reports to his master enable us to estimate the hostility of Lorenzo to the Papacy, and to appreciate the reasons which induced Sixtus IV to make the efforts he did for his removal from Florence. "I offered him" (Andrea of Carniola), writes Ugolini on the 20th September, 1482, "in your (Lorenzo's) name all that I could and knew to favour this undertaking (the Schism), praising him and flattering him as is customary. It is a great thing that he is a Friar; that is the crown of all his qualities, and he has a fearless countenance, which awakens

confidence and knows how to keep a man in his place, and let no one approach him. The citizens (of Basle), too, could not be better disposed, they would not by any means allow their priests to observe the Interdict, and they openly favour the Archbishop as much as they can. This man is quite fitted to serve out the Pope and the Count (Riario), and that is enough". Ten days later this Florentine again wrote confidentially to Lorenzo, saying, amongst other things: "I afterwards made a long speech (to the Magistracy of Basle) in favour of the Council, praising the lords for this honourable enterprise, and extolling the person of Carniola, while I drew a contemptible picture of the government of Sixtus IV, and insisted on the necessity for a Council. They listened thankfully to everything. As regards the matter of the Council, they declare that they are well disposed towards the Holy See, and so far as they can have their way they will take care (they, the Councillors of Basle!) that the Church, which they see to be in great danger, or rather in ruins, shall be reformed to the faith of Christ. Moreover, I (Ugolini) have gained such an ascendancy over the Carniolan (the Pope and Reformer of the future), that it rejoices him more than anything. Every hour he raises his hands to heaven and thanks God who has sent me to him. I need not say how eagerly the Doctors of the University read the letters which I have communicated to the Council here. What more can we desire? The Pope is more hated here than there".

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that Girolamo Riario, the cause of all this trouble, became very unpopular in Rome, and a powerful party, headed by Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, strongly urged the Pope to conclude a peace. But when the Venetian General, Roberto Malatesta, who had hitherto been fighting against Ferrara, appeared in Rome on the 23rd July, the war-party again got the upper hand.

His arrival caused great rejoicing. "This is he who will redeem Israel!" shouted the people in the streets. On the 24th July Roberto was received in secret audience by the Pope, after which he at once began to make his preparations. The Proveditore, Pietro Diedo, brought money by command of the Republic to help in raising fresh troops for the Papal army; 1000 young Romans, ready armed, were enlisted in a week. On the 15th August the Venetian auxiliaries came in, and were blessed by the Pope from a window of the Vatican. Rome was full of warlike enthusiasm. The banners of the Republic, together with those of the Pope, were borne through the whole City, and harmony reigned in the common camp.

On the same 15th August the army advanced as far as Bovillae on the ancient Appian Way. Castel Gandolfo, Castel Savello, and Albano surrendered. Alfonso retired before the superior forces of the enemy behind Velletri to the neighbourhood of Nettuno and Astura, where he expected succour by sea from Naples.

Along this sea-shore stretches a woody morass, a desolate wilderness, the home of the buffalo and the wild boar. In the whole of the Roman territory there is not another district so pestilential as this desert of Maremma. Its air is full of deadly fever, which has given the place the name of the Campo Morto (field of

death); even down to the time of Pius IX it has been a safe refuge for murderers. In the midst of these marshy thickets, at about an equal distance from Velletri and Nettuno, was a fortified enclosure for the breeding of buffaloes and cattle; this castrum took from its Church the name of San Pietro, and from its moats the surname in Formis. Alfonso of Calabria had here assembled his troops to await the attack. His position was a strong one, for his army occupied a sort of island, covered to the south by a small swamp, and protected on the north and east by trees and brushwood. To the west, where the Papal forces made the attack, there was a meadow about 500 paces in width, which was crossed by a ditch about two feet deep to carry off the water. Behind this, Alfonso's artillery was placed; some 300 paces further back he caused a considerably deeper trench to be made for the defense of his troops.

Roberto Malatesta, to whom Riario had resigned the command, having set his troops in order of battle and exhorted them to bravery, ordered the foot soldiers to make the attack. These were mostly recruits, and were so alarmed by the appearance of the Turks, whom Alfonso opposed to them, that they fled almost immediately. The whole of the Papal army would have been cast into confusion had not Roberto, at the right moment, rushed forward with a chosen band of tried soldiers, by which means he not only repelled the onslaught of the enemy but drove him back behind the trench. Sword in hand, Roberto here held his ground for a whole hour, acting at once as soldier and as leader.

While the battle was raging at this point, Giacomo de' Conti, with six companies, attacked the camp on the right. This movement was hidden from Alfonso by the thicket. Roberto, at the same time, renewed his assault on the front. Alfonso's forces were not able to resist the two-fold onslaught of an enemy superior in numbers; they began to waver and then to fly.

Up to this moment Alfonso had fought like a lion; several horses had been killed under him; now, fearing he would be surrounded and made prisoner, he also took to flight. He had some difficulty in making his way through the wood to Nettuno, where, with a few followers, he took boat for Terracina. Here, under the protection of his father's galleys, he gathered together the remnant of his army.

The battle of Campo Morto in the Pontine Marshes thus ended in a complete victory for the Papal troops. Both sides had fought desperately. The field was strewn with wounded, and the number of dead who lay there was proportionately large; almost all the Janissaries were among them. Many flags and cannons fell into the hands of the conquerors, who also took a number of prisoners, including almost all the Chiefs and Barons.

Roberto proceeded at once to Velletri, to attend to the wounded and rest his wearied troops. On the following day he sent his light cavalry forward to collect the baggage of the enemy.

When the news of the victory reached Rome, bonfires were lighted, the bells of the Capitol rang out, and all the Churches answered. Sixtus IV, with a numerous suite, attended a Mass of Thanksgiving at Santa Maria del Popolo.

The very day after the battle, Marino surrendered to the Pope the keys of the Citadel and the captive Fabrizio Colonna; the idea of pressing on into the kingdom of Naples with the victorious army was spoken of in Rome. Sixtus IV informed the Emperor and all friendly States of the great success obtained by his General, and thanked the latter in a highly eulogistic Brief.

Girolamo Riario made a splendid pageant of his entry into Rome with his prisoners. The Romans were treated with the spectacle of the enemies who had but recently threatened their very walls, now led through their streets as captives, with heads bowed low, in the triumphal procession. Antonio Piccolomini, Duke of Amalfi, and Vicino Orsini, son of the Grand Constable of the kingdom of Naples, attracted the greatest attention. The Pope received the captives with kindness, and honourably entertained the Duke of Amalfi, Pius II's nephew, in his Palace, before sending him back to his family.

"It is a true saying", writes Sigismondo de' Conti, "that human happiness is never long unalloyed". The sounds of rejoicing were soon silenced and exchanged for lamentations over the premature death of the victor.

Roberto Malatesta was engaged in dispersing the hostile troops scattered about the neighbourhood of Rome, when the effects of his tremendous exertions in the great heat of the unhealthy swamps overtook him. The fatal breath of Campo Morto proved stronger than youth and courage.

On hearing of the sickness of his General, the Pope at once sent his own physician to Val Montone, where Roberto lay, and caused him to be transported in a litter to Rome. He was most carefully tended in the house of the Cardinal of Milan, but he did not rally. When his condition left no room for hope, the Pope, with his own hands, administered Extreme Unction. On the 10th September the brave warrior breathed his last.

Sixtus IV paid every possible honour to the deliverer of his capital. He personally took part in the obsequies, and afterwards caused a marble monument to be erected in St. Peter's. After many vicissitudes, this monument, on which the figure of the leader, mounted on his war-horse, is carved in relief, found its way to the Louvre, where it now adorns the hall devoted to Sculpture of the Renaissance period.

On the 11th September the Pope legitimized the sons of Roberto and invested them with the paternal inheritance, thus refuting the imputation that he was influenced by designs upon the fief of the Malatesta; though some such hankerings, perhaps, had been cherished by Girolamo Riario.

The immediate consequence of Roberto's death was to nullify the good effects of the victory of Campo Morto. The Venetian troops, regardless of the promises and entreaties of the Pope, withdrew. The siege of Cavi by the Papal forces was unsuccessful, either because of the strength of its fortifications or because the Orsini, who disliked any further extension of the power of the Pope, neglected to render assistance.

Meanwhile, Alfonso had again rallied his soldiers, and the war continued, generally to the disadvantage of the Papal troops and the detriment of the Romans, whose fields were laid waste and whose flocks were carried off. The Orsini, incensed by Girolamo's selfish proceedings, at last declared that, if no other auxiliaries arrived, they would withdraw. Without them—as Sigismondo de' Conti justly insists—it was impossible to carry on the war against the King of Naples, and especially against the Colonna. The Venetians, on their side, made it plain that the only thing they wanted was Ferrara, and that which might befall the Pope was nothing to them.

Meanwhile, the revived opposition in the North added to all these troubles the threat of a Council and a Schism, and Andrea of Carniola was still unchecked in his career.

Sixtus IV now began to perceive that, by his own action, he was strengthening the hands of a Power which, by its persistent efforts to acquire dominion over the cities of the Adriatic littoral, was likely soon to prove a source of serious danger to him. Giuliano della Rovere seems to have been the person who induced the Pope to separate himself from the Republic, while Girolamo Riario, the soul of the war party, was probably won over by a hope of eventually obtaining the Malatesta fiefs. On the 28th November a truce was concluded with the Duke of Calabria. On the 12th December a treaty of Peace between Rome on the one side and Naples, Milan, and Florence on the other was signed. By this treaty the possession of his States was guaranteed to the Duke of Ferrara, territories conquered during the war were mutually restored, an alliance for twenty years, which the Venetians also were free to join, was concluded, and finally, a pension was secured to Girolamo Riario.

On the following day, the 13th December, Sixtus IV went in procession to the newly-built Church of S^{ta} Maria della Virtù and bestowed on it the name of S^{ta} Maria della Pace (Our Lady of Peace). At Christmas Peace was publicly proclaimed. The important point now was to obtain the adhesion of the Venetians to this alliance, which had been concluded without their knowledge. Failing this, the peace would be little more than a name.

CHAPTER X.

THE POPE'S STRUGGLE WITH VENICE AND THE COLONNA.—THE
PEACE OF BAGNOLO AND THE DEATH OF SIXTUS IV.

THIS one-sided treaty which, under the stress of circumstances, had been concluded by Sixtus IV, had a most prejudicial influence on his relations with Venice. Sigismondo de' Conti, known as an historian, was sent in December, 1482, to pacify the Venetians, and to obtain the cessation of hostilities against Ferrara. The reception which awaited him was far from encouraging; no one ventured to speak to him. The Envoy, however, was not to be deterred from the accomplishment of his Mission; he delivered the letters which the Pope and the Sacred College had entrusted to him, and endeavoured, with honied words, to persuade the Doge and the Council to a truce; all his efforts, however, were ineffectual. The Signoria, after the great sacrifices which had been made, would not draw back. They believed victory to be in their hands, and were determined in any case to carry on the war. Sigismondo's Mission was a complete failure.

The irritation of the Venetians against Sixtus IV was at this time so great that they proceeded to violent menaces. They declared that, if the Pope should be led to employ his spiritual weapons, he would find himself involved in a disastrous war in Italy, the end of which he would not live to see. They said they were in league with all the Christian Powers, and were resolved, if necessary, even to call in the Turks!

Sixtus IV did not allow himself to be intimidated. A State Paper repelling the accusations of the Venetians was drawn up, and it was then determined that, besides Girolamo Riario, Cardinal Gonzaga should be sent as Legate to Ferrara. On the 5th February, 1483, Cesare de Varano was commanded immediately to proceed thither with all the troops he could collect.

At the end of February the Venetian Ambassador left Rome; fearing that Sixtus IV would proclaim a Crusade against Venice, he let fly a parting threat, that in that case there should be no more peace for the Pope. If it came to the worst they would make a league with the Devil!

At the same time, the Congress at Cremona, which, besides the Papal Legate, the Duke of Calabria, and Lorenzo de' Medici, comprised Lodovico and Ascanio Sforza, Ercole d'Este, Federigo Gonzaga, Marquess of Mantua, and Giovanni Bentivoglio, determined to put down the Venetians by force of arms.

Preparations for war were hastily begun in every direction. There was no time to be lost, for Ferrara could not hold out much longer. The Pope was unwearied in his exhortations. He especially insisted on the necessity of attacking

Venice by sea. No less than 50,000 ducats were allotted for the equipment of the fleet, the sum being raised by the creation of new offices.

Early in April, Branda Castiglione, Bishop of Como, was appointed Legate of the fleet. On the 30th of the month the Pope proclaimed his alliance with Naples, Milan, Ferrara, and Florence, and reiterated his promises of assistance to the Ferrarese through Cardinal Gonzaga, who died soon afterwards, a victim to the fatigues of the war. The Venetians on their side entered into negotiations with the Duke of Lorraine, in order again to harass King Ferrante by a popular Angevine rising, while their fleet harried the coast of Apulia and took possession of the important stronghold of Gallipoli.

By the end of May the spiritual weapons of the Pope were also launched against Venice. From the month of February the Ambassadors of Ferrara had been urging him to proclaim an Interdict! Girolamo Riario exerted his influence in the same direction, and succeeded in determining Sixtus IV to take this important step.

The Bull of Interdict was laid before the Consistory on the 24th May. All the Sacred College, with the exception of the Venetian Cardinals, declared their concurrence. Their opposition, which greatly incensed the Pope, was not calculated to alter his purpose. On the same day the Bull was affixed to the Gates of St. Peter's. In the Archives of Modena the jubilant Report is still preserved in which the Ferrarese Envoy tells the Duke that he had at once hastened to St. Peter's to convince himself of the fact.

The Pope at once communicated the Bull to the Emperor, the King of France, and the other Kings and Princes of Christendom for publication in their dominions.

As the Venetian agents in Rome refused to transmit the Bull to their native city, the Pope sent a herald to deliver it to the Patriarch of Venice, whom he charged, under pain of Excommunication and suspension, to impart it to the Doge and the Signoria. The Patriarch pleaded illness and apprised the Doge and the Council of Ten, who enjoined strict silence, and commanded him to continue the celebration of public worship as if nothing had happened. "The indignation of the Venetians against the Pope is extreme", wrote the Ferrarese Ambassador. "They threaten to recall all their Cardinals and Prelates from Rome, and Sixtus IV has prepared, in anticipation of this, a new Bull against Venice". The Signoria, in the first place, appealed to a future Council, and at once began to agitate at the Imperial Court, as well as at those of France and of England, for its convocation, but these efforts were fruitless. Louis XI, on the contrary, at once complied with the wishes of the Pope, and had the sentence against Venice published in his dominions. The Venetian Ambassadors were dismissed. This happy result was chiefly due to the exertions of the Archbishop of Tours and of St. Francis of Paula. The latter had come to Rome in the beginning of 1483. All the Cardinals went to see him. He had three audiences from the Pope, who placed him on a seat of honour by his side, and conversed with him for three or four hours. He was so struck with admiration at the wisdom of his discourse that

he granted him permission to found a new Order. From Rome St. Francis went to the French Court, and was there when Louis XI died (29th August).

Sixtus IV had never allowed himself to be alarmed by the threat of a Council. He declared in Consistory that he was quite willing that one should be held, only it must be at Rome in the Lateran, for the right of summoning it belonged to him; moreover, added the Pope, the Council will necessarily afford an opportunity for the reformation of the ecclesiastical and temporal Princes, and also for calling the Venetians to account for their appropriation of portions of the States of the Church, which must be restored.

No decisive advantage had meanwhile been gained at any one of the various seats of war. Not one of the enterprises begun by the allies had been brought to a conclusion. Contending interests threatened the League with dissolution. But Venice also was in a deplorable condition; her treasury was exhausted, her arsenals empty.

There seemed, indeed, to be a hope of peace in March, 1484, when, at the desire of the allies, Ascanio Sforza, a brother of Lodovico Moro's, was raised to the purple. The Portuguese Cardinal, Giorgio Costa, who possessed the full confidence of the Signoria, had already made considerable progress in this direction, when Girolamo intervened. The selfishness of this insatiable man completely destroyed the prospect of peace, which, at this moment, would have been more honourable to the Pope and more favourable to himself than it ever again could be.

While the Ferrarese war engrossed general attention, internal dissensions again broke out with great violence in Rome. The year 1483 had been a year of peace for the Eternal City; towards its close, Cardinals Colonna and Savelli were liberated. They were joyfully welcomed by their dependents when released on the morning of the 15th November, and at once took part in the Consistory in which Sixtus created five new Cardinals.

If the year 1483 had been one of tranquillity, the next year was stormy. In January the Orsini, confident in the friendship of Girolamo Riario, began the conflict by expelling Antonio Savelli from Albano. The factions flew to arms. On the 21st February the della Valle stabbed their enemy, Francesco Santa Croce, and fortified their Palace. The Colonna now espoused the cause of the della Valle, and the Orsini that of the Santa Croce, and also barricaded their Palaces. The disturbances came to such a pitch that, as we learn from an Ambassador, soon no one in the City felt his life or property secure. "Never", wrote another contemporary, "did I see such confusion. It was the 29th of May; the whole of Rome was in arms. It was said that they wished to seize the Protonotary by night; he kept watch and secured himself as well as he could. I had two hand-barrows full of stones set inside my doors, which I barricaded, and I had heavy stones brought up to the windows and into the loggia. All through the night the cry of Bear! Bear! was heard in the Rio Ponte, and on Monte Giordano watch-fires burned, shots were fired, and trumpets blown".

On the following day, May 30, the Pope made an effort to settle the dispute in an amicable manner. He sent messengers to the Palace of Cardinal Colonna, on what is now called the Piazza della Pilotta, where Lorenzo Oddone, the Protonotary, had entrenched himself, inviting him in the most friendly terms to his presence, and promising him all that his justice and generosity could grant. Lorenzo's intimate friend, Cardinal Sansoni, endeavoured to persuade him to accept the Pope's invitation. Finally, Giuliano della Rovere himself came and offered to remain as a hostage in the house of the Colonna until such time as Oddone should return from the Pope, an offer, as Sigismondo de' Conti observes, suggested rather by affection than prudence.

Lorenzo was fully inclined to go, but his friends, fearing for his safety, prevented him. When Sixtus IV sent the Conservators for the second time, and promised to forgive everything, he mounted his horse and rode away alone. But some armed followers of his met him on the Piazza Trevi. and obliged him to return.

Girolamo and the Orsini had meanwhile ascertained, through Leone Montesecco, the Prefect of the Body Guard, that Oddone had only a crowd of untrained and unwarlike retainers in his house.

All fear vanished. After a proclamation had been made to the effect that all who should take part with the Colonna incurred the guilt of high treason, an order for the forcible arrest of the Protonotary was issued. The attack at once began. A panic seized the Colonna; a great many of them left the Palace, which was soon surrounded on all sides. During the fight, which lasted but two hours, forty of the Colonna and only thirteen of their adversaries were killed. The barricades were then scaled, the Palace was relentlessly plundered, and Lorenzo Oddone taken prisoner. On the way to the Vatican, Virginio Orsini had to defend the unarmed captive from Count Girolamo, who, in his rage, twice drew his sword against him. Sixtus IV reproached him in violent language, and accused him of having twice sought to drive him from Rome. The Protonotary tried to excuse himself on the ground that his people had prevented him when he tried to go to the Vatican, but after all the terror he had undergone he could hardly utter a sound. He was given over to Virginio Orsini and confined in St. Angelo.

"It was fortunate", says Sigismondo de' Conti, "that the conflict was not protracted into the night, under cover of which shame and fear are put aside, and many more would have taken part with the Colonna, so that the Pope and the Orsini might have been in great danger".

The houses of the della Valle were, like the Palace of the Colonna, razed to the ground. The undisciplined soldiers billeted themselves in the houses of the Colonna quarter and wrought cruel havoc there.

A portion of the Roman burghers determined to beg the Pope to make peace with the Colonna. Cardinal Giuliano also earnestly advocated a reconciliation, but again the Orsini and Count Girolamo prevented it. The conduct of the latter became more and more insupportable. He extorted money from the Roman churches, and even from the College of Papal Secretaries and

that of the Stradioti. If we may believe Infessura, whose sympathies are with the Colonna party, high words passed between Girolamo Riario and Cardinal Giuliano, even in presence of the Pope. Cardinal Giuliano had granted asylum in his Palace to some fugitives from Cardinal Colonna's dwelling, and had expressed his displeasure at Riario's violence. Girolamo accused the Cardinal of protecting rebels and enemies of the Church. Giuliano replied that the men whom he protected were no rebels against the Church, but some of her most faithful servants; that Girolamo was hunting them out of Rome, setting the Church of God on fire and destroying her. He was the cause of all the evil deeds which were bringing ruin on the Pope and on the Cardinals. The Count, on this, flew into a rage and declared that he would drive him out of the country, burn his house over his head, and give it up to plunder, as he had done to that of the Colonna.

The attack on the Colonna still went on in the neighbourhood of Rome. The whole of Latium was soon a prey to fire and rapine. On the 27th June Marino fell, and the Colonna retired to Rocca di Papa.

Three days later Lorenzo Oddone was beheaded in St. Angelo, after retracting the confessions torn from him on the rack. The unhappy man met death with calmness and dignity. The corpse was taken, in the first instance, to the neighbouring church of S^{ta} Maria Traspontina, whence, in the evening, it was conveyed to that of the SS. Apostoli. Here it was received by his mother and many other women, wailing and lamenting, and was buried that same night by Infessura and a vassal of the Colonna.

On the 2nd July Girolamo and Virginio Orsini, with their troops, took the field against the Colonna. Events soon proved that they had been very ill-advised in thwarting the efforts made to re-establish peace. Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna defended themselves bravely. The Savelli allowed themselves to be corrupted, and thus many strongholds were indeed lost, but Paliano held out, and Girolamo found it necessary to apply to the Pope for reinforcements. He was soon compelled to own that he had little hope of subduing the Colonna.

Sixtus IV was greatly disturbed by these tidings; he had never anticipated such determined resistance. In the month of March his health, which, till then, had been very good, had begun to give way. Constant agitation and anxiety naturally told upon him at last. In the middle of June he fell ill of a fever. Early in August his old malady, the gout, attacked him with such violence that he received the Sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist.

Meanwhile, the rumour that peace had been concluded with the Venetians continued to gain more and more credence in Rome. This was actually the case.

The warlike zeal of Milan had been gradually cooling ever since the July of 1483. The urgent demands of Sixtus IV had failed to produce any effect. A year later, Lodovico Moro had succeeded in severing himself from the League, of which he had been but a half-hearted member. "When the Venetians were getting the worst of it, and their finances were nearly exhausted", says Commynes, "Duke Lodovico came to the aid of their honour and credit, and every one again got his own, excepting the poor Duke of Ferrara, who had been drawn into the war by

himself and his father-in-law, and was now obliged to abandon the Polesina to the Venetians". It is said that the affair brought Duke Lodovico in 60,000 ducats. "I know not", adds Commynes, "if that is true, but I found the Duke of Ferrara, who, however, had not at that time yet given him his daughter in marriage, under this belief".

Gallipoli and other places on the coast, which had been taken from him, were restored to the King of Naples. Roberto da San Severino, the Captain-General of the Venetians, became commander of the troops of the League, with a yearly salary of 20,000 florins. Riario went away empty. The Peace of Bagnolo (7th August, 1484) became, as Sigismondo de' Conti justly observes, a victory for Venice, for Ercole of Ferrara was obliged to come there in person as a suppliant, and Lodovico sent his son ostensibly to take part in the festivities, but really as a hostage for the fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty.

The Pope would not at first believe in this disgraceful Peace. When, however, he could no longer doubt that his authority had been thus set at naught, his grief was extreme. "Faithless Lodovico!" he was heard to exclaim, in a voice shaken with sighs.

His illness was no doubt aggravated by excitement. A Consistory had been summoned to meet on Wednesday, the nth August, but as the Pope had become worse in the night, the assembled Cardinals were dismissed. Nevertheless, after Vespers, the Ambassadors of the League were admitted into his presence. "When he had heard them", says Jacobus Volaterranus, "he complained, not, as evil-minded and malicious persons have asserted, that Peace had been concluded, but that its conditions were so unfavourable. Up to this time, he said, we have carried on a dangerous and difficult war, in order, by our victorious arms, to obtain an honourable Peace for the security of the Apostolic See, our own honour, and that of the League. Now, when as you know, by the will of God, success was at hand, you bring back conditions of Peace suited to the vanquished, not to the victor. The Venetians had already offered our Apostolic Legate terms much fairer and more profitable to your Princes, terms which were honourable to the Apostolic See, whereas these are disgraceful. The cities taken in the war were to be entrusted to our protection, the nobles were to send us hostages and await our judgment, Ferrara was not mentioned. You propose none of these things, but, on the contrary, shameful conditions, fraught with the seeds of confusion and future evil rather than good. This Peace, my beloved sons in Christ, I can neither approve nor sanction". During the night and the following day the weakness of the Pope hourly increased; the fever consumed his strength. On the Feast of S. Clara, 12th August, in the fourth hour of the night, he passed peacefully away. "Four days previously", Jacobus Volaterranus informs us, "he had received Holy Communion. After his death the Penitentiaries of the Friars-minor washed him, vested him, and laid him out on his bier. In the evening the corpse was brought to the Basilica of St. Peter, and, with all fitting honour, deposited in the chapel which he had himself built in his lifetime, until his monument should be ready. The obsequies commenced on the fourth day, and continued for nine days without intermission".

CHAPTER XI.

CHARACTER OF SIXTUS IV AS SPIRITUAL RULER.

IN following the course of Sixtus IV through the mazes of Italian politics, it is often difficult to believe that he was once the General of a Mendicant Order; but in the ecclesiastical sphere the case is quite different, and his action fully corresponds to what we should naturally expect. As early as the year 1472 the decision of Gregory IX regarding the powers of the Cardinal-Protector of the Franciscans was confirmed. A Bull of the 3rd October of that year made the Feast of St. Francis henceforth a holiday of obligation. This was followed, on the 31st August, 1474, by the Bull known as *Mare magnum* (the Great Sea), by which the privileges of the Franciscan-Conventuals were so greatly augmented. In it those granted by Clement IV and Eugenius IV, which were already very extensive, were not only confirmed but considerably increased. Most ample powers were conferred upon the Conventuals in regard to Divine Worship during an Interdict, jurisdiction in cases reserved to the Pope, exemption from tithes and from episcopal jurisdiction, the administration of the Sacraments, and the burial of the faithful in the habit and in the cemeteries of the Order. All who opposed them were threatened with severe punishments. A similar Bull was also issued in favour of the Dominicans.

Even this was not enough, for in 1479 Sixtus IV granted yet further favours by the Golden Bull. To enumerate the good things bestowed on the Mendicant Friars, and more particularly on the Franciscans, during this long pontificate would be an almost endless task. § Highly as we may estimate the manifold and important labours of these Orders, there can be no doubt that the indulgence shown to them was excessive. Sixtus IV also assisted the Brothers of the Common Life, and approved the order of the Minims and that of the discalced Augustinians.

The many disputes of the Religious Orders among themselves were deplorable. Accordingly, in the Golden Bull Sixtus IV expressly forbade the office of Inquisitor to be exercised by a Franciscan against a Dominican or *vice-versa*; and, to prevent the perpetual conflicts between the Secular and Regular clergy, he also issued a decree that Parish Priests were not to accuse Mendicants of heresy, and, on the other hand, prohibited the latter from telling the people that they were not bound to hear Masses of obligation in their Parish Church. Seculars and Regulars were alike forbidden to influence the faithful in regard to their place of sepulture. Sixtus IV confirmed the rule that the Easter Confession was to be made to the Parish Priest.

There seems to be no doubt that Sixtus IV also desired to effect a reunion between the Franciscan Conventuals and the Observantines. As he had himself been a Conventual, this would have meant the abolition of the

Observantines. They were greatly disturbed about this scheme. Glassberger writes in his chronicle: "During the whole course of his pontificate, Sixtus IV did nothing that could justly be blamed, except that he wished to subject the Observantines to the Conventuals; for this reason God raised up an adversary against him in Andrea of Carniola. From all sides, even from temporal Princes like the Duke of Milan, petitions were showered upon Rome, so that the Pope exclaimed : The whole world is for the Observantines!". St. Jacopo della Marca is said to have predicted to Sixtus IV that he would die suddenly if he carried out this plan. As a fact, the Bull, which had been drafted, never appeared.

The partiality of Sixtus IV for his own Order doubtless contributed to bring about the canonization of St. Bonaventura, which was proclaimed with much solemnity in Rome on the 14th April, 1482. In the previous year he had raised to the altars the Minorites martyred in Morocco in the time of Honorius III.

The exertions of Sixtus IV on behalf of the due celebration of Divine worship and chanting of the Liturgy are also especially worthy of record. It was by him the famous Sistine Choir was instituted and attached to this Chapel for the daily chanting of the Divine Office. The reign of this Pontiff was the beginning of a new artistic life in the Papal Chapel; the most highly-gifted singers from all countries flocked to Rome, allured by the opportunity afforded to them of exercising their art, making their talents known, and reaping rich rewards.

Sixtus IV laboured assiduously to preserve the integrity of the Faith, and, in particular, took measures against the Waldensees in Piedmont and France.

The Pope was, as the preceding history bears witness, most solicitous for the maintenance of the monarchical constitution of the Church. In 1478 he formally annulled the Decrees of the Council of Constance. Martin V. had already refused to recognize them, with the exception of those concerning the Faith. In 1483 he revived the Bull of Pius II prohibiting appeals to a Council.

His ardent devotion to the Blessed Virgin was an admirable trait in the character of this Pope. Sigismondo de' Conti says that he used to pray before her statue with such fervour and recollection, that for a whole hour his eyes never wandered from it. The Italian shrines of our Lady, especially those of Loreto and Genazzano, were the objects of his particular care. In the year 1475 he instituted the Feast of the Visitation and published an Encyclical on the occasion. He also, in many ways, promoted the devotion of the Rosary. In Rome the Pope's veneration for the Mother of God found expression in the erection of the celebrated churches of S^{ta} Maria del Popolo and S^{ta} Maria della Pace, and of the Sistine Chapel, which was dedicated to her Immaculate Conception. In 1475 he approved of a special Office of the Immaculate Conception for the 8th December. Here also his Franciscan sympathies appear. His Order, in opposition to that of the Dominicans, were ardent champions of this doctrine, which was already widely diffused in the Church. The contention between the two Orders on this subject now broke forth anew. A Dominican, named Vincenzo Bandelli, had asserted in public disputations and in writing that those who declared the Conception of the Blessed Virgin to have been Immaculate were guilty of heresy and, accordingly, of mortal sin.

The dispute became so violent that Sixtus IV had to interfere. Although he did not pronounce any definite decision, the Constitution, which he published in 1483, clearly shows to which side he personally inclined. "We", he says, "reject and condemn the assertions of those preachers, who allow themselves to be so far carried away as to represent such as believe or maintain that the Mother of God was preserved from the stain of original sin, to be thereby tainted with heresy or guilty of mortal sin, and those who solemnly celebrate the Office of the Conception of Mary, or listen to sermons in which that doctrine is declared, as thereby committing sin—we reject and condemn, by Apostolical authority, all such statements as false, erroneous, and completely devoid of truth, together with the books which contain them. We also determine and appoint that preachers of the Word of God and others, of whatever station, rank, calling, and character they may be, who shall henceforth rashly venture to maintain that the statements we have thus disapproved and condemned are true, or who shall read books containing them, holding or considering them to be true, after the preceding constitution has been made known to them—*ipso facto*, incur the sentence of Excommunication".

In order, however, to guard against the impression that any special dogmatic decision of the doctrine in question was here involved, the Pope adds to this decree the express declaration that no such decision has yet been given by the Apostolic See, and that, accordingly, the opponents of the view of Scotus and of the Doctors of Paris cannot at present be accused of heresy.

In the sphere of ecclesiastical policy, Sixtus IV made considerable concessions to governments with whom he was on good terms, or from whom he expected assistance of a political nature. The influence of the secular power on ecclesiastical affairs was thus unduly strengthened. Besides confirming the Bulls granted to the Emperor Frederick III by Eugenius IV and Nicholas V, regarding the exercise of patronage for the episcopal Sees of Trent, Brixen, Gurk, Trieste, Chur, Piben, Vienna, and Wiener-Neustadt, on the 8th April, 1473, he also granted him the right of presentation to 300 benefices. A Bull of 1478 also accorded to Frederick the temporary patronage of other Bishoprics. Dukes Ernest and Albrecht of Saxony received from Sixtus IV, in 1476, the right of presentation to several high dignities belonging to the Chapter of Meissen, and, nine years later, that right was extended to all such posts in that city.

A Bull of the 8th July, 1479, allowed the Government of Zurich to fill up all benefices belonging to the Great Cathedral and that of our Lady and the Monastery of Embrach, even such as should fall vacant in the Papal months. In consideration of the number of clerical state criminals and falsifiers of the coinage in the Republic of Venice, Sixtus IV consented that such should be tried by the secular judges in presence of the Vicar of the Patriarch.

The control of the State over the Church in Spain had at this time assumed an immense development. Efforts to strengthen and extend this power led to important contests concerning presentations to Bishoprics. In the autumn of 1478 Cardinal Peter Ferrici, Bishop of Tarragona, died. Sixtus IV then conferred the Bishopric on Andreas Martinez; but King Ferdinand, who desired this preferment for Cardinal Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, commanded, Martinez to resign at once, threatening him with exile and other

severe penalties to be inflicted on himself and his relations. The See of Cuenca (1482) was the occasion of an, even more serious dispute. Sixtus IV had appointed his nephew, Raffaello Sansoni, to this Bishopric, while Isabella wished it to be given to her Confessor, Alfonso de Burgos. The remonstrances of the Royal pair being disregarded, they broke off communication with Rome and threatened to hold a Council. The friendship of the Spanish monarchs was of great importance to the Pope in his Italian difficulties. In consequence, he had granted them extensive concurrent rights in episcopal nominations, and Alfonso de Burgos eventually became Bishop of Cuenca. Isabella, however, it must be said, used her privilege in favour of really excellent men.

Sixtus IV showed greater firmness in regard to the question of the Spanish Inquisition. This tribunal, whose office it was to punish obstinate heretics or notorious sinners who were nominally members of the Church, was created, in the first instance, to deal with the special circumstances of the Jewish community in Spain. No other European State had suffered, to the extent that Spain was then suffering, from the unrelenting system of usury and organized extortion practised by these dangerous aliens. Persecutions were the natural consequence, and often the only alternative before the Jews was baptism or death. Thus the number of merely nominal converts to the Christian Faith soon became very great. The secret Jews were incomparably more dangerous than those who openly professed their religion. If the latter monopolized the greater part of the wealth and commerce of the country, the former threatened alike the Spanish nationality and the Christian faith. On the one hand they contrived to insinuate themselves into a number of ecclesiastical charges, and even to become Bishops, and on the other to attain high municipal honours and to marry into all the noble families. These advantages, and their great wealth, were all covertly devoted to the gradual subjugation of the Spaniards and the undermining of their Faith in favour of the Jews and Judaism. Things had latterly come to such a pass that the very existence of Christian Spain was at stake.

The Inquisition was created as a remedy for these evils. The necessary authorization of the Holy See was given in a Brief of the 1st November, 1478. Ferdinand and Isabella were hereby empowered, after due examination, to nominate two or three Archbishops and Bishops, or other dignitaries of the Church, who should be secular or regular priests, commendable for their prudence and virtue, at least forty years of age, and of blameless morals, Masters or Bachelors of Theology, Doctors or Licentiates of Canon Law. These Inquisitors were to proceed against relapsed Jews who had been baptized and other apostates. The Pope granted them the necessary jurisdiction for proceeding, according to law and custom, against the guilty, and permitted the Spanish monarchs to dismiss them and appoint others, with the reservation that the Bull itself could not be annulled without express mention of its contents.

By the desire of Queen Isabella another effort was made to bring back those who had been led away by preaching and other peaceable means. These attempts being obstinately and scornfully rejected, the Spanish monarchs, in virtue of the Papal Bull, nominated, on the 17th September, 1489, two Dominicans, Michael Morillo and Juan Martin, as Inquisitors for the city and Diocese of Seville. Two secular priests were associated with them. They began

their work without delay. Jews who obstinately persisted in their errors were handed over to the secular power and burned.

Very soon vehement complaints of the harsh and irregular proceedings of the Inquisitors began to arrive in Rome. Sixtus IV's Brief of the 29th January, 1482, shows that grave abuses had arisen. The Pope, in the first place, expresses his displeasure at the omission, without his knowledge, of certain clauses in the former Brief, which, as it appears, would have guarded more securely against abuses, brought the methods of procedure into greater harmony with the course of common law, and facilitated the concerted action which had been usual between the Inquisitors and the Bishops. The result had been that these former, under pretext of the Papal Brief, had unjustly imprisoned many persons without trial, subjected them to cruel tortures, pronounced them heretics, and confiscated the possessions of those who were executed, so that numbers had fled the country in dread of a similar fate. Moved by the complaints of persons who had turned to the Holy See as the defender of all the oppressed, after consultation with the Cardinals, he issued his commands that the Inquisitors should henceforth proceed in conformity with law and justice, and in concert with the Bishops. Sixtus IV further declared that nothing but consideration for the King, whose Ambassadors in Rome interceded for the Inquisitors, could have induced him to continue them in their office. Should they persist in these evil practices, and act without consulting the Bishop of the Diocese, or considering what the salvation of souls demanded, he would put others in their place. The Pope refused to grant the request of the Spanish monarchs for the appointment of Inquisitors in the other portions of their kingdom, as the Dominican Inquisition was already in force there.

Sixtus IV, though approving of the new Inquisition in itself, had soon fresh cause for dissatisfaction with the conduct of the Inquisitors. His displeasure was directed not against the institution, but against the manner in which it was carried out. There can be little doubt that the Spanish monarchs desired to give it too worldly a character, and at times made the real danger which existed from the feigned Christians, a pretext for bringing the tribunal to bear upon their other enemies, and that the new Inquisitors were but too ready to play into their hands. Against these abuses Sixtus IV insisted on the strict observance of the provisions of the common law. We learn something of the domineering character of Michael Morillo from a Bull of Sixtus IV, dated 21st January, 1479. From this document it appears that Morillo had removed the former Inquisitor of Valencia who had been appointed by the General of the Dominicans, and had given his post to another. The Pope cancelled this act, and desired the original appointment to be maintained.

The abuses in the Spanish Inquisition, however, did not cease; consequently, when the jurisdiction of the tribunal was extended to Castille and Leon, Sixtus IV pronounced the severest penalties against Inquisitors who should fail to exercise their office in a conscientious manner, and in accordance with the canonical prescriptions.

It is important to note, as a significant fact bearing on the character of this institution, that not only the ecclesiastical authorization of the first Inquisitors, but also the first regulations as to the mode of procedure,

emanated directly from the Pope. In order to avoid constant appeals to Rome, often made as mere subterfuges and with a view of impeding the course of the law, he, in 1483, appointed the Archbishop of Seville, Papal Judge of Appeals for the Inquisition.

Notwithstanding all these precautionary measures on the part of the Holy See, accused persons were still treated in Spain with arbitrary cruelty and injustice. To remedy this evil, Sixtus IV, on the 2nd August, 1483, decreed :—(1) That decisions on appeals given in Rome were to be held valid in Spain; (2) that shamefaced penitents were to be absolved in secret; (3) that those once absolved were not again to be molested by the Inquisitors. In conclusion, Sixtus expressly admonished the Royal pair to leave those who had retracted, in peaceful possession of their property. “As it is mercy alone that makes us like God, we beg and exhort the King and the Queen, for the love of Jesus Christ, to imitate Him, whose property it is always to have mercy and to spare. Let them have compassion on their subjects in the city and Diocese of Seville, who are sensible of their errors and ask for pardon”.

The appointment of a Grand Inquisitor, which took place in this year, was another important step in the organization of the new tribunal. The idea appears to have originated with the Spanish monarchs. In the autumn of 1483 Sixtus IV entrusted the spiritual powers of this office to Thomas Torquemada, the Dominican Prior of S. Cruz. He was to direct all the business of the Inquisition, was empowered to delegate his Apostolic Mission to others, and, especially, as the Pope’s representative, to hear appeals made to the Holy See, superseding the former occupant of this office. The Grand Inquisitor’s sphere of jurisdiction was, by a special Papal Brief of the 17th October, 1483, extended to the kingdom of Aragon. A Council of Inquisition was now established, mainly with the object of assisting in the hearing of Appeals. Torquemada instituted this Council by virtue of the plenary powers which he had received when his authority was conferred upon him by the Pope. Sixtus IV gave his sanction to this measure. The members of the Council have often been spoken of as mere State officials; this, however, is a mistake. They were State officials, and, as such, derived their temporal jurisdiction from the King, but, in their primary ecclesiastical capacity, they had no authority until it was imparted to them by the Papal Delegate. The Grand Inquisitor, nominated by the King, always received his ecclesiastical jurisdiction from an Apostolic Brief. He proposed, and the King nominated, the Councillors, who derived their spiritual jurisdiction from his approbation, by which he imparted to them a share in his Apostolic authority.

The Spanish Inquisition, accordingly, appears as a mixed, but primarily ecclesiastical, institution. The fact that the condemned were handed over to the secular arm testifies to the correctness of this view. Had the Spanish Inquisition been a State institution, a royal court of justice, there would have been no necessity for this. A court which invariably hands over those whom it finds guilty to the secular arm for punishment cannot itself be a secular tribunal. It was precisely the ecclesiastical character of the new Inquisition which made its judges decline to execute capital sentences, and follow the custom always observed by the ecclesiastical Inquisition of requesting that the prisoner might be leniently dealt with, a formality prescribed by the Canon Law.

The action of Sixtus IV, as General of his Order, would have led to the expectation that he would prove a reforming Pope. Admonitions and exhortations on this point were not wanting. Apart from those voices which clamoured for reform as a means for compassing other ends, many memorials reached Rome from abroad, animated by the purest motives, and urging the need of it on the Pope. The abuses in the Cistercian Order, particularly that regarding *commendams*, were thus brought under his notice. In Rome itself zealous Friars went preaching penance and amendment. Many secular priests were equally earnest, warning their hearers that God would let the Turks come to Rome as a judgment for their sins. The Pope placed no obstacle in the way of such men, but, on the contrary, gave them every encouragement, remembering how valuable the preachers of penance had been in stemming the tide of depravity during the period of the Renaissance. A secular priest, who had come to Rome in 1473 and spoken in this strain, was not only permitted by the Pope to preach everywhere, but also received material support. Sixtus IV sent the celebrated St. Jacopo della Marca in October, 1471, to pacify Ascoli, which was torn with hatred and factions.

A further proof that the Pope was favourably disposed towards ecclesiastical reform is furnished by a Bull, drawn up at his command, and containing minute provisions for the amendment of the Court. Abuses which had crept in among the Cardinals were relentlessly exposed in it, and rules laid down which, had they been carried into effect, would have completely changed the aspect of the Sacred College and of the whole Court. Unhappily, this Bull was never published. The cause of this must be sought not in the remissness of the Pope, but in the opposition of those who surrounded him. His nephews well knew what the consequences of reform would be to them. The Sacred College also put obstacles in the way. A letter of Petrus Barrocius, written in the year 1481, expressly states this, while giving a detailed account of the corruption of the Court. "Sixtus IV", he writes, "wished to set his face against these practices, and appointed a Commission of reform, but the majority of the Cardinals negatived the suggestions of the better disposed". This could not have happened but for the unfortunate changes which had taken place in the members composing the Sacred College.

Torquemada and Carvajal, two unflinching champions of ecclesiastical purity, had died during the pontificate of Paul II. In the time of Sixtus IV, many of the elder Cardinals had gone to their reward. Bessarion, amongst others, in 1472, and, on the 21st December in the following year, at Verona, the brave Forteguerri. Three other admirable members of the Sacred College died in 1476: Roverella (3rd May), Calandrini (24th July), and Agnifilius (9th November). On the 11th August, 1477, Latino Orsino, and in 1478, the austere Capranica passed away; Eroli and Ammanati in 1479 (2nd April and 10th September). The loss of these representatives of better days was not adequately repaired; during the thirteen years of Sixtus IV's pontificate, eight creations of Cardinals took place, and thirty-four prelates, twenty-two of whom were Italians, were raised to the purple; but, in the majority of cases, these appointments were not made from purely ecclesiastical motives, and the worldly-minded Cardinals, such as Jouffroy (d. 1473), Alain (d. 1474, May 3), d'Estouteville (d. 1483, January 22), and Gonzaga (d. 1483, October 21), who

died in the time of this Pope, were but too soon succeeded by others of like character.

The first creation of Cardinals by Sixtus IV was much to be deplored. On this occasion his two young nephews, one of whom was utterly unworthy of this dignity, were raised to the purple. In the second creation, on the 7th May, 1473, the wishes of temporal Princes had predominant weight. The Archbishop of Arles, Philippe de Lévis, had been recommended for the dignity by King René, and Giovanni Arcimboldo, Bishop of Novara, by the Duke of Milan. The selection of Philibert Hugonet, Bishop of Macon, seems to have been due to the Duke of Burgundy's influence. As to Stefano Nardini, Sixtus IV himself said of him that he had made him a Cardinal, in order to encourage the members of the Court to emulate his zeal and industry.

If Nardini, the founder of a College for poor students, was worthy of a place in the Senate of the Church, the same cannot be said of the two other Italians who received the purple on the 7th May, 1473. Giov. Batista Cybò had passed a frivolous youth, and the wealthy Antonio Giacomo Venier was living in a style of princely luxury. The two Spaniards, Auxias de Podio and Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo, created at this time, were, however, excellent men.

More than three years elapsed before Sixtus IV again added to the numbers of the Sacred College. An Ambassador, then living in Rome, speaks of violent disputes between the Cardinals and the Pope, who, notwithstanding all his efforts, only succeeded in accomplishing the creation of five new Cardinals. This took place on the 18th December, 1476. Among those promoted, but one, G. B. Mellini, Bishop of Urbino, was an Italian; two, Charles de Bourbon and Pierre de Foix, were French; one, Pedro Ferrici, was a Spaniard; and one, Giorgio da Costa, Archbishop of Lisbon, a Portuguese. This last died in 1503, at the age of 100, one of the wealthiest Princes of the Church of his time.

In the following March we hear of negotiations for the nomination of new Cardinals. On the 24th of that month Sixtus IV proposed in Consistory, John of Aragon (a son of Ferrante), Ascanio Maria Sforza, Pietro Foscari, and his own two nephews, Cristoforo della Rovere and Girolamo Basso della Rovere. The preliminary discussions lasted all through the summer, ending on the 10th December, 1477, in a complete victory for Sixtus IV. On that day all those whom he had proposed were, with the exception of Ascanio Sforza, raised to the purple, and to their number were added the Minorite, Gabriel Rangone, George Hesler, who had rendered important service to the house of Habsburg, and, finally, a third nephew of the Pope's, Raffaello Sansoni Riario. These numerous additions to the Sacred College gave occasion for the creation of a new Title, the first which had for several centuries taken place. Sixtus IV gave Pietro Foscari, St. Nicholas at the Colosseum (S. Nicolaus inter imagines) as his titular Church.

If the simultaneous elevation of three Papal nephews was in itself an extraordinary proceeding, Raffaello Sansoni's age—he was only seventeen—did not tend to diminish its exceptional character! The spiritual element was no better represented by him than by Cristoforo and Giuliano della Rovere. Though presenting many radical differences in personal character, they were

all great lords with essentially worldly interests. The fourth of the Pope's nephews on the sisters' side, Girolamo Basso della Rovere, was a prelate of blameless life, who never abused the favour of his uncle or of his cousin, Pope Julius II". Cristoforo della Rovere dying on the 1st February, 1478, Sixtus IV, on the 10th of that month, received his brother, Domenico, into the Senate of the Church. He built for himself the much-admired Palace on the Piazza Scossacavalli, and a villa in the neighbourhood of Ponte Molle, without the City, which was often visited by Sixtus IV. He also built the Chapel in S^{ta} Maria del Popolo, which, like his Palace, was adorned with paintings from the hand of Pinturicchio. The little town of Montefiascone owes to him its principal church, and his native city, Turin, its Cathedral, which, being the work of Meo dal Caprino, bears a striking resemblance to the churches built by the same architect in Rome. This member of the Rovere family had no merit in the way of talent to recommend him. He had but little literary culture, and was not either learned or naturally quick-witted. It was the grace of God, his good reputation, and his true and loyal disposition which brought him to the front.

These last nominations, together with the increasing influence of the Pope's nephews, who came in greater numbers to Rome at this time, gave to the Court a more and more worldly character. The crafty Girolamo Riario, who was made Burgher of the City and a member of the Roman nobility in the year 1477, and, in 1480, Commander-in-Chief of the Church, surpassed all the Cardinals in influence. The whole demeanour of this upstart was in keeping with his extravagant expenditure on all festal occasions. He took pride in eclipsing all the Cardinals, even those who were of princely birth. The purely worldly tendencies displayed, especially by Rodrigo Borgia, Francesco Gonzaga and d'Estouteville, among the older Cardinals, the frequent admission of others of similar disposition into the Sacred College, and the removal by death of so many of those who were truly devoted to the interests of the Church, led pious and earnest men like F. Piccolomini and Marco Barbo to absent themselves as much as possible from Rome. Giovanni Michiel and Pietro Foscari, the kinsmen and countrymen of the latter, were essentially Venetian patricians, and found the new order of things by no means uncongenial.

The next creation still further promoted the worldliness and pomp of the Sacred College. It took place on the 15th May, 1480, and was, in many respects, an important one. With hardly an exception those raised to the purple were of high birth: they were, Paolo Fregoso, Ferry de Clugny, Cosimo Orsini de' Migliorati, the excellent Giovan Battista Savelli, whose elevation had, up to this time, been hindered by the Orsini party. He had given proof of his abilities in several Legations, was endowed with an enterprising spirit and a talent for organization; he had been designated for the cardinalate by Paul II, but the sudden death of that Pope, and the influence of Latino Orsini with Sixtus IV had so far kept him from that dignity. In conjunction with him, Giovanni Colonna was also created, and the seeds of party strife introduced into the Sacred College; for Giuliano della Rovere was a friend of the Colonna and the Savelli, while Girolamo Riario's interests, as a temporal lord, drew him to associate himself more and more closely with the Orsini.

The next creation, on the 15th November, 1483, did yet more to increase the influence of the great Roman families in the Sacred College, Giovanni

Conti of Valmontone and Battista Orsini being then raised to the purple. The same dignity was conferred on Juan Moles, a Spaniard, on the Archbishop of Tours, Elie de Bourdeilles, and on Giovanni Giacomo Sclafenati, Bishop of Parma, who was but twenty-three years of age. The choice of this youthful Prelate gave occasion to much unfavourable comment, and completely nullified the good impression which the simultaneous elevation of the saintly Bourdeilles might have produced. A yet greater error was committed in the promotion of Ascanio Maria Sforza (March, 1484) dictated as it was by worldly and political motives.

When we consider that it was this man, in conjunction with Cardinals Riario, Orsini, Colonna, Sclafenati, and Savelli (all of them admitted by Sixtus IV into the Senate of the Church), who in 1492 carried the election of Rodrigo Borgia, we are naturally inclined to form an unfavourable opinion of this Pope, from whom so much had been hoped.

Nevertheless, an impartial study of history must lead us to protest against the picture drawn by Infessura of Sixtus IV. Infessura was a violent partisan of his deadly enemies, the Colonna. He blesses the day when God delivered his people out of the hand of this “most profligate and unjust of Kings”. Neither fear of God nor love for his people, no spark of kindness or good-will, according to this author, were to be found in him; nothing but sensuality, avarice, love of show and vainglory. After this tremendous general accusation he proceeds to enter into details. He cannot say a good word anywhere of Sixtus IV. It is plain from this, and from the violence of his language, that we have here a collection of everything that was reported to the Pope's disadvantage in Rome, at a time when a strong opposition to his person and to his Court prevailed there.

As regards Infessura's most serious accusation, that of gross immorality, in that corrupt age such a charge was but too frequently flung at any enemy. Later on, the austere Adrian VI was himself a victim to the slanderous tongues of the Renaissance age. Things had come to such a pass that no one could escape calumny, and the most exemplary virtue provoked the worst detraction. Atrocious crimes of this kind are not proved by the malignant gossip collected by a writer so open to suspicion as Infessura. No trustworthy contemporary, not one of the numerous Ambassadors, who reported everything that took place in Rome with scrupulous accuracy, has a word to say on the subject; one indeed of these Envoys, immediately after the election of Sixtus IV, extols his blameless and pious manner of life. Whatever faults Sixtus IV may have committed as Pope, there was no change for the worse in regard to morals or religion. The fact that he chose as his confessor the blessed Amadeus of Portugal, a man of extraordinary sanctity and mortification, is in itself a proof of this. We have ample evidence to prove that Sixtus IV discharged his religious duties zealously and seriously, and venerated his holy patrons, St. Francis and the Blessed Virgin, with the same devotion which he had manifested before his elevation. Though suffering acutely from gout, he never allowed this to prevent him from assisting at the solemn Easter Mass. “With touching perseverance the feeble old man made his pilgrimages of devotion to the Churches of S^{ta} Maria del Popolo and della Pace, which he had built in honour of the Blessed Virgin”. Sixtus IV must

indeed have been a consummate hypocrite if his private life was infamous while he appeared so fervent a client of the most Pure Mother of God.

Infessura's other charges against Sixtus IV must equally be either dismissed or modified. An impartial student admits that the historian who represents this Pope as avaricious and greedy of gain, double-faced in his policy, insatiable in his lust of conquest, passionate and tyrannical in character, without taking into account how much in his conduct is entirely, or in great measure, due to Girolamo Riario, is guilty of a serious error. History belies herself when she paints her subject in a glare of light, oblivious of the deep contrasting shadows.

Among the darkest of these shadows is that unfortunate attachment to his nephews, in spite of his many estimable qualities, which entangled him in a labyrinth of political complications, from which at last no honourable exit was possible. The difficulties into which this deplorable weakness for his relatives led Sixtus IV also had other most injurious effects. In order to procure the required resources, it was necessary to resort to all sorts of financial expedients, which resulted in a terrible amount of venality and corruption. Even before the time of this Pope there existed offices which could be purchased, and to which were attached certain sources of income. The revenues of these offices are said to have amounted in 1471 to something like 100,000 scudi. When the danger from Turkey made the want of money more and more pressing, Sixtus IV further added to this crowd of officials. Four Colleges, those of the *Stipulatori*, *Giannizzeri*, *Stradiatori*, and *Mamelucchi*, were revived by him. While the expense of every Bull or Brief went on constantly growing, as the host of officials connected with it increased, the Annates were again raised, and a new tax (*Compositio*), to be paid to the Dataria in Rome on collation to a benefice, imposed. Besides this there was the so-called *Quindennien*, a tax to be paid every fifteen years by all benefices subject to Annates, which dated from the reign of Paul II.

The venality of many of the Court officials, and the excessive exercise of the Pope's rights in the matter of taxation, occasioned, especially in Germany, a feeling of deep dissatisfaction with the Holy See, which did more than has generally been supposed to pave the way for the subsequent apostasy. When the great assembly of the clergy of the Metropolitan Churches of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne was held at Coblenz, in the year 1479, numerous complaints were formulated for transmission to the Pope. Their principal subjects were the non-observance of the Concordat, unfair taxation, the great privileges of the Mendicant Orders, and the number of exemptions.

If, notwithstanding the many imposts levied, the Papal Treasury was almost always in difficulties, this was due, not only to extravagant expenses, but also to defective financial administration. Serious and growing negligence is to be observed in the manner in which the accounts of the Apostolic Treasury were kept. The monthly audit had become little more than a formality. The salaries of the officials were often five or eight months, or even a year or two, in arrears. The deficit, which increased month by month, necessitated constant loans. Under such circumstances we cannot be surprised to learn that Sixtus IV at his death left behind him debts to the amount of 150,000 ducats.

This financial pressure led to a considerable augmentation of indirect taxation in the States of the Church, and also to the diversion of the revenues of the Roman University to other objects, and the imposition of taxes on the salaries of the Professors. As Infessura, who was a member of the teaching staff of this University, speaks with peculiar bitterness of the injury inflicted on it by Sixtus IV, there is ground for supposing him to have been among the sufferers. In this circumstance, and in Infessura's alliance with the Colonna and his Republican sentiments, may be found the motive of the unmeasured reproaches heaped upon Sixtus IV, the friend of the Orsini, and the advocate of strongly monarchical ideas. Violent personal feeling, arising from the position of the author, and perhaps from his unpleasant experiences, is here openly expressed. We have a repetition of the relations which existed between Platina and Paul II. Platina is not an impartial and truthful authority in regard to the builder of the Palace of S. Marco, neither is Infessura to be trusted when he tells the history of the head of the Rovere family.

Many abuses no doubt existed in the Rome of those days, and Girolamo Riario was certainly guilty of many unbecoming actions, but Infessura is not justified in accusing Sixtus IV of usurious speculation in corn for his own covetous purposes. The Pope's great care for Rome of itself contradicts this statement, and witnesses above suspicion testify to the relatively favourable condition of the inhabitants of the States of the Church under Sixtus IV, excepting, of course, in times of war. Philippe de Commines, who went to Rome with no favourable prejudices, after he had become personally acquainted with the state of things there, expressed his opinion that the Popes were wise and well advised, and that, but for the strife between the Colonna and the Orsini, the dwellers in the States of the Church would be the happiest people on earth, inasmuch as they paid no poll-tax and practically hardly any other taxes. If this last statement is to be taken with some reservation, it is still certain that hardly anywhere, on an average, was the taxation so low as in the States of the Church.

The history of the speculations in corn of Sixtus IV, about which Infessura has so much to say, is actually that the magistrate of the Annona or Abondanza bought corn by his orders, laid it up in granaries and distributed it to the bakers at a settled price, according to which the value of bread was regulated. Abuses on the part of the subordinate officials no doubt occurred; while men are men, such things will arise in similar cases. But the new system was devised by the Pope in order to facilitate and secure the provisioning of Rome, and affords no ground for charging him with usurious dealing in corn. Practically, under the successor of Sixtus IV, the Annona protected the Roman people from want, when, in the year 1485, the Duke of Calabria was encamped in the Campagna and cut off supplies. The energetic measures adopted by Sixtus IV, in order to ensure public safety in Rome and other cities of the States of the Church, as, for example, Perugia, were appreciated by his contemporaries.

The solicitude of Sixtus IV for the welfare of his subjects is further evinced by his efforts to check the devastation of the Campagna, and to promote tillage there, his reintroduction of the Constitution of Albornoz, his solicitude about the coinage, and his exertions for the regulation of the rivers, and the drainage of unhealthy places in the States of the Church. Works of

this description were promoted by him in the neighbourhood of Foligno, and in the Maritima. At the latter spot there was an idea of making an attempt to dry up the well-known Pontine Marshes. In 1476 the Pope requested the Duke of Ferrara to send him an hydraulic architect, competent to direct these difficult works.

The accusations of greed and cruelty, which Infessura has brought against the Pope, must also be absolutely dismissed. The most trustworthy authorities, on the contrary, bear witness to the inherent kindliness which was expressed in his countenance and speech. He was won by the least token of attachment; the more disposed he himself was to kindness, the less worthy of further benefits did he esteem those whom he saw to have abused former ones.

Equally unanimous is the testimony which assures us of his generosity. He could refuse nothing, so that the pleasure he felt in satisfying people often made him grant the same appointment to several troublesome petitioners. Accordingly, for the sake of avoiding misunderstandings, he found it necessary to entrust to an experienced and firm man, like John of Montmirabile, the revision of requests, grants, and presents. Even in the Vatican, the Mendicant Friar so little understood the value of money that, if he saw any coin on the table, he could hardly refrain from at once distributing it, through his chamberlains, to friends or to the poor. His saying, "A stroke of the pen suffices to procure for a Pope any sum that he desires", is an evidence of his simplicity in matters of this kind. No Pontiff was fonder of giving, or of kinder disposition, and he was always willing to advance men and to bestow honours upon them. This amiable and benevolent temper of mind led him to adopt, in his intercourse with those around him, both high and low, a tone of affability and goodness, and even of expansive confidence, which, in diplomatic negotiations, often gave cold politicians an advantage over him. His unpleasant experiences with the Cardinals, who had carried his election, and with Ferrante of Naples, who was solely influenced by selfish considerations, furnished the reasons which induced him later on to confide practical affairs to the crafty brothers Pietro and Girolamo Riario. The foregoing pages have shown the disastrous influence exercised especially by the latter. Girolamo was like the evil genius of Sixtus IV; bred in the cloister, and without experience of the world, the better judgment of Francesco della Rovere succumbed but too often to his headstrong policy. It may truly be said, that nothing so much tended to obscure the good, and even brilliant, qualities, of this Pope, as his inability to shake himself free from influences which stained his honour. It may be asked how such weakness can be reconciled with the great energy often manifested in the conduct of Sixtus IV; the best answer is, in the words of Melozzo's biographer, that his was one of those peculiar characters which are capable at times of strong efforts of will, during which they display really commanding ability, but which are followed by intervals of weakness and indifference which seem necessary to enable them to collect their forces again. The crafty Girolamo relentlessly turned these weaker moments to account.

Side by side with many excellent and praiseworthy qualities, we see in Sixtus IV. great defects and failings; there are many bright points, but there are also dark shadows.

If our unbiassed researches lead us, for the most part, to dismiss the intemperate accusations brought against Sixtus IV by a partisan of the Colonna like Infessura, on the other hand, they forbid us to look upon him as an ideal Pope. Francesco della Rovere was admirable as General of his Order; the contemplation of his pontificate awakens mingled feelings in our minds. It is but too true that the father of Christendom often disappears behind the figure of the Italian prince; that, in the exaltation of his own kindred, he exceeded all due bounds, and allowed himself to be led into worldly ways, and that great relaxation in ecclesiastical discipline and manifold abuses prevailed in his reign, although they were not unaccompanied by measures of reform. Egidius of Viterbo may be guilty of exaggeration in dating the period of decadence from his pontificate, yet there can be no doubt that he steered the Barque of St. Peter into dangerous and rock-strewn waters.

In his relations to learning and art Sixtus IV appears to far greater advantage than in the sphere of ecclesiastical policy. When we remember that this man was a poor Friar, suddenly transformed into the mightiest Pontiff of his age, we are struck with astonishment at finding nowhere in him the least trace of the straitened surroundings of his youth and early training. Instead of the narrowness and pettiness we should expect, we find him entering into the spirit of the past, and making the magnificent taste of the day his own to a degree that no other Pope had done. We see him vying with the most renowned Italian Princes in raising his capital from the dust and degradation of centuries of ruin to be a seat of splendour, a worthy and beautiful abode ; endeavoring not merely to place her on an equality with the greatest cities of Italy, but to make her once more the intellectual literary and artistic centre of the world. Noting all this, we are filled with respect for a man so capable and so powerful, in spite of some violence in his temper and inequalities in his character. Notwithstanding all his faults, there is something imposing in the first of the Rovere Popes; we are constrained to admire him, and, without hesitation, place him on a level with his predecessor, Nicholas V, and his nephew and successor, Julius II.

CHAPTER XII.

SIXTUS IV AS THE PATRON OF ART AND LEARNING.—(a.)
REFOUNDING AND OPENING OF THE VATICAN LIBRARY—THE
CAPITOLINE MUSEUM—THE FRESCOES OF THE SISTINE CHAPEL.

ONE title to renown, possessed by Sixtus IV, is uncontested; he was unwearied in his zeal for the promotion of art and learning. Fresh from the poverty of the Franciscan Convent in which his earlier days had been spent, and from the arduous philosophical and theological studies which had occupied his mind, Francesco della Rovere, on his elevation to the Chair of St. Peter, at once set to work to adorn Rome with the most precious and varied works of art and learning, and to raise her to the position of the chief city of the Christian world, and the artistic and literary centre of the Renaissance. The prosecution of the great work of Nicholas V was the ideal which filled his mind, and, amid all the political and ecclesiastical perplexities which troubled the thirteen years of his reign, the realization of this ideal was pursued with a steadfast earnestness which even his opponents were constrained to admire. In the history of Intellectual Culture the name of Sixtus IV must ever find an honourable place, together with those of Nicholas V, Julius II, and Leo X.

It may safely be said that, in regard to the development of the Renaissance in Rome, Sixtus IV occupies a position similar to that of Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence. If the Golden Age which he introduced was often the subject of exaggerated praise from the admirers of his brilliant literary Court, it is nevertheless true that he has a right to be numbered among the most popular National Popes.

I.

Of all the works undertaken by Sixtus IV none has a greater claim on the sympathy and interest of the historian than the re-establishment of the Vatican Library, and its opening for general use. This most admirable of all his foundations occupied the Pope even in the earliest months of his pontificate. On the 17th December, 1471, he took the first step towards rescuing the forgotten Library of Nicholas V, and providing the necessary accommodation for its preservation. As time went on, he adopted the idea of Nicholas V in its fullest extent, and made further additions to the treasures which had been saved. He endeavoured to procure valuable manuscripts, ancient codices, and modern copies from all parts, so that a book-dealer like Vespasiano da Bisticci speaks of the Pope's love of collecting as marking a new epoch, from which he occasionally dates, although, as a Florentine, he is not otherwise favourably disposed towards this Pope.

The zeal with which Sixtus IV, assisted by Platina, Jacobo di Volterra, Lionardi Dati, Domizio Calderino, Mattia Palmieri, and Sigismondo de' Conti, laboured to increase the Vatican Library is evidenced by the fact that in 1475 it contained no less than 2527 volumes, 770 of which were Greek and 1757

Latin. Between 1475 and 1484, 1000 more were added, bringing the number up to more than 3500 volumes, something like three times as many as appear in Nicholas V's Inventory drawn up twenty years before. In order to appreciate the importance of the collection, let us remember that ten years later the library of the wealthy Medici contained about a thousand Manuscripts.

In the collection of Pope Sixtus IV we observe a decided preponderance of ecclesiastical works. Theology, Philosophy, and Patristic Literature form its chief contents. The Inventory of 1475 mentions 26 volumes of St. Chrysostom's writings, 28 of St. Ambrose, 31 of St. Gregory, 41 of Canon Law, 51 of Records of Councils, 51 of the works of St. Thomas, 57 of St. Jerome, and 81 of St. Augustine. The Old and New Testaments occupy 59 volumes, and Glosses on the Scripture 98. Celebrated Greek authors are represented by 109 volumes, and there are 116 on religious subjects by less-known writers of the same nation. Compared with the collection of Nicholas V, the total absence of any writings in the vernacular is a defect. The classics occupy the second place; there are 14 volumes of the works of Seneca, 53 of the Latin Poets, 70 of Greek Poetry and Grammar, 125 of Roman, and 59 of Grecian History. The Latin writers on Astrology and Geometry contribute 19, and Greek Astrologers 49 volumes; Latin Philosophers 103, and Greek 94. There were 55 Latin and 14 Greek works on Medicine.

The first Librarian of the Vatican under Sixtus IV was Giandrea Bussi, Bishop of Aleria, a man of classical culture. The appointment of this ardent promoter of the art of typography in Rome renders it probable that the productions of the printing-press were not excluded from the Papal collection. An Inventory of the year 1483 distinguishes between printed books and Manuscripts.

Bussi, who died in the Jubilee Year, was succeeded by Bartolomeo Platina. New and regular revenues were, at the same time, assigned by the Pope to the Library, and energetic measures were taken for the recovery of books which had been borrowed and not restored. Platina received a yearly salary of 120 ducats and apartments. Three officials, called Scriptores or Custodes, were placed under him, and also a bookbinder. They were paid 12 ducats a year each, and were generously supported by Sixtus IV in every way that he could. One of them, Demetrius of Lucca, was a man of considerable learning. Platina soon died, and his place was filled by Bartolomeo Manfredi, surnamed Aristophilo, Secretary to Cardinal Roverella. In July, 1484, the new Librarian went, by the Pope's desire, to Urbino and Rimini to copy Manuscripts.

The appointment of Platina, the employment of subordinate officials, and the assignment of a regular income were the first steps towards the reorganization of this noble Institution, which soon acquired a world-wide reputation. On the 1st July, 1477, Sixtus IV published another Bull regarding the revenues of the Library and the stipend of its custodians. In the introduction to this Bull, he says that the objects of this Institution are the exaltation of the Church militant, the spread of the Catholic Faith, and the advancement of learning.

Another important work of the Pope was the separation of the Manuscript books from the Documents and Archives. A special place, called

the Bibliotheca Secreta, was prepared, in which the Documents arranged by Platina were to be preserved in walnut-wood chests. The whole room was wainscoted, and the free space on the walls above adorned with frescoes in chiaroscuro. This costly undertaking must have been completed in the latter part of the Summer of 1480.

Documents of special importance had, from the beginning of the 15th Century, been kept at St. Angelo. Having regard to the troubled state of the times, Sixtus IV caused the Charters containing the chief privileges of the Roman Church to be transferred to this place of safety, after authentic copies of them had been made by Urbino Fieschi and Platina.

The Library proper consisted, until 1480, of two halls opening into each other, one for the Latin and the other for the Greek Manuscripts. From the registers of payments it appears that, in the summer of 1480, Sixtus IV added a third hall, which was distinguished by the name of the Great Library, and was in all probability situated on the other side of the Cortile del Papagallo, beneath the Sistine Chapel. Its walls and ceiling were painted by Melozzo, with the assistance of Antoniasso. Twenty-five years later, Albertini wrote a description of the Library, which is shorter than we could wish. He places the three portions of the Public Institution in juxtaposition, so as to separate the Library from the Secret Archives. "In the Apostolic Palace at the Vatican", he writes, "is that glorious Library, built by Sixtus IV, with his portrait exquisitely painted and the epigram beneath. There are also paintings of the Doctors, with other verses, which I give in my collection of epigrams. Beside this Library is another, called the Greek one, also built by Sixtus, together with the chamber of the Custodians. There is, moreover, a third very beautiful Library, also erected by Sixtus IV, in which are the Codices adorned with gold, silver, and silk bindings. I saw Virgil's works in this hall, written in capital letters, besides geometrical, astronomical, and other instruments connected with the liberal arts, which are also decorated with gold, silver, and paintings". Albertini then proceeds to speak of the Secret Library (Bibliotheca Secreta), which had been rearranged by Julius II.

The Great Library, which contained the collection of ancient Manuscripts, had the advantage of the two other halls in being well-lighted by a large glass window containing the arms of the Rovere family. The German glass-maker Hermann had been obliged to bring this himself from Venice. Here stood the long tables to which the Manuscripts were secured by little chains—just as they now are in the splendid Laurenziana at Florence; but in the 15th Century the comfort of scholars was more considered than it is in the 19th. In the cold and damp winter days the grand Library was warmed. Although the Manuscripts were chained, they were most liberally lent out. Platina's list of books lent is preserved, and shows that several volumes were entrusted at once to the same person. Among those who availed themselves of the literary treasures of this Library, were the Pope himself, Cardinal Giuliano, numerous Bishops and Prelates, Johannes Argyropulos, Sigismondo de' Conti, Pomponius Laetus, Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, Hieronymus Balbanus, Augustinus Patritius, Jacobus Volaterranus, Francesco de Toledo, and others. The negligence of some borrowers compelled the administrators from the year 1480 to require pledges to be deposited for books lent.

The reorganization of the Vaticana, and its opening to the public, would suffice to secure for Sixtus IV. an abiding record in the history of scholars. But his other efforts for the promotion of learning were by no means inconsiderable.

In the early days of his pontificate, the Humanists seem to have felt much anxiety as to the attitude the former Franciscan friar might adopt in regard to their pursuits. This feeling is evidenced by a work which Sigismondo de' Conti dedicated to the Pope, reminding him that Nicholas V, the most famous Pontiff of the age, had gained great renown by his patronage of scholars. Sigismondo warned Sixtus IV not to attach too little importance to the opinion of the learned, and to what might be written of him by celebrated men. He reminded him of the words of Francesco Sforza, who said that the wound of a dagger was less to be dreaded than that of a satirical poem. In conclusion, the anxious Humanist again begged the Pope to show honour to men who were in a position to preserve his name from oblivion and to immortalize his actions.

Exhortations of this kind were not needed. Sixtus IV perfectly understood the importance of the Renaissance; he was well aware that the Humanists were indispensable, and that it was impossible, on account of some isolated excesses, to adopt a position of antagonism towards the intellectual life so ardently cultivated on all sides. "Full of intellect and of taste for high culture", the ex-general of the Mendicant Order from the first resolved "to surround the Papal Throne and his own relations with all that could give him prestige in the eyes of the world". Although the attraction which the Eternal City exercises on lovers of antiquity had already drawn a numerous colony of learned men to Rome, the Pope constantly sought to add to their number. One of his greatest acquisitions was Johannes Argyropulos of Constantinople, the most highly gifted among the Greeks who had migrated to Italy. In winning him to Rome, Sixtus IV gained a victory over the Medici, in whose service he had been for some time. Argyropulos was very successful there. He had the satisfaction of numbering amongst his hearers men of the greatest distinction, Bishops and Cardinals, and even notable foreigners such as Johann Reuchlin. Angelo Poliziano was also his disciple. The worthy Bartholomaeus Fontinus was appointed to a Professorial Chair in the Roman University under Sixtus IV. In 1473 Martino Filetico became Professor of Rhetoric in that Institution. Even non-Italian scholars were summoned by the Pope to Rome. Among these, was, in 1475, the famous Regiomontanus (Johann Muller of Konigsberg in Franconia). Unfortunately, this great discoverer, who, by the Pope's desire, would have assisted in the work of reforming the Calendar, died in July, 1476.

But the ambition of Sixtus IV was not yet satisfied. He desired to win for his beloved Rome the prince of the neoplatonic philosophy, the scholar whose writings cast a halo of glory over Florence. Several of the Cardinals supported him in this project. Marsilio Ficino, however, was bound to the Medici by bonds which could not be severed. He requited the Pope's gracious summons by a letter couched in the most flattering terms.

The Roman Humanists in the time of Sixtus IV formed a very brilliant circle. While Pomponius Laetus lived almost entirely by his labours as a

Professor, Platina wrote his History of the Popes, Campanus composed his elegies and epigrams, Aurelio Brandolini charmed even the unpoetical Pope with his verses, while a bevy of youthful writers produced Latin poems of more or less merit. The favor shown by Sixtus IV to Gasparo and Francesco, the sons of Flavio Biondi, showed his willingness to reward the services rendered by departed scholars. Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, the editor of many ancient authors, was in his service. His kinsman, Philippus de Lignamine, a Dominican, continued Ricobaldo's Chronicle of the Popes down to the year 1469, and dedicated his work to Sixtus IV.

His pontificate was very fruitful in historical works. The example of Pius II in writing the history of his own time produced many imitators. Sigismondo de' Conti holds the first place amongst these. His "Contemporary History", in seventeen books, comprising the period from 1475 to 1510 ensures him an honourable mention among the Cinquecento writers. Sigismondo, who is spoken of with the greatest respect by contemporaneous authors, was a Christian Humanist. These men, the sympathetic outcome of the age of the Renaissance, had themselves experienced the antagonism between the ancient classical world and the mediaeval point of view, but able justly to distinguish between the means and the end, were not blinded by the splendour of the past, and held fast to the principles of Christianity. Sigismondo requited the favours of Sixtus IV and the Rovere by a frequent and far too partial mention of them in his work, which otherwise is both trustworthy and candid. Jacopo Gherardi of Volterra (Volaterranus), attracted by Pope Sixtus IV to the Court of Rome, followed the example of his first patron, Cardinal Ammanati, by writing Memoirs of his time. Mattia Palmieri of Pisa, Papal Scriptor, who died in 1482, continued the chronicle of his famous Florentine namesake, Matteo Palmieri.

Notwithstanding the love of literature which distinguished Sixtus IV, the unfortunate circumstances of the time robbed the Roman University of much of her splendour. The revenues destined for the maintenance of the Institution were often employed in the war, and taxes were imposed on the salaries of the Professors. Different posts connected with the University came by purchase into unworthy hands.

Sixtus IV. also encouraged literary men by appointments to diplomatic Missions. In 1476 Georgios Hermonymos went to England as Orator to the English Embassy, and in 1482 Sigismondo de' Conti, who had previously accompanied Cardinal Giuliano to the Netherlands, was sent to Florence. Johannes Philippus de Lignamine had, in 1475, the honour of welcoming the King of Naples at Velletri, and was subsequently entrusted with Missions to Mantua and Sicily.

The excessive self-esteem of these favoured Humanists often took a very offensive form. Theodoros Gaza, considering the payment given him by the Pope for his translation of Aristotle's Animals insufficient, is said to have scornfully cast it into the Tiber. The anecdote may be an invention, but it exemplifies the insolence and greed of many Humanists, one of whom, George of Trebizond, even went so far as to beg money from the Sultan, to whom he wrote two fulsome letters. Francesco Filelfo, who made presents and money the chief subject of his verses, was even more covetous. If the insolent

petitions of this insatiable man were not favourably received he revenged himself by the coarsest invectives. Each new Pope was addressed immediately upon his elevation by the “King of importunate poets”, and if, like Pius II, he failed to satisfy the immense expectations of the petitioner, was loaded with abuse. The attacks which this most repulsive of Humanists made on the memory of the departed Pius II were so horrible, that the College of Cardinals caused him to be imprisoned at the very time when he was striving to obtain a place at the Court. On the accession of Sixtus IV, Filelfo renewed his efforts in this direction. The Pope at first gave him no encouragement, and Filelfo’s flatteries soon changed to complaints, and finally to threats. When he was summoned to Rome in 1474, he owed his appointment mainly to the dread of his pen. Filelfo was employed for three years as Professor at the Roman University; dissensions were not wanting during this period; the most important was his quarrel with Miliaduca Cicada, Master of the Papal Treasury. For the first time, however, he was delighted with the City, its climate, the exuberance and elegance of its life, and, above all, with the incredible liberty which there prevailed.

The incredible liberty was most strikingly displayed in the permission given by the Pope to the Roman Academy to resume their meetings, which had been suppressed. Sixtus IV looked upon Humanism as a purely literary movement in no way dangerous to religion. The apprehensions which the extravagances and the heathen tendencies of many literary men had awakened in the mind of his predecessor were not shared by him. He may also have thought that the Humanists had had their lesson and taken it to heart. Pomponius Laetus was again perfectly free to lecture, and the Academy held its sittings without the slightest hindrance. The spectacle was a strange one. While a Minorite occupied the Papal Throne the worship of antiquity, with its excesses as well as its good side, flourished unrebuked, and no offence seems to have been taken at the pontificate of Pomponius Laetus. The assemblies at his house on the Quirinal near the Gardens of Constantine were more brilliant than ever. The Academy was openly recognized, and this, in fact, was the simplest way of rendering it harmless. High dignitaries of the Church were on friendly terms with it. On the 20th April, 1483, when the Academicians celebrated the birthday of Rome, a solemn High Mass, followed by a discourse from Paulus Marsus, preceded the banquet, at which six Bishops were present. At this Academic Feast the Privilegium, by which the Emperor Frederick granted to the body the right of conferring the title of Doctor and crowning Poets, was publicly read.

In his treatment of Platina, one of the most violent members of the Academy, Sixtus IV showed great tact and knowledge of human nature. He managed to win this ringleader of the opposition by treating him as an old friend, and assigned to him successively two tasks, which removed all danger of anti-Papal dispositions, by enlisting all his energies and talents in the service of the very power against which he had rebelled. He first encouraged him to write a History of the Popes, and then requested him to make a collection of all the Documents regarding the rights of the Holy See. By the end of the year 1474, or the beginning of 1475, Platina was able to offer his History of the Popes to his august patron. It is, in many respects, a remarkable work for the period in which it was written. Instead of the

confused and often fabulous Chronicles of the Middle Ages, we find here for the first time a clear and serviceable handbook of real history. The graphic descriptions, the elegant, perspicuous, and yet concise, style of the work have won for Platina's *Lives of the Popes* many readers even down to the present day.

In his Preface, which is addressed to Sixtus IV, Platina begins by emphasizing, in the Humanistic style, the dignity and importance of history. His declaration that he will, on principle, avoid applying expressions belonging to classical heathenism to Christian subjects, is remarkable. He begins his work with Christ, "so that, springing from the Emperor of Christians as from a living fountain, it may flow on through the Roman Bishops down to the days of Sixtus". In the lives of the earliest Popes, Platina repeatedly mentions the ancient monuments with admiration. "In the Church of Sant' Andrea near Santa Maria Maggiore", he writes, in his life of Simplicius, "as I looked at the relics of antiquity which it contains, tears often filled my eyes at the neglect of those whose duty it is to preserve it from decay".

The critical acumen repeatedly manifested by Platina is worthy of note, though he keeps this faculty under restraint, not wishing to interrupt the flow of his narrative. The freedom with which, in a work dedicated to Sixtus IV, he treats of the faults of both the older and the more recent Popes, is to be commended, and does equal honour to the author and to his patron. It is all the more painful to find that, in dealing with the life of his former adversary, Paul II, Platina has been unable to rise to the height of an impartial historian. Death is a great peacemaker, and it might have been expected that, when Paul II was no longer on earth, Platina would have done justice to his memory. This, however, is by no means the case. The labours of Paul II are described in a very one-sided manner, and indeed often willfully travestied and ridiculed. Even in passages in which there is no occasion for mentioning this Pope, Platina seeks one, in order to give vent to his hatred. This is all the more to be deplored, inasmuch as the biographies of the Popes of the Renaissance period constitute the only original portion of his work.

Platina's language, also, in speaking of the ecclesiastical affairs of his own time, is often very intemperate. Strangely enough, these outbreaks do not occur in the lives of the 15th Century Popes, but are interpolated in those of an earlier period. They are, in fact, masked attacks. When writing of Dionysius I, Platina drags in complaints of the pomp and pride of the higher clergy. In the histories of Julius I, Socinus I, and Boniface III he introduces censures, obviously aimed at the clergy of the 15th Century. The immorality of Sixtus IV's Cardinals is severely castigated in the biography of Stephen III. A still more violent passage is inserted in his account of Gregory IV. There was doubtless good cause for his animadversions, but they come somewhat strangely from a man whose own life was so dissolute. Platina, however, is guilty of a worse fault, when, in dealing with the reign of John XXII, he repeats the assertion of the party of the opposition, who maintained that the Pope contradicted Scripture, in saying that Christ possessed no property. The truthfulness of this historian may be gauged by the frivolous inscriptions discovered to have been written by some of the Roman Academicians in the

Catacombs of S. Callisto, on the occasion on which he describes himself as having visited it out of devotion J with a few friends.

We cannot but be surprised that Sixtus IV accepted the dedication of a work like Platina's. Probably he was only acquainted with its contents in so far as they concerned the history of his own pontificate. This portion, which comes down to November, 1474, contained nothing but what would have given him perfect satisfaction. This feeling found expression in Platina's appointment as Librarian of the Vatican in the following year. While he occupied this post, the Pope commissioned him to arrange the collection of Documents containing the Privileges of the Roman Church, which are now preserved in three volumes in the Vatican Archives. This useful work, which is invaluable to the annalists of the Church, was brought to a conclusion during the war with Florence. Here, also, Platina proved his critical discernment in excluding the Donation of Constantine from his collection of Documents. The Preface to the work is interesting, inasmuch as Platina not only avoids everything of an anti-Papal tendency, but also speaks with approval of the proceedings of the Popes against heretics and schismatics. There appears to be no doubt that Sixtus IV succeeded in completely winning him over to the cause of the Church. The same may also be said in regard to the proud Pomponius Laetus, who now composed poems in honour of Sixtus IV.

Platina died in 1481. His friends, among whom were some Bishops, celebrated the anniversary of his death in the Church of S^{ta} Maria Maggiore, where he was buried. Mass was said by the Bishop of Ventimiglia, an Augustinian, and the tomb was sprinkled with holy water and incensed.

Pomponius Laetus, the President of the Academy, then mounted the pulpit to pronounce an oration in memory of his departed friend. Jacobus Volaterranus informs us that it was of a thoroughly religious and serious character. A poet from Perugia, named Astreus, then, from the same pulpit, recited an elegy in verse, lamenting his loss! That such a thing could have been done is indeed an evidence of that incredible liberty so triumphantly praised by Filelfo. We cannot, however, suppose that serious men could fail to disapprove, when, in the very sanctuary of the Queen of Heaven, just after the Mass for the Dead, a layman, without the least token of any spiritual office, pronounced, from the pulpit, verses which, although very elegant, yet—as Volaterranus remarks—were quite alien to our religion, and out of keeping with the sacred function which had just taken place. The Rome of that day was indeed full of strange contrasts, against which no one protested. Christian and heathen Humanism are to be seen walking side by side in daily life, and apparently incommoding each other as little as did the reforms and abuses which prevailed together in the Church.

II.

During his long pontificate, Sixtus IV did incomparably more for the promotion of Art than for that of Literature. It has been justly observed, that the artistic activity of the 15th Century reached its climax in Rome in his days. Francesco della Rovere started with the firm determination of carrying on the work of Nicholas V, in adorning the capital of the Christian world with all that sheds lustre on a secular power. But as his individual character differed widely from that of the first patron of Art among the Popes, the

manner in which he proceeded naturally differed also. Sixtus had, in common with Nicholas V, that love of the ideal which was so strong in the earlier Pope, but he confined himself to what was practical and possible, and did not let his imagination run wild in gigantic projects. Accordingly, Sixtus IV had the happiness of reigning long enough to accomplish the greater part of what he had undertaken. The verses from the pen of Platina, on the opening of the Vatican Library, which adorn the portrait of Melozzo da Forlì, tell, in a few words, what Sixtus did for Rome :—

Templa domum expositus; vicos, fora, moenia, pontes :

Virgineam Trivii quod repararis aquam.

Prisca licet nautis statuas dare commoda portus :

Et Vaticanum cingere Sixte ingum :

Plus tamen Urbs debet : nam quae squalore latebat :

Cermitur (*sic*) in celebri bibliotheca loco.

The approach of the Jubilee Year was, as we have shown, the primary occasion of the external renovation of the Eternal City, and her transformation from the mediaeval type to one in keeping with the advancing needs of the age. At the present day there are but few parts of Rome that give any idea of the City as it was four hundred years ago. There was an irregular collection of narrow, crooked, and dirty streets, in which the common requirements of a great town were utterly neglected. In many cases, projecting porticoes, stalls, and balconies seriously obstructed the ordinary traffic, not to speak of that which might be expected in the Jubilee Year. In some places, two horsemen could not pass each other. Pavements, with the exception of some which had been begun in the time of Nicholas V, were almost unknown, either in the middle of the streets or alongside of the houses. Into this gloomy and unhealthy chaos Sixtus IV, following the schemes of Nicholas V, first brought air and light. The most important streets were paved, and it then became possible to think of cleansing them. We have already spoken of the difficulties encountered in the work of widening the streets, which was undertaken in preparation for the Jubilee Year. The Pope, however, was not to be deterred from it. In January, 1480, he began by the removal of the armourers' shops on the Bridge of S. Angelo. The Romans at first opposed this innovation, but soon became reconciled to what was a real benefit. In June of the same year an order was promulgated, requiring that in all the most frequented streets projections should be cleared away, pavements laid down, at least at the sides, houses jutting out into the street wholly or partially removed, the ruined ones rebuilt, new squares laid out and those already existing widened and made more symmetrical. Cardinal d'Estouteville was to superintend these improvements. The Pope himself came from time to time to ascertain personally how his directions were being carried out.

In the Leonine City he laid out a handsome street, originally known by his own name, extending from the moat of the Castle to the great gate of the Papal Palace (now Borgo S. Angelo); a third street here met the old Via de' Cavalli, which took much the same direction as the present Borgo Sto Spirito, and the old Via Santa, now Borgo Vecchio. The erection of the Ponte Sisto effected a complete transformation in that part of the City which lay on the

right bank of the Tiber. Sigismondo de' Conti says that, in consequence of the accommodation afforded by the Bridge, this dirty and uninhabited district became thickly populated. Distinguished persons built houses there, and, even to the present day, the Vicolo Riario, near the Corsini Palace, remains as a memento of the villa belonging to that family which was situated there.

Besides all that he did for the Library, Sixtus IV carried on other works of restoration in the Vatican, and built the Chapel which bears his name. The interior of the Palace was fitted up anew, and a barrack erected for the guard. The roof of St. Peter's, its Sacristy, and the Chapel of S. Petronilla were restored, and the Tabernacle of the Confession and the Chapel of the Immaculate Conception were constructed.

We have already spoken of the restoration of the churches before and during the Jubilee Year. These works were very rapidly carried on, and Sixtus IV also found time for building new churches. Foremost among these we must mention S^{ta} Maria del Popolo, begun in 1472, and S^{ta} Maria della Pace, both of which are worthy memorials of the Pope's devotion to the Queen of Heaven. S^{ta} Maria del Popolo is a Basilica, with three naves surrounded by chapels, and with an octagonal dome supported on a drum, the first of the kind erected in Rome; unlike the other buildings of the period, which were, for the most part, very hurriedly built, the facade of the year 1477 is a good specimen of pure Renaissance.

S^{ta} Maria del Popolo was the favourite church of the Pope and of the Rovere family. Sixtus IV visited it almost every week, and the chief events of his reign were mostly celebrated there.

The Cardinals, especially his nephews, followed the Pope's example. Two Churches and palatial Convents, S. Pietro in Vincoli and SS. Apostoli, are, in their entirety, memorials of the Rovere. In the first-named Basilica, Cardinal Giuliano continued the work of his uncle, and in the latter, that of the nephew, Pietro Riario. This Cardinal also restored the portico of S. Agnese.

The Castles of Grottaferrata and Ostia, in the neighbourhood of Rome, are also abiding monuments of the powerful Cardinal. After the death of Bessarion, Grottaferrata was granted *in commendam* to Giuliano, who at once began to build there. On account of the strategical importance of its position, the Convent was surrounded by a fortification. Those who have visited the Alban hills will remember this incomparably picturesque group of buildings at the foot of the green hills of Tusculum, on a smooth space overshadowed by old elms and plane-trees. The Castle of Ostia is of kindred character—even now, in its decay, the most beautiful ruin of the later mediaeval period in the vicinity of Rome; but the surrounding landscape is very different. Grottaferrata lies amidst rich fields and fruitful hills; about Ostia is a melancholy, silent tract of barren, low-lying ground, formed of rubbish and sand-hills, through which the yellow, sluggish stream makes its way to the sea. A long inscription on the principal tower of the Castle records that Giuliano of Savona erected this stronghold as a refuge from the perils of the sea, a protection to the Roman Campagna, a defense to Ostia, and to the mouth of the Tiber. He began it in the reign of Pope Sixtus IV, his uncle, and concluded the work by digging out, at his own expense, the moat which had been silted up by the river in the time of Pope Innocent VIII, in the year of Salvation

1486, the 2115th after the building of Ostia, the 2129th after Ancus, the founder of the city. The architect of the Castle at Ostia and probably also of the fortifications at Grottaferrata, was the celebrated Giuliano Giamberti, surnamed da San Gallo.

Before Cardinal Giuliano built the Castle of Ostia, the wealthy d'Estouteville, its Bishop, had provided the ruined city with walls, streets, and houses. In 1479, d'Estouteville, who had, two years previously, succeeded Orsini as Camerlengo, began to rebuild the Church of S. Agostino in Rome : this work was completed in four years. He was also a great benefactor to other Roman Churches, especially to S^{ta} Maria Maggiore and S. Luigi de' Francesi.

Mention has already been made of the buildings erected by Cardinal Domenico della Rovere. Girolamo Basso della Rovere completed the Pilgrimage Church at Loreto, and caused the Cappella del Tesoro to be painted by Melozzo da Forli; the paintings, which are in excellent preservation, are very original and striking. Another important edifice of this time was the Palace of Cardinal Stefano Nardini (Palazzo del Governo Vecchio), built in 1475. It is the last Roman Palace which still retains something of the character of the mediaeval fortress.

It would take too long to go further into details. The relations of Sixtus IV were undoubtedly admirable patrons of Arts; the armorial bearings of Riario Rovere and Basso on many ancient piles bear witness to their splendid achievements in this line.

Sixtus also did much in the way of restoring the bridges, walls, gates, towers, and other buildings of the City. At the Capitol these works were connected with the opening of a museum of antiquities, the first public collection of the kind in Italy, and indeed in Europe. The practical Sixtus IV, by admitting the public to visit the collection, rendered it more popular than it had been in the time of its founder, Paul II. Museums now began to appear everywhere in connection with and as supplementing the Libraries. The characters of distinguished men frequently present great contradictions, and we find Sixtus IV, almost simultaneously with the opening of the Capitoline Museum, dispersing many of the costly treasures of the Palace of S. Marco. With similar inconsistency, he restored the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius and destroyed many ancient temples and triumphal arches. But, however great the injury he may have inflicted on the ancient monuments, it was more than outweighed by his artistic embellishment of Rome, to which he imparted a completely new aspect. In order to encourage building in his capital, and to increase the number of its inhabitants, he had, in 1475, conferred the right of ownership on all who should build houses within the City district.

One of the most beneficial works accomplished by Sixtus IV. was the restoration of the Hospital of S^{to} Spirito, a foundation of Innocent III, which had fallen into decay. Pity for children deserted by unnatural mothers induced this Pope, whom his enemies depict as another Nero, to adopt Eugenius IV's undertaking. When Sixtus IV, in his frequent visits to the dilapidated house, saw these poor, forsaken children at play, his heart was touched, and he decided to have the Hospital thoroughly rebuilt and richly endowed. He engaged the best Architects, hired a number of labourers, and commenced

operations at once. Sixtus IV considerably extended the original plan; he provided portions for the girls as they grew up, so that they might not be exposed, without resources, to the temptations of the world. Although the building was certainly hurried on for the Jubilee Year, it was not until 1482 that the works were completed. The Architect of the whole is unknown he could not have been Baccio Pontelli, who, until 1482, lived at Pisa and Urbino, not in Rome. Sixtus IV. also showed his predilection for the Order of the Holy Ghost and for the Hospital by a grant of various privileges and an increase of its fixed revenues. Following the example of Eugenius IV, he re-established the confraternity in the spring of 1478, and himself became a member. All the Cardinals and the whole Court followed him. From that time forward, it became more and more the custom to enter this pious society. The Confraternity-book of S^{to} Spirito has accordingly become, in its way, a unique collection of autographs.

The magnificent scale on which the reconstruction of this Hospital was carried out, so that even Alberti was satisfied with it, is an abiding memorial of the benevolence of Sixtus IV. Much pains were bestowed on the decoration of the interior; the spacious and airy hall for the sick was ornamented with frescoes as far as the tops of the windows, and above them with a broad frieze of pictures arranged in panels. Attention has recently been directed to these half-faded paintings, which are of the ancient Umbrian type. They portray the foundation of the Hospital by Innocent III, and, in a very attractive form, the life of Sixtus IV from his birth. The inscriptions under them are from the pen of Bartolomeo Platina.

The architectural works of Sixtus IV extended to almost all the cities of the States of the Church, and even as far as Savona and Avignon. Assisi, Bertinoro, Bieda, Bologna, Caprarola, Cascia, Cesena, Citerna, Citta di Castello, Civita Vecchia, Corneto, Fano, Foligno, Forli, Monticelli, Nepi, Orvieto, Ronciglione, Santa Marinella, Soriano, Spoleto, Sutri, Terracina, Tivoli, Todi, Tolfa, Veroli, and Viterbo, were all, in this respect, indebted to this Pontiff.

It is worthy of remark that Sixtus IV's patronage of the Arts was universal in its character. Sculpture was encouraged in the persons of Verocchio and Pollajuolo, and he also did much for the promotion of the minor arts; medallists, engravers, glass-makers, cabinet-makers, goldsmiths, weavers, and embroiderers were all employed by him, and he also took an interest in pottery.

In his orders for Works of Art, the Pope did not spare expense, as is evident from the fact that the Tiara made for him cost over 100,000 ducats. In this, as in all other things, he fully realized that the duties of a Pope are very different from those of the General of a Mendicant Order.

The artistic chronicle of this pontificate is not yet exhausted. Sixtus IV. seems to have been even more active as a promoter of painting than as a builder. His practical spirit was shown in his command, that the painters settled in Rome should form themselves into a Guild and draw up statutes; and this was the beginning of the famous Academy of St. Luke.

Sixtus IV was, in fact, for Painters what Nicholas V had been for Architects. We find, employed in his service, men whose names are held in

honor by the whole civilized world: Ghirlandajo, Botticelli, Signorelli, Perugino, Pinturicchio, and finally, the great Melozzo da Forlì.

This last-named artist was specially in touch with the stately characteristics of the Rovere family. Everyone who has visited the Vatican galleries must remember Melozzo's picture of Sixtus IV, surrounded by his kindred, appointing Platina Prefect of the Vaticana. This was originally a fresco, and was afterwards transferred to canvas. If no other work of Melozzo's had been preserved, this one, which captivates the eye at once by its simple and reposeful presentation of clearly defined personalities, would suffice to give us a very high idea of the painter's power.

This magnificent picture was painted in 1476 and 1477. In the following year the master was working at Loreto, in 1479 he decorated the Chapel of the Choir in St. Peter's, and during 1480 and 1481 he was fully occupied in painting the Vatican Library. Vasari does not mention any of these works, or, indeed, any one of Melozzo's, with the exception of his picture of the Ascension in the Church of SS. Apostoli. This, the most splendid masterpiece produced in Rome during the pontificate of Sixtus IV, was unfortunately destroyed, all but a few fragments, when the church was rebuilt in 1711. Vasari, who saw it, speaks of it with enthusiasm. "The figure of Christ", he says, "is so skilfully fore-shortened, that it appears to pierce the vaulting, and the surrounding angels equally seem to be soaring or floating in air. The Apostles, in their various attitudes, are also drawn with such admirable adaptation to the eye of the spectator, who views them from below, as to have won for Melozzo the highest praise from the artists both of his own day and of ours. The buildings in the picture display a perfect mastery of the laws of perspective". The few remains of this painting still extant in the Chapter-house of St. Peter's and in the Quirinal, are just sufficient to enable us to guess what the beauty of the whole must have been. A recent writer justly observes : "In boldness of conception, in largeness and freedom of execution, the fresco in the tribune of SS. Apostoli is a real masterpiece, and is an unanswerable proof of the excellence which it was given to this artist to attain".

The Chapel in the Vatican which bears the name of Sixtus IV contains many splendid memorials of his artistic tastes. This simple and noble edifice was begun in 1473 and finished in 1481. Vasari attributes the Cappella Sistina to Baccio Pontelli, but this is a mistake. It is the work of the Florentine, Giovannino de' Dolci, who must be looked upon as Sixtus IV's head Architect. The Sistina, henceforth the special Papal Chapel for ecclesiastical ceremonies of a semi-public character, is in form a parallelogram, and measures 132 feet by 45. For two-thirds of its height the wall on the longer sides is unbroken, then there is a cornice, and above this six round-headed windows; formerly there were two similar ones on the altar side, but these are now blocked up. Their position, however, is shown by two false ones, painted with a facsimile of the glass that filled them, on the opposite wall adjoining the Sala Regia. Each of these latter windows has a bull's eye in the centre. In the interior, all architectural divisions are purposely avoided, with the exception of the cornice, about 3 feet in width and provided with an iron balustrade, which runs round beneath the windows. The ceiling forms a shallow circular vault

resting upon brackets, and is pierced by a skylight over each of the windows. The whole was, from the first, evidently intended to be covered with paintings.

A richly-sculptured balustrade of white marble, with the arms of Sixtus IV, divides the space in front intended for the Pope and the Cardinals from that of the laity. The tribune for the singers, which projects but slightly to the left, is similarly enclosed. The floor is beautifully inlaid in stone.

For the decoration of this modest and unpretending building, Sixtus IV summoned to his Court all the most distinguished painters of Umbria and Tuscany. Domenico Ghirlandajo, Sandro Botticelli, Luca Signorelli, Cosimo Roselli, Pietro Perugino, and Pinturicchio vied with each other in a noble rivalry in its embellishment. The time taken to complete the paintings on the walls of the Sistina, which were begun in the year 1480, greatly tried the patience of the Pope. Like Julius II at a later period, when Michael Angelo was painting the roof, Sixtus IV could scarcely bear to wait for the termination of the work." On the anniversary of his election, the vigil of S. Lawrence", Jacobus Volaterranus tells us, "he came unannounced, and quite against his usual custom (*extra ordinem*), to Vespers in the Chapel to see how the frescoes were getting on. At last, on the 15th August, 1483, came the long-desired day of their completion". On the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady, which that year fell on a Saturday, the Pope, we learn from a contemporary, came to the new Chapel and there heard Mass. There was no further ceremony. All the Prelates and some others assisted at the function. The only Cardinal present was Raffaello Sansoni. This was the first Mass said after the completion of the Chapel, and only the ecclesiastics belonging to it attended. In commemoration of the event, the Pope published an Indulgence for all who should visit the sanctuary, including women. Sixtus IV. also attended Vespers there that same day. The Prelates were placed below Cardinal Sansoni on the benches assigned to the Sacred College. The Pope blessed the people, both at Mass and at Vespers. When it became known that an Indulgence had been granted to those who should visit the Chapel, the whole City was astir in a moment. The crowd in the Sistina was so great that it was extremely difficult either to enter or to leave the Church, and the throng continued to pass through until after midnight. On the Pope's coronation day, the first solemn High Mass was celebrated in the new Chapel; Giuliano della Rovere being celebrant and all the Cardinals assisting.

The whole series in the Sistina consisted originally of fifteen frescoes, twelve of which still remain on its longer sides, the other three having given place to Michael Angelo's colossal picture of the Last Judgment. On the left wall, looking to the right from the altar, are represented events from the history of Moses. According to the custom and taste of the period, several scenes are grouped in the same picture around the principal subject. Moses slaying the Egyptian, driving away the shepherds who hindered Jethro's daughter from drawing water, going into Egypt, and, with his sandals put away, worshipping God in the burning bush, are thus combined, due to the pencil of Botticelli. The whole forms a masterpiece of vivid feeling and expression and technical facility.

Signorelli's farewell and death of Moses is another glorious creation, full of dramatic power. In contemplating it, we perceive at once that the artist was

thoroughly aware that the strength of his rivals lay in composition and in the management of light and shade. In his grouping, largeness of conception and combination are united with great clearness of detail. The drawing is bold and strongly marked, and the entire execution bears the impress of great care and taste, as also the employment of gold on the draperies. On the right wall are paintings by Pinturicchio, Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Roselli, and Perugino, representing scenes from the life of our Lord. Two of these frescoes, the Vocation of SS. Peter and Andrew, by Ghirlandaio, and St. Peter receiving the Keys, by Perugino, stand out from among the other mural paintings in so marked a manner, indicating the approaching triumph of the noble ideal style in art, that nothing but the overpowering proximity of Michael Angelo's work could prevent the immediate recognition of this important fact. All artists agree in considering Perugino's Institution of the Primacy one of his most perfect productions. The solemn grandeur of this marvellous creation fully corresponds with the dignity of its subject, and this latter is enhanced to the imagination by the situation of the picture.

Ghirlandaio, however, surpassed all his companions. His masterly genius enabled him to grasp the vocation of SS. Peter and Andrew in its most impressive and solemn aspect. His picture is, so to speak, a foreshadowing of Raphael's Miraculous draught of Fishes and Feed my Sheep.

The wall behind the altar was adorned by a painting of the Assumption of our Lady, with Sixtus IV praying beneath it. Vasari believes this to be the work of Perugino, but Sigismondo de' Conti remarks, in regard to this fresco, that the Blessed Virgin seems actually to rise from the earth towards Heaven; Perugino never possessed the art of fore-shortening in its perfection. So marvellous is the view from beneath, so real the ascent towards Heaven, that no man then living, save Melozzo da Forli, could have created the like, and the most recent investigations are perhaps right in assigning the work to the great Master, who has been called the forerunner of Raphael and Michael Angelo.

As we survey this sanctuary of Italian Renaissance, we cannot fail to acknowledge that the choice of subjects for the frescoes in the Papal Chapel could not have been improved. To the chief scenes from the life of Moses on the one side, correspond on the other those from the life of our Lord, as the fulfilment of their typical signification. What Moses, the leader of the chosen people, foreshadowed, has been perfected by Christ for all time. Peter, who lives in his successors here, reigns as the Vicar of Christ. Through him the human race is brought to the Saviour, as the Jewish nation, the type of Christendom, was led by Moses to the feet of the Christ. The development of the whole plan of Salvation is concentrated in the three names : Moses, Christ, Peter. Thus, the magnificent drama of the Story of the Church is presented to the spectator as the Life and the Truth in the frescoes of this Chapel, which, in its historical aspect, is the most remarkable in the world, and thus worthily was the building fitly inaugurated, which afterwards, under another Pope of the house of Rovere, was to be enriched with the marvellous productions of the giant genius of Michael Angelo.

BOOK III
INNOCENT VIII. 1484-1492.

CHAPTER I.

Disturbances in Rome during the Vacancy of the Holy See.— Election OF
Innocent VIII and First Years of his Pontificate.

THE news of the death of Sixtus IV which had taken place on the 12th August, 1484, set all Rome in commotion, and the most violent disturbances among the troops with which the city was scantily garrisoned, were the immediate result. A strong movement in favour of the Colonna and in opposition to the chief favourite of the late Pope, Girolamo Riario, soon made itself felt. With wild shouts of "Colonna, Colonna," the infuriated populace invaded the palace of Girolamo on the 13th August, and devastated it so completely that nothing but the bare walls remained; the rabble vented their rage even on the trees and shrubs of the adjacent garden.

The compatriots and partisans of the Ligurian Pope fared no better than the nephew; on the very same day the granaries in Trastevere as well as two ships laden with wine which belonged to Genoese, were seized by the infuriated mob. No Ligurian property in Rome was now safe; even the Genoese hospital was destroyed. The provisions which Caterina, the wife of Girolamo had stored up in Castel Giubileo shared the same fate; they were either destroyed or carried off. Caterina herself, full of courage, hastened to the Castle of S. Angelo, deposed the Lieutenant-Governor, and declared that she would give up the stronghold to no one except the newly-elected Pope. The Cardinals, a number of whom assembled in the Palace of the Camerlengo Raffaele Riario, did their utmost to re-establish order in the city, but for the present they were powerless before the prevailing excitement.

Girolamo Riario on hearing the sad news of the death of Sixtus IV, had immediately raised the siege of Paliano, and his retreat was so hurried as to bear all the appearances of a precipitate flight. Artillery, ammunition, tents and horses were left behind. On the Eve of the Assumption, Girolamo arrived with his troops before Rome, and by order of the cardinals encamped at Ponte Molle, where he intended to remain until the election was over. It was feared that the Pope's nephew would use force to ensure the nomination of a Pontiff of his own choice, and indeed the courage of the Count by no means failed him; he trusted in his army, in the power of the Orsini and the possession of the Castle of S. Angelo, Riario also expected to be supported by some members of the College of Cardinals. However, after two days, he deemed it advisable to retreat to Isola Farnese; the old castle, which was situated in the vicinity of the ancient Veii, belonged to Virginio Orsini. This change of tactics must be ascribed to the fact that the fortunes of his enemies were improving from day to day. The inhabitants of Cavi, Capranica and Marino had recalled the Colonna; in Rome Cardinal Giovanni was received with enthusiasm. Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna also returned there with a powerful army. In a short time the city, to

which all the armed vassals of both parties flocked in crowds, had become an open camp. Civil war threatened to break out every moment. All shops were closed; no one could venture into the streets without endangering his life. The palaces of the Cardinals were changed into small fortresses; according to the account of one of the ambassadors, the owners seemed to be prepared for an immediate attack. The Cardinals Giuliano della Rovere and Rodrigo Borgia especially had filled their houses with troops, had erected outworks and provided themselves with artillery. In Trastevere bridges and gates were closed, so that all traffic was stopped. The Orsini had entrenched themselves in Monte Giordano, for they expected every moment to be attacked. The whole town was in arms and uproar.

Such was the state of Rome when the obsequies of Sixtus IV began on the 17th August, 1484. Only a few of the Cardinals were present. Giuliano della Rovere did not leave his strongly fortified palace on the heights of S. Pietro in Vincoli. The Cardinals Colonna and Savelli likewise refused to go either to S. Peter's or to the conclave in the Vatican, as long as the Castle of S. Angelo was in the hands of the energetic wife of Girolamo Riario. Not content with the number of their adherents who had flocked to Rome, they sent for troops from Aquila, Terni, Amelia, and other Ghibelline cities. The majority of the Cardinals, especially Cardinal Cibó, shared the opinion of the former, that it was absolutely necessary to secure a safe place for the Papal election. In the meanwhile, the excitement and confusion increased from day to day. A double election and an impending schism were already talked of, when, owing to the energetic interference of Cardinal Marco Barbo, affairs assumed a more promising aspect. This prudent and universally esteemed prelate possessed the confidence of all, even of Giuliano della Rovere. He began by bringing about an agreement with Girolamo Riario. In return for the payment of 8000 ducats and other concessions, he obtained the surrender of the Castle of S. Angelo, which was entrusted to the Bishop of Todi, in the name of the Sacred College. It was further stipulated that Girolamo should repair to his own States, and Virginio Orsini with his adherents to Viterbo, whilst the Colonna were to evacuate the city, and Giacomo Conti was to give up the guard of the Palace; a truce was also concluded which was to begin on the Coronation-day of the new Pope and to last for a month.

When order had thus, to a certain extent, been reestablished, it was possible to think seriously of making preparations for the Conclave in the Vatican. On the 25th August the obsequies of Sixtus IV. were finished, and on the day following, the 25 Cardinals present in Rome went into Conclave.

For many years the number of the electors had not been so considerable; at the Conclave of Nicholas V, Pius II and Sixtus IV, only 18 Cardinals had been present; at that of Calixtus III only 15; at the election of Paul II, 20. With regard to the different nationalities, the proportion was about the same as in 1471; the Italian Cardinals had a complete majority over the 4 foreigners,—2 Spaniards, Borgia and Moles; 1 Portuguese, Giorgio da Costa, and 1 Frenchman, Philibert Ilugonet.

We have sewn in our account of the Pontificate of Sixtus IV the disastrous effects of his having augmented the number of the worldly-minded Cardinals. The Conclaves of 1484 and 1492 are among the most deplorable in the annals of

Church History.

The first step taken by the Cardinals in Conclave was to draw up an election capitulation; in doing so, they openly disregarded the prohibitions of Innocent VI. This capitulation, which was signed by all the Cardinals on the 28th August, shows a notable increase in their demands; the monarchical constitution of the Church was to be changed into an aristocratic one, and the personal interests of the electors were the primary consideration. The first clause in the document provided that each Cardinal should receive every month 100 ducats from the Apostolic Treasury, unless he had a yearly income of 4000 ducats from his own benefices. The next regulation, a new one, secured a complete indemnification for such Cardinals as might be punished by secular Princes for their vote, with the confiscation of their revenues. Not till these matters have been settled do the really salutary measures affecting the public welfare appear, such as the vigorous prosecution of the war with the Turks, the reform of the Church, the convocation of a Council, the suppression of nepotism. "It does not seem to have occurred to the Cardinals that the good election of a worthy Pope would have been a much more efficacious remedy against abuses than the most detailed election capitulation."

There existed a great divergency of opinion as to who would be raised to the Pontifical dignity. The Mantuan Envoy reported on Aug. 15th that Cardinal Stefano Nardini had the best chance, because he was popular with the people of Rome, and favoured by a great number of the Cardinals. "Others mention the old Cardinal Conti who belongs to the party of the Orsini, a worthy man whose clever brother is held in high esteem. Cardinal Moles' Spanish descent is objected to, but as he is a good and venerable old man, and a stranger to all the intrigues carried on at Rome, many think that he stands a good chance of being elected. Marco Barbo is also spoken of as a candidate; he would make an excellent Pope, because of his noble character, his ability, and the general esteem in which he is held, "but," the Envoy adds, "he is a Venetian". We have already mentioned the valuable services rendered by Barbo in the time of confusion after the death of Sixtus IV; his election would no doubt have proved a blessing for the Church. Other contemporaries are of the same opinion. "All the courtiers," writes the Sienese Envoy, Aug. 22nd, "and those who are not blinded by passion, are anxious for the election of Barbo or Piccolomini in the interests of the Church. Piccolomini is supported by Naples, Barbo by Milan; Cardinal Borgia is zealously canvassing for himself." The party of the Orsini, leagued with Count Girolamo, had exerted all their influence in favour of Borgia and eventually of Conti, ever since the death of Sixtus IV.

Italian diplomacy was of course not idle. All the States which had been in alliance before and through the peace of Bagnolo, joined hands to procure the Tiara for a friend of the Italian League, or at least for one who would be neutral. Venetians, Genoese and Ultramontanes (non-Italians), were to be excluded; but with regard to individual candidates, there was a great divergency of opinion among the allies. The personal ambition of the Cardinals also played an important part in the contest. Arlotti, the Envoy of Ferrara, says in a despatch of Aug. 26th: "The competition may possibly become so hot, that in the end a neutral candidate like Moles, Costa, or Piccolomini—all worthy men—may be elected." Alfonso, duke of Calabria and Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Bari, Vice-regent of Milan, tried to influence the electors more directly by a letter sent to

their ambassadors at Rome, August 26th. It contained express orders to request Girolamo Riario and Virginio Orsini to use all their influence to oppose the election of Cardinals Costa, Cibo, Savelli and Barbo, without, however, having recourse to violence. In this document, six other Cardinals are recommended; unfortunately, however, their names are not mentioned. On the same day a corresponding despatch was sent to the Cardinals Giovanni d' Aragona and Ascanio Maria Sforza, to be handed at the Consistory to all the Cardinals, and to be read there in public. If this document had arrived in time, we should have the first instance of a formal interference, both exclusive and inclusive, by a Government in the Papal election.

The real leader of the Cardinals who sided with the league, was the Vice-chancellor Rodrigo Borgia. All the reports agree in stating that this ambitious prelate was trying his utmost to obtain the Tiara. As early as August 18th, 1484, the Florentine Envoy reports that Borgia was working hard for his own election, and that he had promised the post of Vice-chancellor and his own palace to Cardinal Giovanni d' Aragona, and 25,000 ducats and the Abbey of Subiaco to Cardinal Colonna, and that he had held out similar bribes to Cardinal Savelli. "Rodrigo Borgia certainly is one of the most active competitors," says the Envoy from Ferrara, three days later; "however, it is impossible to give a decided opinion as yet, as to what his chances are." The Envoy then recalls the Roman proverb, which is here perhaps mentioned for the first time in writing. "He who enters the Conclave a Pope, leaves it a Cardinal." Giovanni d' Aragona, the son of Ferrante of Naples, Ascanio Sforza and the Camerlengo Raffaele Riario were entirely on the side of Borgia; the latter counted with such certainty on success, that he had made all necessary preparations for protecting his magnificent palace against the pillage which generally followed the election. However in spite of all his promises of money, lands and benefices he was unable to obtain the decided majority. "Borgia has the reputation of being so false and proud," the Florentine Envoy writes, August 21st, "that there is no danger of his being elected." He had given them a specimen of his faithlessness immediately after the death of Sixtus IV. Hitherto he had always sided with the Colonna, he now went over to the Orsini through whose help he hoped to secure his election; but at last he recognised the impossibility of attaining his object; he therefore began to promote that of his countryman Moles, whose age and infirm health would probably soon entail a fresh Conclave. The head of the opposition party, Giuliano della Rovere, found himself in a similar position. He could only count with certainty on the Cardinals Savelli, Colonna, Cibo and the two La Rovere. The weakness of both parties became apparent in the first scrutiny on the morning of the 8th August: Cardinal Barbo obtained ten, or according to other accounts eleven or twelve votes. Jakob Burchard, the master of ceremonies reports that for fear of Barbo obtaining the necessary seventeen votes it was resolved that in the first scrutiny there should be no *accessit*.

Giuliano now began to bestir himself in earnest. His candidate was a man who owed everything to him: Giovanni Battista Cibo, Cardinal of S. Cecilia and Bishop of Molfetta. He threw himself into the contest with all the unscrupulous energy of his nature and did not hesitate to have recourse to bribery in order to attain his object. The worldly-minded Cardinals were all the easier now to win over, because they were afraid that he might ally himself with the Venetians, in which case Barbo, whose principles in morals were very strict, would have

ascended the chair of S. Peter. Giuliano succeeded first in gaining the Cardinals Orsini, Raffaele Riario, then Ascanio Sforza. Sforza was followed by Borgia, and the latter persuaded Giovanni d'Aragona to join their party. Jakob Burchard, who took part in the Conclave, relates that Cardinal Cibò won the votes of his future electors by signing petitions for favours which they presented to him during the night in his cell. The negotiations had lasted through the whole night: by the morning of 29th August, 1484, Giuliano della Rovere had secured eighteen votes for Cibò. The opposition party now gave up all resistance as useless. At 9 o'clock a.m. Cardinal Piccolomini was able to announce to the crowd assembled outside the Vatican, that Cardinal Cibò had been elected and had assumed the name of INNOCENT VIII. The people burst forth into acclamations, the bells of the palace of S. Peter's began to ring, and the thunder of cannons resounded from the Castle of S. Angelo.

The newly-elected Pontiff, who, for the first time, again assumed a name borne by a Pope during the Schism, was 52 years old. He was above middle size, strongly built, and his face was full, his complexion strikingly fair, and his eyes weak. He was descended from a Genoese family of good position, who were related to the wealthy Doria. In the accounts of his genealogy there is much that is legendary, and it remains uncertain whether the Cibò are of Asiatic origin, or whether they are connected with the Tomacelli, the family of Innocent VII; but Aran Cibò is mentioned in Genoese documents of 1437 as having been made *Anziano* in that city, and employed for some time both in the government and the administration of justice at Naples, and also as having been a Roman senator in 1455. He married Teodorina de' Mari, a Genoese lady of patrician birth; Giovanni Battista Cibò, born in 1432, was the issue of this marriage. He studied at Padua and at Rome, and in his youth had no intention of taking Orders, and his life at the licentious court of Aragon was no better than that of many others in his position. He had two illegitimate children, a daughter, Teodorina, and a son, Franceschetto. It is characteristic of Cardinal Giuliano, that he did not scruple to help in promoting a man of such antecedents to the supreme dignity. However, it is certain that from the moment Giovanni Battista entered the ecclesiastical state, all the accusations against the purity of his private life cease. The fact also that the irreproachable Cardinal Calandrini took him into his service seems to indicate a reform in his morals. In April 1469, Paul II bestowed on him the bishopric of Savona, which he exchanged under Sixtus IV for that of Molfetta (situated near Bari on the Adriatic). Cibò formed a close intimacy with Giuliano, the nephew of Sixtus IV, and to him especially he owed his speedy promotion. The Pope liked the Bishop of Molfetta because of his gentle amiable character; he made him his Datary, and gave him the Red Hat on the 7th May, 1473. Cibò was generally called Molfetta from the name of his bishopric.

In the exercise of his ecclesiastical ministry, Cibò gained great popularity. "Nobody left him without being consoled," says a contemporary, "he received all with truly fatherly kindness and gentleness; he was the friend of high and low, of rich and poor." Sixtus IV thought so highly of him, that at his departure from Rome in June 1476, he left him behind as Legate. Cibò filled this post, an extremely thorny one in the state of affairs at that time, to the complete satisfaction of the Pope.

All accounts agree in praising the kindness, the benevolent and amiable

disposition of the newly-elected Pope, but they are equally unanimous in condemning his want of independence and weakness. "He gives the impression of a man who is guided rather by the advice of others than by his own lights," says the Florentine Ambassador of him, as early as Aug. 29th, 1484, and he also speaks of him as wanting in solid education and experience in political affairs. It is not surprising that Giuliano della Rovere, to whom Cibò owed his promotion to the dignities both of Cardinal and Pope, obtained an unbounded ascendancy over a character of this kind. "While with his uncle he had not the slightest influence, he now obtains whatever he likes from the new Pope," remarks the Envoy from Ferrara, Sept. 13th, 1484. "Send a good letter to the Cardinal of S. Peter," the Florentine Envoy writes to Lorenzo de' Medici, "for he is Pope and more than Pope". The practical result of these relations was that Cardinal della Rovere came to reside in the Vatican, while his brother Giovanni, already Prefect of Rome, was named Captain-general of the Church, in December.

Immediately after his election, Innocent VIII. had pledged his word to the magistrates to bestow all civic offices and benefices on Roman citizens only. It was his failure in keeping this promise, which so incensed Infessura, the secretary of the Roman Senate, that he composed a series of caustic epigrams against him. In judging this matter we must consider, however, that it was very hard for the Pope "to keep his promise in the face of the claims of the greedy prelates". The electors and their adherents had to be rewarded, personal relations and friends to be considered; but the just complaints against this unpromising beginning of his Pontificate were kept in the background for the time being, by the brilliant festivities of the Coronation and the *possesso*.

On Sept. 11th, all the preparations for the Coronation, in which artists like Perugino and Antonissimo Romano were engaged, were completed. The ceremony itself took place on the following day. In the morning the Pope went to S. Peter's, celebrated High Mass there, and gave his benediction to the people. Then Cardinal Piccolomini crowned him outside the Basilica. After a short interval, he went in solemn procession to take possession (*possesso*) of the Lateran Palace. The homage of the Jews usual on such occasion took place in the interior of the Castle of S. Angelo; the object of this arrangement was to protect them against ill-usage from the populace. Burchard gives a minute description of the magnificent procession to the Lateran, and there exist several other accounts of it in Italian, and one in German, so that we possess ample information in regard to all its details. An immense crowd of people thronged the streets, which were decorated with green boughs and gorgeous hangings and carpets. Sixteen noblemen carried "the canopy, under which the Pope rode on a white horse richly caparisoned in white and gold. He had on his head a golden crown, and over his shoulders the pallium; and wore round his neck a costly amice, and a cross of gold on his breast, and blessed the people as he passed."

Innocent VIII, whose affability is highly praised by the Envoy from Ferrara, had all the more cause for being satisfied in so far that the day and all the ceremonies had passed over without any hitch or disturbance worth mentioning. On the same day the solemn Bulls were drawn up which acquainted all Christian Princes and States with the accession of the new Pope, and asked their prayers for a prosperous Pontificate.

Prayers were certainly greatly needed, for Innocent VIII entered upon the

government of the Church and the Pontifical States under circumstances of great difficulty, aggravated by the deplorable state of the finances of the Holy See. It cannot be denied that the newly-elected Pontiff was full of good intentions. Three things, he repeated on his Coronation-day, he was resolved to pursue with the greatest zeal : peace, justice, and the welfare of the city. Accordingly, he provided for a stricter surveillance and administration of justice in Rome, and commissioned some of the Cardinals to endeavour to bring about an accommodation between the Colonna and Orsini. Even beyond the boundaries of his own territory, Innocent was anxious to extend the blessings of peace. He was especially desirous of putting an end to the prolonged dispute about Sarzana. On the 17th Sept. he had entered into negotiations on this subject with the Envoys of Naples, Florence and Milan. In accordance with the recent understanding, the Pope said on this occasion, he considered it a supreme duty of his Apostolic office to bring about this peace, so that all Italian States might enjoy its happy results, and might recover from the heavy expenses which had left the Holy See burdened with a debt of more than 250,000 ducats. The dispute about Sarzana, complicated by the attack of the Florentines on Pietrasanta, caused him great anxiety, because of the character of the Genoese, who would not hesitate to set the world on fire, and who had already brought foreigners to Italy on other occasions. Genoa had applied to him to settle the affair by a judicial pronouncement. He knew that his predecessor had failed in his attempt to do this, but, being a Genoese himself and in a more favourable position than Pope Sixtus, he hoped to attain his object, especially as he felt sure that the Signoria of Florence would do their utmost to smooth the way.

A few days later, 22nd September, the names of the new Cardinal-Legates were published. Nardini was to go to Avignon, Moles to the Campagna, Savelli to Bologna, Orsini to the March of Ancona, and Ascanio Sforza to the Patrimony of S. Peter. Arcimboldi was confirmed as Legate of Perugia. Existing circumstances made it a matter of especial urgency that a Legate should be sent at once to Avignon, however, neither Nardini nor Moles ever entered upon the duties of their office; the former died October 22nd, the latter, November 21st, 1484.

The Pope himself had fallen ill in October 1484. Soon it became evident that in spite of his good resolutions, he had neither energy nor prudence enough to be successful in his mediation between the jealous and quarrelsome States of Italy. His interference in the dispute about Sarzana had no effect. In the Spring of the following year, Innocent again fell sick, and at the same time the feud between the Orsini and Colonna broke out afresh. Sigismondo de' Conti tells us, that on the 12th March, 1485, the Pope was seized with a violent fever, which kept him in bed for three months; and he was in such a critical state that one day it was rumoured that he was dead. The Protonotary, Obbietto Fieschi, sent word at once to the Orsini that the Pope had expired. They immediately posted troops on the Ponte Molle and all the bridges of the Anio in order to secure free communication with the city; but they had soon to repent of this manoeuvre, for the report of the Pope's death proved false. The skilful treatment of the famous physicians, Podocatharo and Giacomo da Genesio, had saved the life of Innocent VIII. The Pope, who had always favoured the Colonna, now grew more partial to them than ever. The fortune of war also seemed to smile on them in the beginning; in two days they took Nemi and Genzano, but they were

afterwards defeated by the Orsini.

These endless disputes, which Innocent VIII tried in vain to allay, were seriously aggravated by the estrangement between the Pope and the King of Naples, which continued to increase from day to day.

CHAPTER II.

QUARRELS BETWEEN THE POPE AND FERRANTE OF NAPLES (1484-1487).—THE CIBO AND MEDICI FAMILIES ALLIED BY MARRIAGE.

ALTHOUGH King Ferrante of Naples had done his best before the Papal election to exclude Cardinal Cibò, he now made a great show of cordiality, and immediately sent him a letter of congratulation. Innocent lost no time in sending his thanks, and reminding him of his former relations with Naples, assured him that he would do for him all he conscientiously could, but he added, that he hoped Ferrante on his part would show himself a true Catholic Prince.

The first note of discord in the relations between Rome and Naples was struck by the King's son, Alfonso, Duke of Calabria. He came to Rome on the 20th October, 1484, on his return from Ferrara, and was received by the Pope with all possible marks of honour and friendship; but when the Duke demanded the incorporation of Benevento, Terracina, and Ponte Corvo, with the territory of his father, Innocent VIII refused to accede to his request. It is said that Alfonso replied in a menacing tone, saying, that before long he would make the Pope beg for the annexation, of his own accord. In consequence of this collision, it seemed doubtful whether the Neapolitan Embassy of Obedience would be sent to Rome. To bring this about, the Pope had recourse to a very strange expedient. Bulls were drawn up annexing the cities as demanded, but these, instead of being handed over to the King, were entrusted to the keeping of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, while Innocent VIII made a declaration before a notary, that the documents were only intended for show, in order to appease the impetuous King for the moment. It was not at all his intention to give up his claim to the cities, and he was resolved, if necessary, to meet force with force. As Alfonso drew up troops on the borders of the Papal States, the Pope also began to collect an army and to look out for allies. Above all, Innocent VIII tried to gain Venice. On February 28th, 1485, the canonical penalties imposed by Sixtus IV upon the Venetians were withdrawn, and the Signoria responded by sending their Embassy of Obedience. Tommaso Catanei, Bishop of Cervia, was sent to Venice, to arrange for the transference of Roberto Sanseveritio, the captain of the mercenary troops, to the Papal service.

The relations between Rome and Naples became more and more strained, owing to the conduct of Ferrante, who not only refused to pay the tribute for his fief, but interfered unjustifiably in purely ecclesiastical matters, despoiled the clergy by arbitrary taxes, and openly sold his bishoprics to utterly unsuitable persons. In the Summer of 1485 the two Courts came to an open rupture. On the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, the Neapolitan Envoy appeared with the customary white horse but without the tribute. It was impossible for the Pope to accept the lame excuse that the King was not able to pay because of his expedition against Otranto, as several years had passed since this event. When Innocent refused to accept the palfrey without the money, Ferrante's ambassador entered a formal protest.

Nearly at the same moment the Barons' war broke out at Naples. This, "the most appalling of all the tragic dramas of the 15th Century," was caused by Alfonso of Calabria. This "overbearing, faithless and cruel" Prince persuaded his father to attempt to put down the discontented nobles by a sudden and treacherous attack. In the Summer of 1485 he found an opportune moment. Count Montorio, who was Governor of the rich town of Aquila, was enticed to come to Chieti, and there taken prisoner; the citadel of Aquila was immediately occupied by Neapolitan troops. The Barons soon saw that the same fate awaited them which Louis XI had prepared for his nobles; they determined not to submit to the tyranny of the house of Aragon, but to take measures to defend themselves. In the autumn of 1485, the inhabitants of Aquila expelled the Neapolitan garrison and planted the banner of the Church on their walls. Their example was followed by several other Neapolitan cities and territories.

Rome in July was visited with an outbreak of the Plague, and at the same time the course of events in the neighbouring kingdom was watched with anxious attention. "Innocent VIII," the Mantuan Envoy reports, July 18th, 1485, "is entirely taken up with the affairs of the Barons." They had already laid their complaints against Ferrante before the Pope on a former occasion; now again their messengers appeared in Rome to ask for help. Their language was that of men driven to desperation; they would rather suffer any extremity than submit to the tyranny of Ferrante or Alfonso; if the Pope did not help them, they would put themselves under the protection of some foreign power.

Thus we see that Innocent found himself forced into taking part in the war, and no great efforts were needed on the part of Giuliano, the sworn foe of the Aragonese, to bring him to a point. The danger was all the greater because both contending parties were capable of seeking aid from the Turks. It was evident which side the Pope would take. Ferrante's conduct in ecclesiastical matters, as well as the experience of former Popes of his violence and treachery, left no room for doubt on this point. At this moment Ferrante tried once more to avert the impending storm by sending his son, Cardinal Giovanni d' Aragona as mediator to Rome; but the Plague was raging there, the Cardinal was stricken and died on October 17th. Whilst Ferrante's son was on his death-bed, the Cardinals discussed the affairs of Naples with the Pope. The result was, that the Holy See warmly embraced the interests of the Barons, took Aquila under its protection, and declared war against the King. The Bull drawn up to justify this step is dated October 14th, and was affixed to the door of S. Peter's ten days later.

The King of Naples soon proved the insincerity of his proposals of peace to Rome, by openly declaring himself the protector of the Orsini who had a short time before rejected the offer of the Pope to act as mediator. Ferrante's attempt to come to terms with his nobles completely failed, for nobody trusted him; the rebellion soon spread over the whole kingdom.

In order to intimidate the Pope, Ferrante now had recourse to the expedient generally adopted by those who had any quarrel with Rome; he renewed the question of convoking a Council. For this end he put himself in communication with Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary. The Neapolitan Envoy was instructed to ask Mathias to support his father-in-law by giving him material help, to dissuade Venice from taking the Pope's side, and to appeal to a Council against the greed and unbearable arrogance of Rome. Mathias Corvinus agreed to these proposals, January 29th, 1486; he declared in a solemn assembly of the Hungarian prelates and magnates, and in presence of the Venetian and Florentine Envoys that he would not forsake the father of his wife. He threatened the Pope with the withdrawal of his allegiance and an appeal to a Council, and the Venetians with war. At the end of March, 800 Hungarian cavalry, and later on 200 cavalry and 700 infantry started for Naples. At the same time Mathias made an alliance with the Turks in virtue of which they were to prevent the Venetians from assisting the Pope.

Milan followed the example of Hungary and declared for the King of Naples. The latter tried to gain Lorenzo de' Medici also. In order to hinder this, the Pope sent the Florentine Archbishop Rinaldo Orsini to Lorenzo. He explained to the Duke that "Innocent VIII. was determined to resort to arms; that for many months he had warned the King by the late Cardinal d'Aragona and through his brother Don Francesco; but that Ferrante had become more and more overbearing in his conduct, so that at last things must take their course." The mission of Orsini had no effect; Lorenzo declared for Ferrante.

The Pope now began to look for alliances and succeeded in concluding one with Genoa through the mediation of Lazzaro Doria in November, 1485. He next tried to win the Venetians, as did also the Neapolitan Barons, but neither the Pope nor they could obtain anything from that quarter. The utmost that Venice would concede was permission to Roberto Sanseverino, whose services Innocent VIII was extremely anxious to secure, to depart "if he pleased."

The Pope was so impatient to see Roberto Sanseverino, that he ordered him to hasten to Rome without his troops, in order to arrange the plan of campaign. Roberto entered the city on horseback, November 10th, 1485, through the Porta del Popolo and was ceremoniously received. On the same day Innocent VIII sent word to Aquila of his arrival, adding that after consultation with Roberto, he would inform them of his plans. During the following days, the Lord of Anguillara, Pierro Giovanni de Savelli, Francesco de Colonna and others were called to Rome, to take part in the Council of War. On November 30th, Roberto swore fealty to the Pope as Standard-bearer of the Church. It was not a moment too soon, for the enemy was already at the gates of Rome.

Alfonso of Calabria had invaded the Papal territory with twelve battalions, and had joined Virginio Orsini at Vicovaro. Florence sent a considerable force, Milan only 100 soldiers. The enemy took possession of the Bridge of Nomentana and carried their raids to the very gates of Rome. The greatest disorder

prevailed in the city. Amidst the general alarm and excitement there was one man only who kept his head on his shoulders, and that was Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere. If Rome did not fall into the hands of the enemy, and if their hopes of help from within the city itself were disappointed, it was to the iron energy of that prelate that the Pope's thanks were due. Day and night he allowed himself no rest. In the cold December nights, he was to be seen with Cardinals Colonna and Savelli making the round of the guards of the gates and walls. The Vatican was turned into a fort, the house of the Neapolitan Ambassador was pillaged, the castle of the Orsini on Monte Giordano was set on fire. Virginio Orsini swore that he would have his revenge; that the head of Giuliano should be carried through the town spiked on a lance.

The courage of the enemy rose from day to day as they discovered how feebly Rome was garrisoned. Roberto Sanseverino and Giovanni della Rovere had as yet no troops; the Colonna with all their men were at Aquila, so that in reality the city was only defended by the guards of the palace and a small force of artillery and cavalry. In this extremity all criminals were allowed to return; this was done in order to reinforce the ranks of the defenders.

It was not surprising therefore that robbery and murder became every day occurrences.

Virginio Orsini carried on the war with Rome with the pen as well as with the sword. He wrote pamphlets calling for the deposition of Cardinal Giuliano, whom he accused of the most horrible vices, and of Innocent VIII. The Romans were urged to rebel against the degrading tyranny of the "Genoese sailor," who was not even a true Pope. Orsini offered to assist in bringing about the election of a new Pontiff and new Cardinals, and threatened to throw Innocent VIII into the Tiber.

Although the Romans did not respond to this invitation, the position of the Pope was very critical; none of the roads leading to the city were safe, travellers and even envoys of foreign powers were mercilessly plundered. The distress in the city, which in reality was in a state of siege, was becoming intolerable, when at last the troops of Roberto Sanseverino arrived, December 28th, 1485. He at once presented his soldiers to the Pope and the Cardinals, and then marched against the enemy.

The situation now began to change for the better. In December of the same year the bridge of Nomentana was taken by storm, and in January 1486 Mentana was wrested from the Orsini. After this, Cardinal Orsini surrendered Monte Rotondo and repaired to Rome to seek reconciliation with the Pope. The desertion of Cardinal Orsini filled Duke Alfonso with dismay. He left his army and fled to Pitigliano. Paolo Orsini took the command of the troops thus abandoned by their leader and led them to Vicovaro. Innocent VIII, who had been in a precarious state of health for several months of the preceding year, fell ill at this moment. On January 21, a rumour was started that the Pope was dead, and that Virginio Orsini had entered the city—which spread like wild-fire. An indescribable panic seized the inhabitants of Rome, for a general pillage was apprehended. The excitement lasted the whole day, and did not abate even when the Pope showed himself in person at the window. In consequence of this false report Mentana rebelled, and Innocent VIII ordered this fortress to be demolished.

After the miserable fashion in which these wars were conducted in Italy at that period, the struggle dragged on through the following months without any definite result. The Papal States suffered severely, and there seemed no prospect of any end to the devastations.

As early as Jan. 30th, 1486, Innocent VIII had despatched an Envoy to the Emperor to explain his position, and ask for help. But more efficacious assistance might be expected from the Spanish royal couple than from Frederick III. This rising power from henceforth began to take a more and more active part in the affairs of Italy. Ferdinand and Isabella tried to negotiate peace, for which service the Pope expressed his thanks, February 10th, 1486. Eight days later, Innocent VIII replied to the Duke of Brittany who had exhorted him to make peace, by a detailed enumeration of all Ferrante's misdeeds, stating in addition that the tyranny of the King had driven the nobles to such desperation that they were prepared to call in the Turks if the Pope had refused to assist them.

As no assistance could be hoped for from Venice, the Pope, or rather Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, and Cardinal de La Balue, who, from the February of 1485, had been acting as Envoy of Charles VIII, and protector of French interests in Rome, had begun to turn their eyes towards René, Duke of Lorraine. This Prince had inherited from his grandfather, claims on Naples and Sicily, which Innocent VIII now supported. The members of the Sacred College, however, were by no means unanimous on this point. On March 5th, 1486, the discussions in Consistory grew so warm, and La Balue and Ascanio Sforza came to such angry words, that the Pope had to silence them both. In spite of this opposition La Balue and Giuliano managed to persuade Innocent to adhere to his former policy, and to apply to the French for help; on March 23rd, Giuliano embarked at Ostia for Genoa, where he arrived at the beginning of April. To all appearances his mission was to proceed from thence to the Court of Charles VIII of France, in order to induce the King to send assistance. However, the Cardinal remained at Genoa, where he occupied himself in negotiations with René's Envoy and in superintending the equipment of a fleet by the Genoese.

On May 9th, Innocent VIII addressed a letter of encouragement to the Neapolitan nobles, and assured them that he would do his utmost to continue the struggle. About the same time Alfonso of Calabria defeated Roberto Sanseverino at Montorio. The enemy again marched upon Rome. Not only the city, but nearly the whole of the Papal States were in the greatest danger. For months the Florentines had been secretly inciting Perugia, Città di Castello, Viterbo, Assisi, Foligno, Montefalco, Spoleto, Todi and Orvieto, to rebellion, and although these intrigues were not crowned with success, they had the effect of obliging the Pope to divide his forces. In April 1486, the condottiere Boccolino Guzzoni seized the town of Ositno; at the same time the news reached Rome, that Mathias Corvinus was sending an army to invest the important city of Ancona, and that Turkish ships had been sighted on the coasts of the Adriatic. An exhausted treasury added to the difficulty of the situation; this is mentioned in several of the Papal Briefs.

When Innocent VIII saw how things were going, he began to repent of having taken part in the Neapolitan war trusting to the assistance of the faithless Venetians! Cardinal Giuliano, who might be called the soul of the

resistance to Ferrante, had hitherto always succeeded in overcoming the misgivings of the Pope, but he was now far from Rome. On the last day of May, the Envoys of the French King and of Duke René arrived in Rome and entered into negotiations with Innocent about the affairs of Naples; but the Ambassador of Ferdinand of Spain, who was naturally anxious to prevent the French from establishing themselves in Italy, did his utmost to frustrate their efforts and to persuade the Pope to come to terms with Ferrante. The Spanish Envoys were supported by the Cardinals Borgia and Savelli; La Balue and Borgia had a violent altercation on the subject in the Consistory. In Aquila a rebellion against the government of the Church broke out, whilst the army of Duke Alfonso made alarming progress. His victorious troops steadily gained ground; their skirmishers were almost at the gates of Rome. Disaffection was spreading so rapidly amongst the Pope's own people, that it seemed absolutely necessary to bring the war to a close. Treachery was the order of the day; only a small number of the Castellans could be trusted. A far less irresolute man than Innocent VIII might have made peace under such circumstances. Messages were sent to Cardinal Giuliano and to Duke René to the effect that, as they had delayed so long, it would be better now to postpone their arrival to a still later period, and that the ruin of Rome and of the Papal States could only be averted by a Treaty of Peace.

Cardinal Micheli was entrusted with the negotiation of the conditions of peace. The agreement was concluded without difficulty, as Ferrante made great concessions out of fear of the French; the captain of his forces, Gian Giacomo Trivulzio and the Humanist Pontano, repaired secretly to the Vatican, where, in the night of 9th-10th August, 1486, the preliminaries were signed. The principal clauses of the treaty, which was guaranteed by their Spanish Majesties, Milan, and Florence, were the following : —Ferrante recognised the Papal supremacy, and engaged to pay the customary tribute with arrears; the revolted nobles were to submit to the King, who promised a complete amnesty; Aquila was to take its choice between Rome and Naples; Virginio Orsini was to ask the Pope's pardon; and Innocent VIII was to have the free disposal of all bishoprics and benefices.

Looking at the conditions that Ferrante accepted, no one would have guessed that his was the victorious side. In this he can hardly have been actuated by the fear of France alone. The clue to his apparent amiability must rather be sought in his subsequent conduct, for his facility in making concessions on paper was more than counterbalanced by the skill with which he evaded the fulfilment of his engagements. The whole compact was as quickly broken as it had been concluded. There can hardly be found in all the annals of history a more scandalous violation of a treaty. Before the end of September Ferrante had expelled the Papal troops from Aquila, murdered the Pope's representative, and taken possession of the city. Then came his revenge on the nobles. Not only the Barons themselves, but their wives and children also were thrown into prison, and all their property was confiscated, including even monies invested in foreign countries. When the Barons had been thus disposed of, the turn of the Pope came next. The payment of the tribute was refused, and benefices given away as before without any reference to the Holy See. "The hand of the King is heavier on the Church than ever."

Not content with all this, Ferrante set himself to harass the helpless Pope by stirring up disturbances in the Papal States. To this systematic policy of

violence Innocent VIII had nothing to oppose but the most abject irresolution and vacillation. By his feeble policy of groping about for alliances first in one direction and then in another, he had lost the confidence of all parties. In 1486, the Pope had entered into fresh negotiations with Venice, which resulted in a new Veneto-Roman league proclaimed at the end of February 1487; but before another month had elapsed he had swung round again and sided with Florence. A project of a marriage between Lorenzo's second daughter Maddalena and Franceschetto Cibò was broached; but on account of the youth of the bride its celebration had to be postponed for a while. "In the meantime several events occurred of which Lorenzo might have taken advantage had not other circumstances tended to strengthen his desire of obtaining a footing in Rome, and his hopes of domineering over the feeble Pope."

In 1487 Lorenzo de' Medici had already had an opportunity of laying the Pope under an obligation. In Osimo, the condottiere Boccolino Guzzoni had rebelled again and entered into communication with the Sultan Bajazet. It is a fact proved by letters which have been discovered, that this daring rebel was prepared to hand over the Marches to the Turks. As the Sultan did not seem unwilling to accept the proposal, everything depended on prompt action. Innocent VIII lost no time. In March 1487, Giuliano della Rovere was sent against Boccolino, but was so crippled by want of funds that he found himself unable to achieve anything; and the Pope appealed to Milan for help. The Milanese in May sent Gian Jacopo Trivulzio, one of the ablest generals of the period, but he too was unable to take Osimo. In July, Giuliano asked to be recalled, and was superseded by Cardinal de La Balue. By the time the latter arrived before Osimo, Trivulzio had reduced the city to such extremity that it was on the point of surrendering.

By skilful management, the Florentine Ambassador succeeded in inducing Boccolino, "on the payment of 8000 ducats, to give up the city and to repair to Florence." The friendly relations of the Pope with the Medici were advantageous to the Orsini, for Lorenzo's wife was a sister of Virginio Orsini. To no one was this change more distasteful than to Cardinal Giuliano. On July 19th, 1487, he had returned from Osimo in very ill-humour, and when in August the Pope formally received the Orsini back into favour he left Rome and retired to Bologna; however, he soon made it up again with Innocent.

Whilst the war at Osimo was dragging on without any decided result, Ferrante took advantage of the Pope's embarrassment to bring his dispute with the Holy See to a climax. In May 1487, Trojano de' Bottuni was sent to Rome, Florence and Milan, as Extraordinary Ambassador, with instructions coolly to repudiate all the stipulations contained in the treaty of August 11th, 1486. "Towards the end of July 1487, Innocent VIII. held a Consistory to deliberate on Neapolitan affairs. The whole college of Cardinals agreed with him, that it was incompatible with the honour of the Holy See to remain passive any longer. It was resolved that letters should be sent to Spain, Milan and Florence, the co-signatories of the treaty, to inform them of its violation. A Nuncio was to be sent to Naples to remonstrate, and in case of any fresh breach of faith with the Barons to assist them in obtaining redress through the ordinary means." These resolutions were embodied in the instruction dated 24th July, 1487, to the Nuncio Pietro Vicentino, Bishop of Cesena. The way in which the Nuncio was treated at Naples, is characteristic of Ferrante. He was denied an audience,

whereupon he stopped the King at the gate of the palace when he was going out hunting, and forced him to listen to the demands of the Pope. Ferrante's reply was a flat refusal expressed in the most scornful terms. He had not forgotten the tribute, but he had spent so much on the Church that he had no money left. With regard to his interference in ecclesiastical affairs, Ferrante remarked that he knew his subjects, whereas the Pope did not; he would therefore continue to confer benefices on those whom he considered worthy, and Innocent VIII must content himself with the right of confirming his nomination. When, finally, Vicentino reproached him with violating the treaty by imprisoning the Barons, the King reminded him of the arrest and subsequent release of the Cardinals Colonna and Savelli by Sixtus IV, and added: I choose to deal in the same way with my traitorous subjects. Then he ordered the bugles to sound, and rode off without even saluting the Nuncio.

In face of Ferrante's insolence, Innocent VIII seems to have completely lost his head. "Gian Jacopo Trivulzio," the Envoy from Ferrara writes 6th September 1487, "speaks of the pusillanimity, the helplessness, and incapacity of the Pope in the strongest terms, and adds that, if some spirit and courage cannot be infused into him, the consequences will be very serious."

Emboldened by the Pope's weakness, Ferrante's next step was to publish a solemn appeal to a Council. A few days after the news of this had reached Florence, the Papal secretary Jacopo Gherardi arrived there, with secret instructions to endeavour to bring about a league between Milan and Venice against Naples; as, however, Lorenzo was determined not to fight, and dissuaded the Pope from pronouncing ecclesiastical censures, this came to nothing. In Rome a rumour began to be bruited about in October, that Innocent was preparing a decree of excommunication, interdict, and deposition against Ferrante, but as negotiations with Milan and Florence continued to be kept up, it was inferred that these extreme steps might possibly be avoided and an accommodation arranged. Lorenzo had considerable influence with the Pope at that time, for the marriage of Franceschetto Cibò was just about to take place.

On November 13th, the bride entered Rome, accompanied by her mother. On the 18th, the Pope gave a banquet in honour of the bridal pair, and made them a present of jewels worth 10,000 ducats. At the beginning of his Pontificate, Innocent had refused to allow Franceschetto to reside in Rome; now with almost incredible weakness he celebrated the nuptials in his own palace. The marriage contract was signed on January 20th, 1488. Lorenzo was vexed at finding that Innocent VIII showed no disposition to make an extensive provision for the newly married couple, but his annoyance was still greater at his delay in the bestowal of the Cardinal's Hat which had been promised to his second son Giovanni.

The marriage of Maddalena with Franceschetto, who was by many years her senior, was not a happy one; though utterly rude and uncultured, Cibò was deeply tainted with the corruption of his time; he cared for nothing but money, in order to squander it in gambling and debauchery; but quite apart from this the alliance between the Cibò and Medici families was a most questionable proceeding. "This was the first time that the son of a Pope had been publicly recognised, and, as it were, introduced on the political stage." Aegidius of Viterbo justly passed a very severe judgment on Innocent VIII on account of this

deplorable aberration.

CHAPTER III.

TROUBLES IN THE ROMAGNA.—DISPUTES AND FINAL RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ROME AND NAPLES.

THE Spring of the year 1488 witnessed the outbreak of serious disturbances in the Romagna. On the 14th April Girolamo Riario, who was hated for his brutal tyranny and cruelty, was treacherously murdered by three conspirators. The downfall of the Riario family now seemed inevitable; but Caterina, the courageous consort of the assassinated noble, held the citadel of Forli till it was relieved by the Milanese troops, and thus preserved the government for her young son Ottaviano.

The conspirators had immediately applied to Lorenzo de Medici and Innocent VIII for help. The suspicion expressed by Checho Orsi, the real instigator of the conspiracy, that the Pope was implicated in the plot, is without foundation. Apart from the untrustworthiness of the testimony of such a man, Checho refuted himself by asking Lorenzo to act as mediator with the Pope, and to induce him to favour the enterprise.

Part of the population of Forli eagerly desired to be under the immediate rule of the Church, and despatched envoys to Rome with a petition to the Pope to take the town under his protection. Innocent VIII in consequence sent troops under the command of the protonotary Bernardino Savelli, from Cesena to Forli; they were, however, captured by the Milanese. Upon this the Pope gave up all further interference, although he had a perfect right to support the party which had formally offered the town to him. Although Girolamo had been most unfriendly to him during the reign of Sixtus IV, Innocent recommended his infant children to the people of Forli, and gave instructions in the same sense to his Envoy, Cardinal Raffaele Riario.

Innocent VIII had a special reason for abstaining from interference in the troubles in the Romagna, for just at that time the Neapolitan King was straining every nerve to stir up the cities of the Papal States to rebel against their rightful ruler. The revolt of the important city of Ancona, which had been apprehended for the last two years, now actually broke out. In the beginning of April 1488, the Council of Ancona hoisted the Hungarian flag on the belfry of the town hall and

on the masts of the ships, as a sign that the city had placed itself under the protection of Ferrante's son-in-law, Mathias Corvinus. If Innocent was not strong enough to retain his hold on his most important seaport on the Adriatic, how useless would it have been for him to think of taking Forli in hand. The reproaches showered upon him by the impetuous Roman chronicler Infessura on this subject, are quite unjust. If the Pope had responded to the requests of the citizens of Forli, he would have had Florence as well as Milan to contend with. Lorenzo de' Medici said openly that he would rather see Forli in the power of Milan than under the rule of Rome. The Church, he said to the Envoy from Ferrara, was more to be feared at that moment than Venice itself, and this had decided him to assist King Ferrante against the Pope.

Innocent VIII was once more alarmed by another piece of bad news from the Romagna. On the 31st of May Galeotti Manfredi, lord of Faenza, was killed through the jealousy of his wife. This led to disturbances, and for a time war between Florence and Milan seemed imminent. The Pope, through the Bishop of Rimini, did his best to maintain peace. In Perugia, also at that time sadly torn with party strife, Innocent laboured in the same cause, but without much success. In December 1489 he appointed his own brother, Maurizio Cibò, Governor of that city. This "able and honest" man attempted to bring about a peaceable settlement of these interminable quarrels, but his endeavours were as fruitless as those of Franceschetto Cibò, who was sent to Perugia in July 1488. At the end of October the hereditary feud between the families of Baglione and Oddi broke out afresh, to the great grief of the Pope, and filled the unhappy city with rapine and murder. The conflict terminated in the expulsion of the Oddi, and as the Baglioni were expecting military assistance from Ferrante, Innocent VIII thought it advisable to refrain from stringent measures against them. In November 1488 he sent Cardinal Piccolomini to Perugia, who, by his admirable tact and indefatigable perseverance, succeeded in pacifying and winning over the Baglioni, and thus preserving the city, which seemed on the point of being lost to the Holy See.

Cardinal Piccolomini also displayed great skill in adjusting the ancient dispute about the boundary line between Foligno and Spello, and thus freed Innocent VIII from one cause of anxiety; but, on the other hand, it must be confessed that Ferrante's attitude of persistent and insolent hostility kept the Pope in a constant fever of alarm and perplexity. "When, in the Spring of 1489, the Spanish Court attempted a mediation, Ferrante did everything in his power to irritate the Pope by attacks on his person and his family, and seemed bent on bringing about an immediate rupture. His conduct can only be explained on the supposition that he thought he might now with impunity vent all his spite against his enemy, or that he wished to provoke a contest which might lead him with a victorious army to the gates of Rome, regardless of the risk that it might also lead a foreign power into Italy. The events of 1495, so fatal to Ferrante's dynasty and kingdom, were thus the results of his own conduct six years earlier. It was through no merit of his or of his son, who was worse than himself, nor yet of the Pope, that the catastrophe was delayed for so long. Neither Ferrante nor Innocent had any inkling of what was coming; the one was blinded by his grasping tyranny and pride, the other by his short-sighted weakness. That the impending ruin was averted for the time being, was chiefly due to Lorenzo de' Medici,—a merit which would suffice to outweigh many shortcomings."

The King of Naples received considerable support in his defiance of Rome from the Hungarian King, Mathias Corvinus, who at that time was trying to get the Turkish Prince Dschem into his own hands. Failing to obtain this through his Ambassador at Rome, Mathias threatened to bring the Turks into Italy. He felt himself bound in honour, he declared to the Papal Nuncio, not to forsake the King of Naples.

The King of Hungary had not felt it inconsistent with his honour to seize Ancona, neither did it now prevent him from tampering with the vassals of the Pope and with the famous condottiere, Giulio Cesare Varano. He hoped by stirring up a revolt in the Papal States to reduce the Pope to submission. Innocent defended himself as well as he could. In May 1489 he resolved to pronounce the extreme penalties of the Church against Ferrante. On June 27th Niccolò Orsino, Count of Pitigliano was named Captain-general of the Church. Three days later Ferrante was threatened with excommunication if he did not carry out the stipulations contained in the Treaty of Peace within two months. Ferrante showed no greater inclination than before, either to pay the tribute, to release the Barons, or to abstain from interference in ecclesiastical matters; and Innocent VIII thought the time had come to adopt decisive measures. He relied on the assistance of foreign powers, and was encouraged in this hope by Cardinal de La Balue. Charles VIII of France and Maximilian of Austria had just concluded a peace at Frankfort-on-Main (July 1489). "Might not the two reconciled Princes combine together as loyal sons of the Church to restore order in Italy and then begin the crusade against the Turks? Might not one or other of these Princes, on behalf of Genoa or Milan, bring pressure to bear on Lodovico and oblige him to give up his ambiguous attitude towards the Pope and render him hearty and effective support against Naples? Could Ferrante still hold out if he saw the whole of Christendom ranged on the side of the Pope?" Anticipations such as these certainly corresponded very little with the real state of affairs, but were nevertheless cherished in Rome, especially by the sanguine Cardinal de La Balue and by some of the French Envoys. From Spain Innocent VIII also expected assistance.

At the beginning of September 1489, the term assigned to the King of Naples had expired. On the 11th of that month, the Pope held a Consistory, to which all the Ambassadors at Rome were invited. In a lengthy discourse Innocent VIII explained the historical and legal relations between Naples and the Holy See. He set forth in detail the behaviour of the two last Kings towards the Church, and especially Ferrante's refusal to pay the dues for his fief, and to fulfil his treaty obligations, and he enlarged on the consequences of these acts. Then the notary of the Apostolic Chamber read a document drawn up in the last Secret Consistory, which declared Ferrante to have forfeited his crown, and Naples to have fallen to the Holy See as an escheated fief. The Neapolitan Ambassador, who was present, asked for a copy of this document, and for permission to read a reply in defence of his master, to which the Pope consented. The defence explained the reasons why the King did not hold himself bound to pay the tribute, and stated that he had already appealed to "the Council." According to him the right of convoking a Council had, on account of the Pope's opposition, devolved on the Emperor; consequently that of Basle having been illegally dissolved, was still sitting. It was no difficult matter for the Bishop of Alessandria to show the untenability of King Ferrante's position,

whereupon the Neapolitan Ambassador declined all further discussion, and the Pope closed the Consistory.

War between Rome and Naples now seemed inevitable, for the only effect of the Pope's energetic proceedings was to make Ferrante still more obstinate and defiant. In October 1489 he had written to Charles VIII, who had tried to dissuade him from making war against Rome, that far from having any thought of taking up arms against the Holy See, his sentiments towards it were those of the most filial devotion and submission. His conduct in the following years showed how much these hypocritical declarations were worth. He tried ineffectually to turn Maximilian against Rome, by sending him a pamphlet in which the life of the Pope and of his Court were depicted in the darkest colours. His language to Innocent VIII himself was invariably scornful and menacing. In January 1490, he announced that he would send the palfrey to Rome, but not a farthing of the tribute money, and that he would not pardon a single one of his nobles. In May a Neapolitan Envoy said at Florence, that his master would no longer put up with the overbearing and discourteous conduct of the Pope; if the latter persisted in his unjustifiable demands, the King would appear in Rome in person, with spur and lance, and answer him in a way which would make his Holiness understand his error. All the great Powers seemed to have abandoned the Head of the Church, and this emboldened Ferrante to treat him in this shameful manner. The aged Emperor Frederick admonished the Neapolitans in March to make peace, but like his son Maximilian, he was too much occupied with his own affairs to take an active interest in those of the Pope. In Italy no one stirred a finger to protect the Holy See against the insults which Ferrante so persistently heaped upon it, and Innocent VIII. complained bitterly of this to the Florentine, Pandolfini. "In deference to the representations of the Italian powers," he said "he had shown great indulgence to Ferrante. The only result had been that the King became more and more insolent, while the Powers stood by and allowed him to insult the Pope as much as he pleased. If the Italians cared so little for his honour he should be driven to look abroad for protection. Never, Pandolfini adds, had he seen the Pope so moved. He did his best to calm him, and represented to him that his patience would be rewarded, and that he might count on the support of Florence, Milan, and Venice. But Innocent would not hear him out. He was perpetually put off with words, he exclaimed. Florence was the only power on whom he could reckon, Sforza's vacillation made Milan useless, and Venice would never do anything. He was resolved to make an end of this. He would excommunicate the King, denounce him as a heretic, and lay his kingdom under Interdict. He would call upon all the States of the League to bear witness that he had ample justification for what he was doing; and if Ferrante made war upon him, as he had threatened, and no one would help him, he would take refuge abroad, where he would be received with open arms and assisted to get back what belonged to him; and this would bring shame and harm on some people. Unless he could uphold the dignity of the Holy See, it was impossible for him to remain in Italy. If he were to be abandoned by the Italian States, it would be out of the question for him to resist Ferrante, on account both of the insufficiency of the resources of the Church and the disloyalty of the Roman Barons, who would be delighted to see him in trouble. He held himself to be fully justified in leaving Italy, if the dignity of the Holy See could be safeguarded in no other way. Other Popes had done this and had returned with honour."

Thus a repetition of the exile of Avignon seemed imminent, for France was the country to which Innocent VIII would have turned. The position of the Pope was indeed almost intolerable. Each day brought fresh alarms of hostile action on the part of Ferrante; in July came the news that Naples had induced Benevento to throw off its allegiance. A few months later, accounts arrived that Ferrante was intriguing with the Colonna, in order to win them to his interest. Just at this time Innocent VIII, who had been far from well in August, had an attack of fever, and was so seriously ill that he received the last Sacraments, which he did with great devotion. He rallied a little for a time, but grew worse again, and was given over by his physician. On the 26th September it was reported in Rome that the Pope was dead. The news seemed so certain that the Envoy from Ferrara sent a special messenger to Ferrara to announce it. On the following morning Rome was like a camp; every one armed in preparation for the disturbances which would probably follow. Franceschetto Cibò attempted to take advantage of the prevailing confusion to get hold of the papal treasure and of Prince Dschem, who was then residing in the Vatican, with the object of selling him by means of Virginio Orsini to Ferrante. Fortunately the Cardinals were on their guard, and the attempt failed. An inventory was drawn up of the papal treasures, and Cardinal Savelli was given charge of the monies. The report of Innocent's death was soon found to be false. He had had something of the nature of a stroke which had brought him very near death, but on the 28th he had already begun to recover and is said to have declared that he still hoped to outlive all the Cardinals. There did not seem, however, much likelihood of this, for his health continued very feeble. He hoped to find restoration in the bracing air of Porto d'Anzio and Ostia, but it was not to be. On his return to Rome on the 30th November, it seemed at first as if he had benefited a little from the change, but a few days later the Mantuan Envoy writes that he has had a fresh attack of fever. In blaming Innocent VIII for the vacillation and weakness of his conduct, allowances should be made for the state of his health, and also for the financial difficulties which hampered him through the whole of his Pontificate.

Under these circumstances active measures against Naples were out of the question. Ferrante was well aware of this, and calmly persisted in his outrageous conduct. On the feast of SS. Peter and Paul this year, as in 1485, the palfrey was sent without the tribute, and was returned, in spite of the protest of the Neapolitan Envoy. According to Sigismondo de' Conti the Pope at this time still hoped for support from Florence and Milan. It seems strange that he could have continued to cherish such futile expectations, but it appears that he was not finally undeceived until the conduct of these States, on the occasion of the disputes between Ascoli and Fermo, had made further illusions impossible. In 1487 Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere had done his best to restore order and make peace, but in vain, and the strife had been going on ever since from bad to worse. In the Summer of 1491 the people of Ascoli had attacked Offida; the Vice-Legate of the Marches was besieged and a Papal Envoy was murdered. In August, Innocent despatched Cardinal de La Balue and Niccolò Orsini of Pitigliano with a body of troops to punish this crime, and put an end to the state of anarchy which prevailed throughout the district. They took Monte Brandone, and would soon have reduced the people of Ascoli to order, but for the intervention of Virginio Orsini at the head of a Neapolitan force. Innocent now applied to Venice, Milan, and Florence for help, but with absolutely no result. These powers were, on the contrary, determined to do everything in their power

to hinder the pacification of the Papal State and weaken the power of the Pope. Lorenzo's participation in these intrigues and also his action in securing the victory for the Baglioni in Perugia show his character in a very unfavourable light, considering his relationship to the Pope, and the many favours that he had received from him.

These painful experiences, reinforced by the entreaties of the Romans and the Cardinals, at last induced Innocent to consent to make direct overtures to Ferrante for an accommodation; and the King, alarmed at the increasingly intimate relations which were growing up between France and the Holy See, in reply offered better terms than could have been expected. Gioviano Pontano came to Rome in December, and, though there were many difficulties to overcome, an agreement was at last effected, which was announced in a Secret Consistory on the 29th January 1492. The conditions were that the imprisoned Barons were to be tried and judged by the Pope; that the King was to pay 36,000 ducats down for his fief, and for the future to maintain 2,000 horsemen and 5 triremes for the service of the Church, and to continue as before the annual present of the palfrey.

From this moment Ferrante's behaviour towards the Pope underwent a complete transformation. Amidst effusive professions of gratitude and devotion he commenced negotiations for a family alliance between himself and Innocent VIII. He proposed that his grandson, Don Luigi of Aragon, should marry Battistina, a daughter of Teodorina and Gherardo Usodimare. Fear of France was the cause of the complete change of front; the wily King saw at once how dangerous the growth of this rising power must be to his kingdom; and, in addition to this, there was the other danger from the Turks. Ferrante despatched an Envoy to Innocent VIII to discuss this subject. On the 27th May, Ferdinand, Prince of Capua, son of Alfonso of Calabria and Ferrante's grandson, came to Rome and was received with royal honours. A chronicler of the time says that he will not attempt to describe the splendours of this reception as no one would believe him, and the contemporaneous reports of the Envoys corroborate his statement. A banquet, given by Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, which lasted six hours, seems to have surpassed in sumptuousness anything hitherto imagined. Dramatic performances were included in the pleasures provided for the guests. The entertainment given in honour of the betrothal of Luigi of Aragon to Battistina Cibò furnished an occasion for a fresh display of magnificence in the Vatican itself. But all this time, side by side with these festivities, serious negotiations were going on. The object of Ferdinand's visit was to obtain for himself the investiture of Naples, and thus secure the succession for the family. This, the French Envoys, who were then in Rome on important business for the King of France, did their utmost to prevent. They had been sent thither on account of Anna, the heiress of the Duchy of Brittany, who had been betrothed by procuration to Maximilian, King of the Romans. Charles VIII, anxious to get possession of this important province, had carried her off, and now required a Papal dispensation to set her free from her betrothal; and other dispensations were also needed, as Charles was himself betrothed to Margaret of Burgundy, and was also related to Anna. These dispensations were granted, but privately, and disavowed by Innocent and the Ambassadors.

The French King was encouraged by this success to hope that he might also be able to hinder the investiture of Ferdinand. In the Spring of 1492, the Master

of the Horse, Perron de Baschi, came to Rome ostensibly on other business, but in reality for this purpose, and to request that it might be conferred on France.

But, accommodating as the Pope had shown himself in regard to the dispensations, this was quite another matter, and Baschi's mission failed utterly. On the 4th June, in a Secret Consistory, a Bull was read regulating the Neapolitan succession. It provided that Ferrante's son Alfonso was to succeed him, and in the event of Alfonso predeceasing his father, the Prince of Capua. The French Ambassador wished to enter a protest against this, but, by the Pope's orders, was refused admission to the Consistory.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EASTERN QUESTION.

THE TURKISH PRINCE.—PRINCE DSCHEM IN ROME.

THE FALL OF GRANADA.—DEATH OF THE POPE.

OF all the evil consequences produced by the disputes between Naples and the Holy See, which lasted throughout almost the whole of the Pontificate of Innocent VIII, the worst was their effect in checking the war against the Turks.

Disturbing news from the East was perpetually arriving. Just at the time of the Papal election the hordes of Sultan Bajazet had overrun Moldavia and conquered the two important strongholds of Kilia and Akjerman. Deeply impressed by this event, and by further news of an increase in the Turkish navy, Innocent VIII, immediately after his election, issued an address to the Italian States and all the European powers, pointing out the magnitude of the danger which threatened the Church and western civilisation, and asking for immediate assistance to repel it. He summoned all the Christian States to send Ambassadors as soon as possible to Rome, provided with full powers to decide on the measures to be adopted, as the situation was so serious as to brook no delay. This Encyclical is dated Nov. 21, 1484, and on the same day a special letter was despatched to Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary, who was at war with the Emperor Frederick, admonishing him to put forth all his strength against the enemy of the Faith. About the same time the Pope wrote to Ferdinand, King of Aragon and Castile, desiring him to protect Sicily, which belonged to him, and was threatened by the Turks. He also exerted himself to have measures taken for the defence of Rhodes, and in February 1485 proposed to the King of Naples a detailed scheme for the protection of the Italian sea-

board from the Turkish ships. A fleet of 60 triremes and 20 ships of burden would be necessary to defray the expense of this, Naples and Milan should contribute 75,000 ducats, Florence 30,000, Ferrara and Siena 6000, Montserrat and Lucca 2000, Piombino 1000. It boded no good for the success of this plan when Florence, with all her wealth, found a flimsy pretext for evading her share of the assessment. Plenty of money was forthcoming for the war with Genoa, but all the Pope's warnings as to the far greater importance of that against the Turks, on which the preservation of Italy and the Christian Faith depended, fell on deaf ears. In the beginning of 1485, Innocent VIII wrote again to Ferdinand of Aragon and Castile on the defence of the Sicilian coast, and meanwhile set a good example himself by taking energetic measures to strengthen the fortifications of his own ports on the Adriatic, and more especially of Ancona. The Legate of the Marches, Cardinal Orsini, the Governor of Fano, and finally the citizens of Ancona, all received stringent orders to this effect. When, in April, more reassuring news arrived, according to which no attack was to be apprehended from the Turks in that year, the Legate was desired by no means to relax his efforts on this account.

The disputes which arose between Rome and Naples in the Summer of 1485 had the effect of completely shelving the question of the Turkish war. The Pope was obliged to content himself with providing for the defence of his own sea-board and doing what he could to assist the numerous refugees who were fleeing northwards to escape the Turks. From this time forward Innocent VIII was always in such difficulties that he ceased to be able to give effective attention to these larger questions. The ink of the Treaty of Peace concluded between him and Ferrante in August 1486, was hardly dry before the King had violated all its provisions. In the following year Innocent had the distress of seeing the Lord of Osimo, Bocolino Guzzone, allying himself with the Sultan in order to incite him to attack the Marches. Harassed as he was, however, the Pope still clung to the project of a Crusade. In December 1486, Raymond Peraudi (Perauld) was sent to the court of the Emperor Frederick, who at that time was not well disposed towards Innocent, and the Carmelite, Gratiano da Villanova, to that of Maximilian. Contrary to all expectation, both Princes were inclined to listen favourably to the Pope's proposals for a Crusade. Upon this, Innocent on the 27th of May, 1486, published a Bull in which he described "the danger from the Turks," which menaced both Germany and Italy, and expressed his determination to leave no means untried whereby all Christendom might be roused and encouraged to resist them. He announced the willingness of the Emperor and other kings and princes to undertake a Crusade, and decreed that a tithe of one year's revenue should be levied for this purpose on all churches, incumbencies, and benefices, and all ecclesiastical persons of whatever rank, and whether secular or regular, throughout the provinces of the Empire. Raymond Peraudi and Gratiano da Villanova were nominated collectors-general of this tax, and endowed with the usual faculties and privileges.

In Germany Peraudi made an excellent impression. Trithemius says that "he was a man of spotless life and morals, and of singularly blameless character, in every respect. He had an immense love of justice and a genuine contempt for worldly honours and riches. I know of no one like him in our day." Such praise seems almost extravagant; but all the German Princes and learned men with whom Peraudi came in contact, express themselves in similar terms. He was

burning with zeal for the Crusade, but here he was doomed to bitter disappointment. The political confusion throughout the Empire and the egoism of the States was too great; neither laity nor clergy were in a state of mind to be capable of apprehending any general interest. In this matter he accomplished very little.

On the 26th June, 1487, Berthold, Archbishop of Mayence, and the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg addressed a letter to the Pope, in which they begged to be exempted from the proposed tithe. They said it would be impossible for them to pay this in addition to the requisitions for maintaining the personal dignity of the Emperor. "We abstain," they say, "from mentioning the permanent charges which the Church has to bear, and which are by no means insignificant; but frequent wars, and the oppression and extortions which the Church and the clergy have had to endure for so long, have brought them so low that neither in the churches nor personally are they able to maintain the splendour of former days, and it is to be feared that they will soon be completely ruined. Your Holiness can imagine of what men become capable when they are driven to such straits. They persuade themselves that all things are allowable, just or unjust, good or bad. for extreme need knows no law."

According to Trithemius, the clergy in all parts of the Empire held meetings to deliberate on what was to be done, and finally resolved to appeal from the Pope ill-informed to the Pope better-informed. The resistance was so great that Innocent was forced to give up the imposition of the tithe in Germany. He did not give up the Crusade, and since next to nothing was to be got from Germany he now turned to France. On the 16th November, 1487, the Envoys to the French Court, Lionello Cheregato of Vicenza, Bishop of Traù, and a Spaniard, Antonio Florez, started from Rome. On the 20th January, 1488, Cheregato delivered a stirring address, in the Royal Palace at Paris, before Charles VIII, on the Turkish question. Referring to the glorious feats of arms accomplished by the King's predecessors and the Popes in the past times against the Turks, he contrasted in glowing terms those days with the present. "In the days of your forefathers, who went forth to fight against the Crescent and for the Christian Faith, who would have thought it possible that we should be coming here today to urge you to come to the rescue of Italy and the States of the Church from those same inhuman enemies of the Christian name?"

In order to show how great the danger was, the Nuncio referred to Boccolino Guzzoni's attempted treason. Its failure had only made the Sultan still more eager to attack Italy. The Italian States were not strong enough to defend themselves single-handed, and therefore the Pope required assistance from the other Christian Powers. They would not be able to give this help unless they were at peace among themselves, and therefore Innocent urged the King to use his influence to put an end to the present deplorable divisions. As these wars were evidently a Divine chastisement brought upon nations through the faults of the Princes and people, now was the time for the King to reform the abuses which had crept into ecclesiastical affairs in France. The way in which Cheregato expressed himself on this subject confirms the statement, which we have from other sources, that he had instructions to endeavour to combat the anti-Roman spirit which found its chief expression in the so-called Pragmatic Sanction. Finally, he strongly urged that the well-known unfortunate Prince Dschem, who had been brought to France by the Grand Master of Rhodes in 1482, should be

handed over to the Pope.

Later, the task of the Nuncios was rendered much more difficult by the course of events in Flanders, where, ever since the 1st of February, 1488, Maximilian had been a prisoner in the hands of his subjects. At the request of the Emperor, the Pope, through the Archbishop of Cologne, laid an Interdict on the rebels. When the news reached the French Court, it was observed there that as Flanders belonged to France so severe a punishment ought not to have been imposed without consulting Charles VIII, and also that it was undeserved, as the Flemings had just grounds of complaint against Maximilian. The anti-Roman party made great capital out of the event. "The Royal Advocate, Johannes Magistri, an enemy of God and of the Holy See," writes Cheregato from Tours on the 16th May, 1488, "is delighted at the Interdict, because it gives him an opportunity of calumniating the Holy See." Later, Raymond Peraudi was sent to France to support Cheregato. Being a Frenchman, and having had great influence with Louis XI, he seemed the best person to make peace between Charles VIII and Maximilian. From France Peraudi hastened back to Germany to promote the convocation of the States-General, which was to assemble at Frankfort-on-Main.

The Assembly at Frankfort was opened on the 6th July, 1489. A Brief addressed to it depicts the extremity of the danger in eloquent language. "The Popes had made every possible effort to induce the Christian Princes and nations to unite together to repel their hereditary foe. Was all to be in vain? The matter admitted of no further delay, and Innocent urged the Princes to send Envoys as soon as possible to Rome, with adequate powers to agree together upon a plan of concerted operations. It was essential that all jealousies and disputes should be laid aside, and his Legates would do all in their power to bring this about. Not only would he devote all the resources of the Holy See to the expedition, but, if it were deemed advisable, he would himself accompany it. He had written in the same sense to all the Christian Princes, and hoped that they, as well as the Germans, would not refuse to attend to his paternal warnings and prayers." These stirring words were ably seconded by Peraudi's diplomatic skill, and within ten days he had succeeded in inducing the King of the Romans and the French Envoys then in Frankfort, to come to terms.

During the following months Peraudi was occupied in proclaiming the Indulgence for the Crusade in Germany, and assisting the Papal Nuncio to the Court of Hungary, Bishop Angelo d'Orte, in his negotiations to bring about a reconciliation between Mathias Corvinus and the Emperor. These were so far successful that, on the 19th of February, 1490, a truce was agreed to which was to last till the 8th of September.

Before the opening of the Assembly at Frankfort, Innocent had achieved a signal success in a matter which was very closely connected with the Crusade; he had obtained possession of the person of the man upon whom, according to the general opinion, the prospects of the whole enterprise would depend. This was the famous Prince Dschem, who, on account of disputes in regard to the succession, had been obliged to fly from his own country and had taken refuge with the Knights of Rhodes. He had arrived in the island in 1482. The Grand-Master of the Knights of S. John, Pierre d'Aubusson, at once saw the use that could be made of the Prince for keeping the Sultan in check. He agreed with

Bajazet to keep the Prince in safe custody in consideration of an annual payment of 45,000 ducats, and as long as friendly relations were maintained between the Sultan and himself. Ever since then, Dschem had lived on a demesne belonging to the Knights in Auvergne. During this time Charles VIII of France, the Kings of Hungary and Naples, Venice, and Innocent VIII had all been endeavouring severally to get the Grand Turk, as he was called, into their own hands.

As early as the year 1485 the Pope had made great efforts in this direction; but he had been unsuccessful, his enemy Ferrante having found means to counteract all his endeavours. At last, the Papal Nuncios in France, Lionello Cheregato and Antonio Florez, succeeded in obtaining possession of the Prince, but at the cost of large concessions on the side of Rome. The Grand-Master received a Cardinal's Hat for himself and important rights and immunities for his Order. The French King was won over by the elevation of the Archbishop of Bordeaux (afterwards of Lyons) to the Cardinalate, and apparently also a promise that, by delaying the granting of the necessary dispensations, a hindrance should be put in the way of the marriage of Anne of Brittany with the rich Alain d'Albret. The treaty concluded between Innocent and the Knights of S. John, with the consent of Charles VIII, provided that "the Prince, for his personal security, should retain a body-guard of Knights of Rhodes, while the Pope was to receive the pension of 45,000 ducats hitherto paid to the Order for the maintenance of Prince Dschem, but to pledge himself to pay 10,000 ducats if he should hand over his charge to any other monarch without the consent of the King of France."

The King of Naples was almost out of his mind with rage when he heard of the Pope's success, and meditated all sorts of impossible plans for seizing Dschem during the course of his journey from France to Rome. Meanwhile the voyage was safely accomplished, and on the 6th of March, 1489, the Prince landed at Cività Vecchia, where, on the 10th, he was handed over to Cardinal de La Balue by his custodian, Guido de Blanchefort, Prior of Auvergne. On the evening of the 13th March the son of the conqueror of the Rome of the East entered the Eternal City by the Porta Portese. All Rome was astir; so large a crowd had assembled that it was with the greatest difficulty that a path could be cleared through the throng for the cortege. The mob were insatiable in feasting their eyes on the unaccustomed sight, and were penetrated with the belief that it betokened an escape from a great danger. A prophecy had been current throughout Christendom that the Sultan would come to Rome and take up his abode in the Vatican. Great was the relief and joy when it was seen to be so happily fulfilled in so unexpected a manner.

By the Pope's orders Dschem was received with royal honours. At the gates he was met by a deputation of members of the households of the Cardinals (amongst whom, however, there were none of the rank of a Prelate), the Foreign Envoys, the President of the Senate, and Franceschetto Cibò. "The son of Mahomet disdained to vouchsafe them a single glance. With his head enveloped in a turban and his gloomy countenance veiled, he sat almost motionless on the white palfrey of the Pope." The only sign which he gave of being aware of the greetings of which he was the object was a slight inclination of the head, and he hardly noticed the gifts, consisting of 700 ducats and brocaded stuffs, which were sent to him by the Pope. He rode in stolid silence between Franceschetto Cibò and the Prior of Auvergne. The long procession, with the truly Oriental

tokens of respect from the Envoy of the Sultan of Egypt, passed slowly across the Isola di S. Bartolomeo and along the Piazza Giudea and the Campo di Fiore to the Papal Palace, where the Prince was conducted to the apartments reserved for royal guests.

The next day an open Consistory was held, at the close of which the Pope received the Grand Turk. Prince Dschem was conducted into the hall by Franceschetto Cibò and the Prior of Auvergne. The customary ceremonial was dispensed with, in order that nothing might be done which would dishonour the Prince in the eyes of his countrymen. Making a slight inclination and laying his right hand on his chin, Dschem went up to the Pope and kissed his right shoulder. He addressed Innocent VIII through an interpreter, and informed him that he looked upon it as a great favour from God to have been permitted to behold him; when he could see the Pope in private he would be able to impart to him some things which would be advantageous to Christendom. The Pope in reply assured Dschem of his friendly disposition towards him, and begged him to have no anxiety, for that everything had been arranged in a manner suitable to his dignity. Dschem thanked him, and then proceeded to salute each of the Cardinals in order according to their rank.

The numerous descriptions of Dschem's outward appearance that we find in contemporary writings, testify to the interest which he excited in Rome. The best known of these is that by the celebrated painter Mantegna, in a letter of June 15, 1489, to the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua. "The brother of the Turk," he writes, "lives here in the Palace, carefully guarded. The Pope provides him with pastimes of all sorts, such as hunting, music, banquets, and other amusements. Sometimes he comes to dine in the new palace, where I am painting, and behaves very well for a barbarian. His manners are proud and dignified; even for the Pope he never uncovers his head, nor is it the custom to uncover in his presence. He has five meals in the day, and sleeps awhile after each; before meals he drinks sugared water. He walks like an elephant, with a measured step like the beat of a Venetian chorus. His people speak highly of him, and say he is an accomplished horseman, but as yet I have had no opportunity of seeing whether this is true. He often keeps his eyes half-closed. His nature is cruel, and they say he has killed four people; today he has severely maltreated an interpreter. He is credited with great devotion to Bacchus. His people are afraid of him. He takes little notice of what passes, as if he did not understand. He sleeps completely dressed, and gives audiences sitting cross-legged, like a Parthian. On his head he wears thirty thousand (!) yards of linen; his trowsers are so wide that he can bury himself in them. The expression of his face is ferocious, especially when Bacchus has been with him." Several of the traits, as here depicted, are obviously caricatured, but most of the rest are corroborated by other accounts. His age at this time is variously computed by different writers. Guillaume Caoursin makes it 28, while Sigismondo de' Conti speaks of him as 35 years old; the latter dwells upon the savage expression of his countenance, and his uncertain and cruel temper. In all other respects these two writers agree in their descriptions of him; they portray him as a tall, powerfully-built man, with a swarthy complexion, a hooked nose, and blueish, glittering eyes. The Ferrarese and Mantuan Envoys, who were acquainted with the beautiful medals of the Conqueror of Constantinople, executed by Italian artists, mention the resemblance between the Prince and his father as very striking.

To the Pope, Dschem was a valuable hostage for the good behaviour of the Sultan. At first Spoleto or Orvieto were talked of as places where he could be safely confined; but finally, it was decided that he could be kept most securely in the Vatican. Here the Prince lived in sumptuously furnished apartments, commanding an extensive view of vineyards and gardens. His maintenance was provided for with the greatest liberality, costing 15,000 ducats a year. This, says Sigismondo, was a severe drain on the overtaxed resources of the Pope, but he submitted to it for the sake of the advantages which the whole of Christendom derived from the custody of the Prince.

In the autumn of 1489, Innocent VIII was busily occupied with the preparations for the Crusade. The Sultan fully recognised the standing menace which the possession of Dschem constituted for him; and his anxieties were increased by the negotiations opened by the Pope with the Sultan of Egypt, and his plan for assembling representatives of all the Christian Powers in Rome to deliberate on the Eastern question. In this difficulty Bajazet had recourse to an expedient, which, unfortunately, in those days was not unfrequently resorted to by European Powers also. He hired a renegade nobleman of the Marches of Ancona, by name Cristofano di Castrano (alias Magrino), to poison the Belvedere fountain, from which the table of Dschem as well as that of Innocent VIII was supplied; the poison would take five days to work its effects, and the assassin was promised Negroponte and a high post in the Turkish army. Apparently there were some accomplices in Rome who were aware of the plot. Magrino betrayed himself in Venice before he had even arrived in Rome, and was arrested, carried thither, and executed in May 1490.

The Pope's letter of May 8th, 1489, proposing a Congress, met almost universally with a favourable response. In consequence, Briefs were sent out in December appointing the 25th March, 1490, as the opening day in Rome. Raymond Peraudi was indefatigable in his labours to promote it. In an eloquent letter to the King of Poland, he describes how "from the very beginning of his Pontificate, the mind of Pope Innocent had been incessantly occupied in devising means for the defence of the Christian Commonwealth, and how the possession of Prince Dschem, the Sultan's brother, renders the present moment a specially favourable one for action. Dschem has promised, if he obtains the Caliphate through the Christians, to withdraw the Turks from Europe, and even to give up Constantinople. The Pope has therefore sent Legates to all the European Courts, to implore them to lay aside all private quarrels and to unite in a common Crusade. He had himself been to France and to Germany, and the result had been that Charles and Maximilian had made peace with each other. Peace was re-established also in Brittany, Flanders, and Brabant. He was now endeavouring to bring about an accommodation between the Emperor and Hungary. He implored and adjured his Majesty by the mercy of Christ, that he too would show himself to be a good Catholic and pious King by complying with the Pope's desires. At the request of Frederick III and Maximilian, the Congress was put off till a little later. On the 25th March, Pietro Mansi of Vicenza, Bishop of Cesena, delivered a stirring address for the opening, but the actual business did not begin till after Pentecost. Venice took no part in this assembly, in order to avoid disturbing her good relations with the Porte.

The history of the Congress is to be found in the pages of Sigismondo de' Conti; and elsewhere a series of documents serve to complete it. On the 3rd of

June, all the Cardinals and the Envoys met in the Papal Palace. Innocent VIII delivered a long address, retracing the history of his efforts up to the present time, to set on foot an expedition against the Turks. He had taken infinite trouble and made large pecuniary sacrifices to obtain possession of the person of Dschem, which appeared to him to be a matter of great importance. The Sultan Bajazet was very much afraid of his brother, a party among the Janissaries and people being bent upon stirring up a revolt in his favour. It was their bounden duty not to permit this heaven-sent opportunity to pass without taking advantage of it. They had therefore to consider where and with what soldiers the attack should be opened; whether by land or by water, or by both at once; how large the army should be, how the fleet should be equipped, whether the land and sea forces should operate separately, or combined in detachments. They must also deliberate as to the number of generals, whether there should be one Commander-in-Chief, or several of equal rank; what money will be required, and how it is to be collected; whether there should be a reserve fund in case of mishaps; how long the war was likely to last; what amount of provisions and war material will be requisite; and how the expense of the whole is to be apportioned. The Cardinals ought also to consider all these questions so as to be prepared to give their advice when needed. Perhaps it would be well also to take counsel as to whether it might not be possible for the Pope to follow the example of Sixtus IV, and by his Apostolical authority impose a truce between all Christian Princes for the time being.

As time went on, there was no lack of the usual disputes in regard to precedence; and the Envoys, divided into two parties, Germans and Italians, made but slow progress with the negotiations. At last, however, mainly thanks to the German, and especially to the Imperial Envoys, a reply to most of the questions proposed by the Pope was agreed to. The address was handed over in writing to the Pope and the Cardinals. It began by thanking God, first, that he had put such desires into the heart of the Pope, and next, Innocent himself for his exertions in the matter of Dschem, who was most valuable as a standing menace to the Sultan, and a means of breaking up his Empire. He should be carefully guarded in Rome for the present, and later on, counsel should be taken as to how he could be most advantageously employed in the campaign. As regarded the constitution of the army, the Envoys were of opinion that it should consist of three divisions : a Papal and Italian army, a German army, including Hungary, Poland, and the Northern States, and a third force made up of the French, Spaniards and English. In addition to the separate chiefs of these various corps, a single Commander-in-Chief should be appointed. The Germans considered that if the Emperor, or, failing him, the King of the Romans, personally took part in the Crusade, he should be, *ipso facto*, Commander-in-Chief. The other Envoys wished that the Generalissimo should be elected at the beginning of the war by the Princes and the Pope. They further expressed their opinion that it would be extremely desirable that the Holy Father should accompany the expedition. To provide for the expenses of the war they suggested that each Prince should levy a toll on his subjects, clergy and laity contributing alike. The duration of the war might be calculated at three years.

It was important that the troops should be collected simultaneously and as quickly as possible; the German contingent in Vienna, and the rest in Ancona, Brindisi, or Messina. The German troops were to march through Hungary and

Wallachia; the fleet would attack the Peloponnesus and Euboea; the French and Spaniards with the Italian horsemen were to concentrate in Valona and thence bear down upon the enemy. A simultaneous attack should be directed against the Moors; but it seemed an essential preliminary to the whole undertaking that the Pope should endeavour to put an end to the disputes between the Christian powers, or, at any rate, secure an armistice for the time.

In his reply, Innocent thanked the Envoys for their approval of his plan of fighting the Turks by means of Prince Dschem. The question as to whether the Turkish Prince should accompany the expedition in a captive or active capacity, must be left to those who were best acquainted with the enemy and their country; but the decision of this point should not be long delayed. In regard to the assembling of the forces, the simultaneous commencement of the war, the route selected for the attack, and the pacification of Europe, the Pope agreed in all essentials with the views of the Envoys. The Commander-in-Chief must be either the Emperor or the King of the Romans, as they were the natural protectors of the Church. With regard to the expenses of the war, the levies from the laity should be collected by the Princes, while he would charge himself with the taxation of the clergy; but this subject might be further discussed. He thought that a force of 50,000 horsemen and 80,000 infantry would suffice; but the strength of the army and fleet would be a matter for future agreement between the Christian Princes. In regard to his personal participation in the Crusade, Innocent declared that he was prepared in everything to follow the example of his predecessors. The war must be counted as likely to last five rather than three years, and should be begun in the following year, when the Sultan of Egypt was expected to make an attack on the Turks. Referring to the hostile attitude of the King of Naples towards himself, Innocent further observed that it was one of the primary duties of the Christian Princes to maintain order in the States of the Church. He insisted earnestly on the great importance of immediate action, as the main thing on which the chance of success depended. In conclusion, he expressed his surprise that the Envoys declared themselves unable to come to any definite decision without further reference to their respective governments, seeing that he had expressly requested that they should be provided with full powers for this very purpose. He hoped, at any rate, that they would lose no time in obtaining them, lest the favourable moment for making use of Prince Dschem should be lost by further delay. On the 30th July the Congress was closed by the Pope, to be reopened when the Envoys had received the requisite full powers; but this never took place.

According to the somewhat optimist view of Sigismondo de' Conti, the Crusade would really, in spite of all difficulties, have been carried through, had it not been for the death of the King of Hungary, Mathias Corvinus, at the early age of 47, from an apoplectic stroke. The blow to the Christian cause was all the greater because this event at once plunged that country into a bitter contest for the succession to the throne. Maximilian seized the opportunity to endeavour to recover his hereditary possessions in Hungary. On the 19th of August he marched into Vienna, where he was warmly greeted by the inhabitants. On the 4th of October he started from thence to make good his claim to the Hungarian throne by force of arms; but want of money and a mutiny amongst his retainers checked his otherwise victorious progress. As but little help could be got from

the Empire, a Peace was concluded between him and King Wladislaw, on the 7th November, 1491, at Presburg. The Pope had done his best to bring this about; but now the final blow to the prospects of the Crusade fell in the revival of the quarrel between Charles VIII and Maximilian, which broke out afresh with redoubled violence.

While political affairs in the North were thus developing in a very unfavourable manner for the Crusade, the Pope, who was also suffering from serious illness, was cruelly harassed by Ferrante. Venice, the greatest naval power in Europe, steadily pursued her huckster's policy of giving her support to whatever state of things seemed most advantageous for her commerce. Throughout the Congress, she kept the Sultan thoroughly informed of all its transactions. Under such conditions as these, what chance could there be of a combined attack on the Crescent? We need to realise this hopeless state of things in order to understand how Innocent VIII came to lend a favourable ear to the proposals made to him in November 1490, through a Turkish Envoy.

The Sultan Bajazet lived in perpetual terror lest Prince Dschem might be employed as a tool wherewith to attack him. His attempt to poison the Prince having failed, when the news of the Congress to discuss the question of a new Crusade reached him, he determined to try another expedient. He despatched an embassy to Rome, which arrived there on the 30th of November, 1490, bringing presents, and an unsealed letter to the Pope, written in Greek on papyrus. In this letter he requested Innocent VIII to undertake the custody of his brother Dschem, in Rome, on the same conditions as had formerly been arranged with the Grand-Master of the Knights of Rhodes.

The Pope accepted the Sultan's gifts and permitted the Envoys to visit Prince Dschem and assure themselves of his well-being. In regard to the negotiations he considered the matter too important and affecting too many interests to decide it by himself, and therefore called a Council of all the Ambassadors then present in Rome to discuss it.

The Turkish Ambassador had at first promised that as long as Dschem was kept in safe custody his master would abstain from attacking any part of Christendom. Later, however, he restricted this promise to the coasts of the Adriatic, and expressly excluded Hungary, with the result that no agreement could be come to. The Envoy left the pension for Dschem, which had hitherto been paid to Rhodes, in Rome, and took back an answer from the Pope to the effect that no definite reply could be given to the Sultan's proposal until the views of all the Christian powers had been ascertained. Sigismondo de' Conti reports that many men, whose opinion was not to be despised, thought it imprudent in the Pope to condescend so much to the Turkish barbarian, and out of desire of gain to conclude a sort of bargain with him; on the other hand he adds: Innocent had to consider that by this means Christendom might be saved from war, and he might also obtain from the Sultan some sacred relics which were in his possession.

It may well be conceded to Innocent VIII that the desire to obtain these relics for Rome and to shield Christendom from the attacks of the Turks was not an unworthy one, and also that under existing circumstances and considering the unwillingness of the majority of the Christian Princes to undertake a Crusade, a compact of this kind was probably the most advantageous

arrangement then attainable but at the same time it is undeniable that the reception of this sort of subsidy from the Sultan, exercised a decided influence on the Pope's attitude towards the Turks.

While Bajazet was thus kept in check, and forced to pay a kind of tribute to the Holy See, by the fear that his most dangerous enemy might at any moment be let loose upon him, Ferdinand the Catholic was dealing a crushing and final blow to the power of Islam in the West. Granada fell on the 2nd January, 1492, and the banner with the great silver crucifix, given by Sixtus IV, which had been borne before the army throughout the whole campaign, was planted on the Alhambra. This event closed an episode in Spanish history which had lasted eight hundred years; the whole of Spain was now united into a single nation, strong enough to make its influence felt henceforth in the development of Europe and more especially in that of Italy. "In this last and decisive contest with Islam, Ferdinand had learnt by experience the utter faithlessness of his cousin, the King of Naples. Ferrante had secretly supported the Moors against him, and now it only depended on the course of events whether, instead of prosecuting the war along the north coast of Africa, the Spanish monarch should not fix his eyes on the island of Sicily as the Archimedian point by means of which Italy could be drawn, bit by bit, within the sphere of the influence of Aragon."

The fall of Granada sent a thrill of joy through the whole of Europe; it was looked upon as a sort of compensation for the loss of Constantinople. Nowhere, however, was the rejoicing more heartfelt than in Rome, where for many years the conflict with the Moors had been watched with sympathetic interest. In the night of February 1st the news arrived in Rome; Ferdinand had himself written to inform the Pope. The rejoicings, both religious and secular, lasted for several days. Innocent VIII went in solemn procession from the Vatican to S. James's, the national Church of the Spaniards, where a Mass of thanksgiving was celebrated, at the end of which he gave the Papal Benediction. Cardinal Raffaele Riario entertained the Spanish Envoys with a dramatic representation of the Conquest of Granada and the triumphal entry of the King and Queen; while Cardinal Borgia delighted the Roman people with the novel spectacle of a bull fight, which had never before been seen in Rome.

From the time that Ferrante concluded Peace with the Pope on January 22, 1492, he appears to have begun again to take an interest in the Turkish question, at least so his letters informing Innocent VIII of the movements of the Turks would seem to indicate. In May 1492, Pontano was sent to Rome to discuss what joint-measures could be taken to repel the common enemy. The Sultan, always on the watch in his dread of mischief from Dschem, soon discovered the change in Ferrante's attitude, and sent fresh Envoys to Naples as well as to Rome. The latter brought with them a precious relic,—the head of the Spear of Longinus, which had pierced the side of Our Lord. By order of the Pope the sacred relic was received at Ancona by Niccolò Cibò, Archbishop of Arles; and Luca Borsiano, Bishop of Foligno placed it in a crystal reliquary set in gold, and brought it to Narni. From thence it was taken by the Cardinals Giuliano della Rovere and Giorgio Costa to Rome. Although Innocent was far from well at the time, he was determined to take part in its solemn reception. When, on May 31, 1492, the Cardinals arrived before the gates of Rome, the Pope went to meet them outside the Porta del Popolo, took the reliquary in his hands with the

greatest reverence, and delivered a short address on the Passion of Christ. He then carried it in solemn procession to S. Peter's, the streets through which he passed being richly decorated in its honour. From thence he had it conveyed to his private apartments, where it was kept. In the farewell audience given by Innocent to the Turkish Envoys on June 14, 1492, he desired them to inform the Sultan that, in case of an attack by the latter on any Christian country, he would retaliate by means of Prince Dschem. He also sent a private messenger of his own to Constantinople with the same message.

The reception of the Holy Spear, says a contemporary writer, may be said to have been the last act of Innocent VIII. During the whole of his reign this Pope had been so harassed by war and the fear of war that he had never been able to accomplish his earnest desire of visiting Loreto or any of the more distant portions of his dominions. He hardly ever left Rome, and then only to go to Ostia or Villa Magliana. In addition to the war difficulty, the feeble health of the Pope was also an obstacle to his travelling far.

In the autumn of 1490, as in that of the previous year, Innocent VIII. suffered from repeated attacks of fever, but recovered on each occasion; thanks to the skill of the famous physician Giacomo di San Genesio but from March 1492 the Pope's health began again to fail. Just at this time the death of Lorenzo de' Medici (April 8) seemed to threaten anew to disturb the peace of Italy; Innocent at once took measures to meet the danger, as also in regard to the revolt of Cesena, which took place shortly after. In spite of these anxieties the Pope's condition improved so much that he was able to take part in the solemn reception of the Holy Spear, and the marriage of Luigi of Aragon with Battistina Cibò. In the latter half of the month of June, Innocent was fairly well; after the feast of SS. Peter and Paul he thought of going somewhere in the neighbourhood of Rome, for change of air and to hasten his recovery; but, on the 22nd or 23rd June, the abdominal pains returned, an old sore on his leg broke out again, and the feverish attacks came back. The physicians differed in their opinions, but the worst was feared. At the same time the Pope felt still so strong that at first he made light of the apprehensions of his physicians. On the 30th June he was better. The fluctuations lasted on into the month of July, but the general opinion was that the Pope was slowly dying.

The first effect of the hopeless state of the Pope's health was notably to increase the insecurity of life and property in the city. For a time it seemed as if all law and order would break down; hardly a day passed without a murder somewhere. The Cardinals kept a stricter watch over Dschem. An inventory was made of the treasures of the Church, and the Vice-Camerlengo, Bartolomeo Moreno, thought it prudent to retire first to the Palazzo Mattei, and finally to the Belvedere. The disorders at last became so serious that several of the Barons, at the persuasion of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, agreed to waive their party feuds and combine with the Conservators of the city to maintain order. After this the town was quieter.

The Pope's end was that of a pious Christian. On the 15th July he confessed, and received Holy Communion on the following day. On the 17th it was thought that the last hour had come, but his strong vitality resisted death for another week. The resources of the physicians were exhausted, and there was no hope of recovery. "All hope is abandoned" writes the Florentine Envoy

on July 19; “the Pope’s strength is so entirely exhausted that the spirit is all that is left of him; but he retains his full consciousness.” Except for his too great solicitude for his own relations, which occupied his mind to the last, the death of Innocent VIII was a most edifying one. Sigismondo de’ Conti and the Florentine Envoys agree in relating how, although by that time speaking had become very difficult to him, the Pope summoned the Cardinals to his bed-side, asked their forgiveness for having proved so little equal to the burden which he had undertaken, and exhorted them to be united among themselves and to choose a better successor. He then desired an inventory to be taken in their presence by the Chamberlains of all the money and valuables in the Palace, and gave orders that the Holy Spear should be taken to S. Peter’s. After this he dismissed the Cardinals and received the Holy Viaticum with tears of devotion.

After a death-agony which lasted five days, Innocent VIII. passed away on 25th July, 1492, about the 24th hour (9 o’clock in the evening). His body was laid in S. Peter’s. He has been in a sense more remembered than many greater Popes, because his tomb, executed in bronze by Antonio Pollajuolo, is one of the few monuments which have been transferred from the old to the new S. Peter’s. It stands against one of the pillars in the left aisle of the nave. “The Pope, a colossal figure with massive drapery, sits on a throne, his right hand raised in blessing, and his left holding the Holy Spear; on each side of him, in shallow niches in the wall, stand the four cardinal virtues; on the hemicycle above, the theological virtues,—graceful figures, full of life and motion, are portrayed in low relief. Below, on an urn, is the recumbent form of the Pope on a bed of State. Apparently this was originally placed on the wide projecting cornice of the hemicycle, and the perspective of the whole design shows that it was meant to be seen from a much more level point of view. At the height at which it is now placed, much of its exquisite workmanship, especially in the decorative part, is quite lost to the spectator. For its originality, clearness of outline, and mastery of the technique of its material, this work deserves to be ranked amongst the masterpieces of Quattrocento Florentine Art.”

The inscription on the monument, which was added at a later date, contains a slight anachronism in regard to the discovery of America. It was not till August 3, 1492, that the Pope’s great fellow-countryman Columbus set sail from the port of Palos to found a new world.

CHAPTER V

Innocent VIII as Patron of Art and Scholarship.

THE disturbed state of Italy, the exhaustion of the Papal treasury, and the want of energy arising from the state of the Pope's health are quite sufficient to account for the poverty of the records of the reign of Innocent VIII in the matter of Art and Scholarship as compared with that of Sixtus IV. At the same time, as regards Art, so many of the works of his time have been either destroyed or become unrecognisable that the creations in that department appear smaller than they really were. On investigation, we find that both in architecture and in painting a large number of important works were produced.

In the Vatican, Innocent went on with the works begun by Paul II, whose love for precious stones he shared. He erected a noble fountain in the Piazza of S. Peter's in marble, with two large circular basins, one above the other; one of these now serves the drinking fountain on the right of the obelisk. A good deal of work by way of repair was done in the time of Innocent VIII. Restorations were effected in the castle and bridge of S. Angelo, the Ponte Molle, the Capitol, the fountain of Trevi, the gates and walls of the city, and a large number of churches. Among these latter may be mentioned especially S. Agostino, S^{ta} Croce, S. Giuliano de' Fiamminghi, S. Giovanni in Laterano, and S. Stefano in Cceliomonte. S^{ta} Maria della Pace was completed, S^{ta} Maria in Via Lata rebuilt. With the strange indifference of those days to the preservation of Roman remains, the ruins of an old arch were demolished in the prosecution of this latter work.

In S. Peter's, Innocent went on with the building of the Loggia, for the bestowal of the solemn Blessing, which had been begun by Pius II; commenced a new Sacristy, and constructed a Shrine for the Holy Spear, which, together with the chapel built by Cardinal Lorenzo Cibò, was destroyed in 1606. The diligence with which Innocent VIII prosecuted the continuation of the new streets begun by his predecessors, was of great advantage to the city. The carrying out of these works was entrusted to the Treasurer-General, Falcone de' Sinibaldi, who is so highly praised by Sigismondo de' Conti.

Outside Rome, Baccio Pontelli was commissioned by the Pope to execute or set on foot architectural work in the town of Argnano, Corchiano, Jesi, Osimo, Terracina and Tolfa, and in the Papal Palaces at Viterbo and Avignon. Innocent VIII also assisted in the building of the Cathedral at Perugia. The number of documents still extant, relating to works in the harbour and Citadel of Civita Vecchia, seem to indicate that they must have been somewhat extensive. These were, for the most part, managed by Lorenzo da Pietrasanta, who was frequently employed by the Pope.

In addition to the works already mentioned, Innocent VIII. also built the Belvedere in the Vatican, and the Villa Magliana in the Valley of the Tiber about six miles from Rome. He had begun the hunting lodge at Magliana while he was

still a Cardinal. When he became Pope he proceeded to enlarge and decorate it as is shewn by the inscriptions over the windows. Unfortunately, it is now in a very dilapidated state. Magliana and Ostia were the only country places to which he could resort during his troublous reign; the state of Italy was such, that it was impossible for him to visit the cities in his dominions or to fulfil his vow of making a pilgrimage to Loreto.

The interior of the summer residence built on the slope of the Vatican hill towards Monte Mario, which now constitutes the central point of the sculpture-gallery, underwent a complete transformation by command of Innocent VIII, in accordance, it is said, with a design drawn by Antonio Pollajuolo. The management of the work was entrusted to Jacopo de Pietrasanta. The building was a square with pinnacles connecting it with the round tower of Nicholas V. Infessura says that the Pope spent 60,000 ducats upon it. This sum no doubt included the paintings with which the villa was decorated. The name of Belvedere was given to it on account of the splendid view which it commands of Rome and its neighbourhood, from Soracte to the Alban hills.

Unfortunately, the paintings executed for this villa by Pinturicchio and Mantegna have almost entirely perished.

According to Vasari, the whole of the Loggia of the Belvedere was adorned at the Pope's desire by Pinturicchio with views of various cities "after the Flemish fashion" which, being a novelty in Rome, was then very much in vogue; Rome, Milan, Genoa, Florence, Venice and Naples were thus portrayed. The same writer also states that Pinturicchio painted a fresco of the Blessed Virgin in the Belvedere. The poetical beauty of Pinturicchio's landscapes in his paintings in the Bufalini Chapel in S^{ta} Maria in Aracoeli, enables us to conjecture the loss which the world has sustained by the destruction of the frescoes in the Belvedere. We may also gather from the fact that Innocent VIII. evidently recognised Pinturicchio's special gift for landscape painting, that this Pope was not so devoid of artistic feeling as he is often represented to have been.

More deplorable still is the loss of the frescoes of the other painter employed by Innocent in the decoration of this building. As early as the year 1484, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere had commenced negotiations on behalf of the Pope with Gonzaga to obtain the services of Andrea Mantegna who already enjoyed a well earned celebrity in Mantua; but it was not till 1488 that Mantegna at last came to Rome, with the sanction of the Marquess of Mantua, who bestowed on him the honour of knighthood on his departure. The work of painting the chapel in the Belvedere was at once entrusted to him. He spent two full years in Rome, endeavouring, as he himself says, with all possible diligence, to do honour to the illustrious house of Gonzaga, whose child he considered himself. This makes it all the more to be regretted that these frescoes should have been destroyed when the new wing was built by Pius VI. Vasari bestows the highest praise on the delicate finish of these paintings which were almost like miniatures. He says, that among other subjects the baptism of Christ was portrayed in the Chapel of S. John. In consequence of the Pope's financial difficulties, the artist had a good deal to complain of in the matter of remuneration. His discreetly mild observations on this subject are corroborated by Vasari. He relates that on one occasion Innocent, having asked the painter what one of the figures was meant to represent, Mantegna replied, "It is

Economy" (discrezione), on which the Pope observed, "If you want a good pendant to it you had better paint Patience." On his departure, however, in 1490, Innocent VIII seems to have done something to make up for this.

Besides Pinturicchio and Mantegna, Filippino Lippi and Perugino were also employed in Rome. The latter was generously patronised by Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, while Lippi was commissioned by Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa to decorate the Chapel of S. Thomas Aquinas, which was built by the prelate in the Dominican Church of S^{ta} Maria sopra Minerva. These pictures are clever but somewhat superficial. There can be no doubt that the Cardinal himself arranged the scheme of the paintings. Numerous inscriptions explain the meaning of the frescoes, some of which are concealed behind the monument of Paul IV. The principal picture on the wall to the right of the entrance represents the victory of S. Thomas over heresies. In the lunette, Christ is painted on the Cross saying to the Saint, "Thou hast written well of me, Thomas, what shall I give thee in reward?" to which S. Thomas answers, "Noting but Thyself, Lord." On the wall behind the Altar, Lippi has painted the Annunciation with the portrait of the founder. Here we see the hand of the master. Nothing could be more beautiful than the joyous soaring angels.

Pinturicchio was employed by several of the Cardinals. He executed paintings in S^{ta} Maria del Popolo for Giuliano della Rovere and Giorgio da Costa, and in S^{ta} Croce for Carvajal.

It is interesting in connection with the development of Art in the time of Innocent VIII to note, that in 1484 he bought tapestries from some Flemish merchants, representing S. George accompanied by personifications of the liberal arts. He encouraged art manufacturers by the bestowal of honorary distinctions, most frequently by the gift of a consecrated sword. One of these, still preserved in the Museum of Cassel, was presented in 1491 to the Margrave William I of Hesse, who visited Rome in that year on his way home from the Holy Land.

In the matter of scholarship and literature as in Art, Rome under Innocent VIII compares most unfavourably with the Rome of Sixtus IV. Nevertheless it would not be correct to suppose that Innocent was entirely devoid of literary tastes. He made it evident that this was not the case when, in the year 1484, Angelo Poliziano came to Rome with the Florentine embassy of Obedience. On that occasion, the Pope in presence of an illustrious company, ordered him to make a Latin translation of the historical works of the Greeks, referring to the exploits of the Romans, so that they might be more accessible to the majority of readers. In obedience to this flattering command, Poliziano selected Herodian for his translation, and endeavoured to make it read as it would have done had the author written it in Latin. Innocent VIII, rewarded the dedication of this work with a special Brief and a gift of 200 ducats, in order to set the translator free to devote himself more completely to work of this kind. Poliziano thanked the Pope in a beautiful Sapphic ode, in which both thought and language reflect the spirit of classical poetry. Innocent VIII. accepted dedications also from Tito Vespasiano Strozzi, Peter Marsus, and the celebrated physirian, Gabrielle Zerbi; he bestowed marks of distinction also on foreign Humanists such as Johann Fuchs- magen.

Innocent VIII had for his secretaries, Gasparo Biondo, Andrea da

Trebisonda, Giacomo da Volterra, Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene, Sigismondo de' Conti and Giovanni Lorenzi. This latter, a distinguished Hellenist, was born at Venice in 1440, and came to Rome in 1472 as secretary to his fellow countryman Marco Barbo; Innocent VIII made him one of his secretaries in 1484, and a librarian in the Vatican in the following year. Financial difficulties prevented any additions worth mentioning from being made to the Vatican Library during this reign. It is noteworthy, however, that the greatest liberality continued to be shown in regard to the use of manuscripts, which were frequently lent to students, even out of Rome. A considerable number were sent by Poliziano to Florence, at the request of Lorenzo de' Medici. The numerous marks of favour bestowed by Innocent VIII on Giovanni Lorenzi are an additional proof of the friendly disposition of this Pope towards the Renaissance.

An event which occurred in Rome in the Spring of 1485, shows how powerful the Renaissance had become there in the time of Innocent VIII and how the movement had penetrated to the lower classes.

Towards the end of April in that year some masons working in the Fondo Statuario belonging to the Olivetan Fathers of S^{ta} Maria Nuova, came upon some ancient monuments. This property is situated in the midst of the well-known bed of ruins, about six miles from Rome on the Appian way, which is called Roma Vecchia. They found here two pedestals of statues with inscriptions belonging to the Praefectus praetorie Herennius Potens; the remains of a vault in which the freedmen of the *gentes* Tullia and Terentia were buried; and finally a sarcophagus without any inscription, containing a body in a marvellous state of preservation. This was evidently owing to the efficacy of the composition which had been employed in embalming it, and which consisted of a mixture of balsam, cedar oil, and turpentine. The body was immediately taken to the Palace of the Conservators, where it was exhibited to the public. The whole city seems, from the sensational character of most of the accounts, to have gone mad with joy and excitement. The antiquarians and Humanists were in ecstasy; the eager curiosity of the populace was insatiable. Rome was flooded with all sorts of contradictory reports and conjectures, many of them wild exaggerations or pure inventions. The extraordinary variations in the accounts, in which the few grains of personal observation or authentic history are largely outweighed by the matter supplied by the imagination of the narrator, betray the universal excitement. All are agreed as to the wonderful state of preservation of the body and as to its sex. They describe with enthusiasm the suppleness of the limbs, the blackness of the hair, the perfection and whiteness of the nails and teeth. Ornaments are also said to have been found on the head and fingers of the body.

The eager crowd which from morning till night beset the Palace of the Conservators to gaze on the dead Roman maiden could only be compared to the scene when a new Indulgence had just been proclaimed. This passionate enthusiasm about the body of a heathen seems to have aroused serious alarm in the mind of Innocent VIII, lest it should prove the harbinger of a paganisation of the lower classes which would have worse consequences than that of the men of letters. He gave orders to have the body, which had begun to turn black from exposure to the air, removed in the night and buried outside the Porta Pinciana.

CHAPTER VI.
 INNOCENT VII AND THE DEFENCE OF THE LIBERTIES AND DOCTRINES OF
 THE CHURCH.
 THE BULL ON WITCHCRAFT OF 1484.

IT was not in politics alone that Innocent VIII found his authority contemned and attacked; in purely ecclesiastical matters the case was no better. Next to Naples the Republics of Venice and Florence were the two States which gave him the most trouble by their persistent encroachments on the rights and independence of the Church. In the negotiations with Venice in connection with the removal of the ecclesiastical penalties imposed upon this city by Sixtus IV, Innocent had done his best to protect the Venetian clergy against arbitrary taxation and the interference of the State in appointments to benefices, but with little success. As time went on, it became evident that the Signoria had no notion of giving up its pretensions to absolute control in ecclesiastical as well as in temporal matters. In the year 1485 the See of Padua fell vacant. Innocent VIII gave it to Cardinal Michiel. The Venetian government nominated the Bishop of Cividale, Pietro Barozzi. Neither party would give way. The Pope sent a special Envoy to remonstrate with the Signoria, but he could make no impression; the Republic refused to yield, and finally had recourse to violence. The revenues of all the benefices held by Cardinal Michiel within the Venetian dominions were confiscated, and on this the Pope and the Cardinal gave up the contest.

The death of the illustrious Cardinal Marco Barbo, Patriarch of Aquileia, in 1491, was the occasion of a new and sharp contest between Venice and Rome. Innocent VIII had on 2nd March bestowed this dignity on the Venetian Ambassador at Rome, the learned Ermolao Barbaro, who had accepted it without first obtaining the necessary permission from the Venetian government. For this the Signoria resolved to punish Barbaro severely. They had intended to obtain the Patriarchate for Niccolo Donato, Bishop of Cittanova, and that Barbaro should be forced to resign. The new Patriarch himself being out of reach, his father was threatened with severe pecuniary penalties, unless he could persuade his son to give way. On this Barbaro was anxious to resign; but, as the Pope would not permit this, the Signoria summoned him to appear within twenty days before the Council of Ten, under pain of banishment and the confiscation of all his Venetian benefices. Ermolao chose the latter alternative; he devoted the rest of his life to the pursuit of learning, and died in exile in 1493. During the life-time of Innocent VIII, the Patriarchate remained vacant, the Venetian government meanwhile absorbing its revenues; under Alexander VI it obtained the nomination of Donato

Florence and Bologna did not fall far behind Venice in attacks on the rights and liberties of the Church. In Florence, Innocent was obliged to protest against the arbitrary taxation of the clergy; in Bologna against the punishment of a

priest by the secular tribunal, in contravention of the Canon-law. He was equally forced more than once to make a stand against the Milanese Government in defence of the liberties of the Church.

Outside of Italy there was no lack of troubles of the same nature. Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary, especially behaved towards the Church with a high-handed insolence that had to be resisted. In the year 1485 he promulgated a decree that no prelate who did not reside in Hungary, was to possess or draw the revenues of any benefice within the kingdom. He at once proceeded to put the law in force by intercepting one of the officials of the Cardinal Bishop of Erlau, taking from him 25,000 ducats which he was bringing to his master in Rome, and carrying the money back to Buda. In the same year he came into open collision with Rome by appointing Ippolito d'Este, a mere child, to the Archbishopric of Gran. In vain Innocent represented to the King that to entrust the government of a diocese to a child "was as unreasonable as it was wrong". Corvinus replied by maintaining that "on other occasions His Holiness had accepted less capable, and from an ecclesiastical point of view, more objectionable persons than Ippolito; and further declared, that whoever else the Pope might appoint, no one but his nominee should touch the revenues of the diocese"; and in order to give due emphasis to this declaration, he announced that 2000 ducats out of these revenues would be sent to Ferrara as "a foretaste." Finally, the King carried his point and in the Summer of 1489 Ippolito came to Hungary and was installed in his Archbishopric.

Though in this matter Innocent was forced to give way, he stood firm in insisting on the liberation of the Archbishop of Kalocsa, who had been put in prison by Mathias. Several Briefs having proved of no avail, in the Autumn of 1488, the Nuncio, Angelo Pecchinolli was sent to remonstrate by word of mouth. Mathias now said he was ready, pending the result of the proceedings against him, to hand over the Archbishop to the safe-keeping of the Papal Legate; but the promise was hardly made before it was withdrawn. Upon this the Legate calmly but firmly pointed out to the angry King the difficult position in which he was placed by this action on his part, he having already informed the Pope of the promise made by Corvinus. "If I now contradict what I have just stated," he said, "either His Holiness will think that I am a liar, or that your Majesty's word is not to be trusted." With great difficulty Pecchinolli at last prevailed upon the King to undertake to release the Archbishop from prison and send him, at the Legate's choice, either to Erlau or Visigrad, there to be kept under guard, and the promise was fulfilled.

In France as in Hungary Innocent VIII had to withstand most unjustifiable attacks on the rights of the Church. In 1485 we find him complaining that in Provence the secular authorities set at naught and ill-treated the clergy. Throughout the kingdom Church matters were often tyrannically dealt with, Parliament withheld its placet from the Pope's Bulls, obedience to his commands was frequently refused, and the Universities persisted in appealing from the Pope ill-informed to the Pope better-informed. Innocent VIII had to enter repeated protests against the Pragmatic Sanction ; at the close of the year 1491 he endeavoured by means of a Concordat to place his relations with France on a better footing. Similar encroachments on the part of the rulers of England and Portugal had to be resisted. Innocent succeeded in his energetic repudiation of the pretension of John II of Portugal to make the publication of Papal Bulls

and Briefs depend on a placet from the Government, and the Pope forced him to relinquish it. In January 1492 he promulgated a general constitution in support of the immunities and liberties of the Church. Notwithstanding all this, Sigismondo de' Conti accuses Innocent VIII of negligence in defending the rights of the Church. He adduces as instances of this negligence the Pope's acquiescence in the taxation of the clergy in Florence and other Italian States, and his toleration, after the treaty with Lorenzo de' Medici, of things in Perugia which were derogatory to the dignity of the Church.

Perhaps he was really more to be blamed for the concessions which, on purely political grounds, he made to Ferdinand of Spain. In December 1484 he bestowed on him the patronage of all the churches and convents in Granada and all other territories conquered or to be conquered from the Moors. To these he added later, extensive rights of provision in Sicily.

Only one canonisation, that of the Margrave Leopold of Austria, of the Babenberg family, took place during the reign of Innocent VIII. The Emperor Frederick III had already asked both Paul II and Sixtus IV for the canonisation; and repeated his request to Innocent VIII immediately after his election; in consequence the date of the ceremony was fixed for Christmas 1484. It actually took place on January 6, 1485.

Requests were made to Innocent VIII from Sweden for the canonisation of Catherine, daughter of S. Bridget, from the Grand-master of the Teutonic Order; for that of Dorothea of Mariemverder, and from King Ferrante for Jacopo della Marca; none, however, of these processes were concluded during his Pontificate.

Amongst the ecclesiastical acts of Innocent VIII mention must be made of the much-contested privilege which he granted to the Abbot, John IX of Citeaux, and to the Abbots of the four first Cistercian daughter-houses, of powers to confer sub-deacon and deacon's orders, the former on all members of the Order, and the latter on the monks in their own monasteries. The Bulls of Innocent VIII, granting various privileges to the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians are undoubtedly genuine. In consequence of the decrease of leprosy, which, towards the close of the 15th century, had become very rare, in 1490 Innocent dissolved the Order of Lazarists and united them with the Knights of St. John. But this Bull took effect in Italy only, and was not accepted by the French.

Innocent VIII showed great zeal in the defence of the purity of the Faith against the numerous heresies which cropped up during his time in many different directions. The Waldensian and the Hussite heresies were the two which occupied him most. In Dauphiné the Waldenses not only preached their false doctrines openly, but put to death those who refused to join them. In the Spring of 1487, Innocent sent Alberto de Cattanco to Dauphiné who with the help of the King of France succeeded in almost entirely eradicating them in this province. In Bohemia also, where Innocent recognised King Ladislaus' title, he was successful in effecting the reconciliation of a number of Hussites with the Church.

The arrival in Rome of the famous Pico della Mirandola in the year 1486, brought to light the jealous care with which the integrity of the Faith was guarded in the Papal city. Many of the opinions put forth by this gifted but fanciful and impulsive philosopher were made up of a confused medley of

Platonic and Cabalistic notions. Brimming over with youthful ambition and conceit, Pico announced his intention of holding a public disputation in which he would produce no less than 900 propositions in “dialectics, morals, physics, mathematics, metaphysics, theology, magic and Cabalism” for discussion. Some of these would be his own; the rest would be taken from the works of Chaldean, Arabian, Hebrew, Greek, Egyptian and Latin sages. In regard to those that were his own, and which he purposed to defend by arguments worked out in his own mind, he expressly declared that he would “maintain nothing to be true that was not approved by the Catholic Church and her chief Pastor, Innocent VIII.” He invited learned men from all parts of the world, offered to pay their travelling expenses, and confidently expected to score a brilliant triumph. The reverse, unfortunately, was what happened. Some experienced theologians declared several of the proposed theses to be tainted with heresy, and in consequence the Pope refused to permit the disputation, and appointed a commission of bishops, theologians and canonists to examine them. This commission pronounced some of Pico’s propositions to be heretical, rash, and likely to give scandal to the faithful; many contained heathen philosophical errors which had been already condemned, others favoured Jewish superstitions. The judgment was perfectly just, and was adopted by Innocent, and though a great number of the propositions were acknowledged to be Catholic and true, the reading of the whole series was forbidden on account of the admixture of falsehood. Nevertheless, since the character of the theses was purely academic, and since the author had expressed his willingness to submit them to the judgment of the Holy See, and had sworn never to defend any similar assertions, no blame of any sort was to attach to Pico’s reputation. The Papal Brief pronouncing this decision was dated August 4, 1486, but was not published till December. Meanwhile Pico—so his enemies assert—in great haste “in twenty nights,” composed an apology explaining his propositions in a Catholic sense, which he dedicated to Lorenzo de’ Medici, and had printed in Neapolitan territory, antedating it (May 31), so as to avoid any appearance of defending what the Pope had condemned, after having previously declared his absolute submission to the judgment of the Church. Pico on his side maintained that he had not known of the Papal Brief, until told of it the 8th January, 1489, when he was on his way to France. This probably was literally not untrue; but it can hardly be supposed that when he wrote his apology he had no inkling of the contents of the Brief, which had been written on August 8.

Matters now became more complicated. Pico was charged with having broken his oath, and endeavoured to give greater publicity to his views. In consequence he was summoned to Rome, and efforts were made to have him arrested. Thanks to the energetic mediation of Lorenzo de’ Medici, Pico was permitted to retire to a villa in the neighbourhood of Florence. Meanwhile a complete change had been wrought in the young scholar’s soul by the unexpected humiliation. Hitherto his life had been much the same as that of other young men of his rank and position. From henceforth he renounced all desire for fame and ambition, and gave himself up entirely to prayer, penance and works of mercy, except in so far as he still continued to prosecute his theological and philosophical studies with redoubled zeal. These resulted in the production of several exegetical and philosophical works; one of which, on the seven enemies of religion—unbelievers, Jews, Mahomedans, pagans, heretics, false Christians, and occultists (astrologers, magicians, etc.),—was never

finished. By Savonarola's advice he resolved upon entering the Dominican Order, but his life of eager and unremitting toil was cut short by death, before he had time to carry out his purpose. He died November 17, 1494. In the previous year the new Pope, Alexander VI had, in an autograph Brief granted him absolution, in case he might have indirectly violated his oath, and also the assurance, that neither by his apology nor in any other way had he ever been guilty of formal heresy. There is no mention in the Brief, as has been asserted by some writers, of the theses condemned by Innocent VIII.

The Jews in Spain were a source of considerable trouble to Innocent VIII. They had become a real danger to the population by their usury and their proselytising. In 1484, the Pope took measures to counteract the evil; and in the following year he granted permission to several Jews and heretics to make their abjuration privately, but "in presence of the King and Queen." About the same time disturbances broke out in Aragon on account of the introduction into that province of the Inquisition. The Jews who had submitted to baptism, called Maranos, opposed the measure by every means that they could. Money proving of no avail they determined to resort to assassination. On September 15, 1485, the inquisitor, Pedro Arbues, who has been quite groundlessly accused of extreme harshness, was attacked in the Cathedral of Saragossa, and mortally wounded. This and other occurrences showed that it was necessary to have recourse to severe measures. Crucifixes were mutilated, consecrated hosts profaned; in Toledo a plot was concocted by the Jews for obtaining possession of the city on Good Friday, and massacring all the Christians. Ferdinand finally determined to resort to a drastic remedy; on March 31, 1492, an edict was published requiring all Jews either to become Christians, or to leave the country by the 31st July. Most of the Spanish Jews crossed over to Portugal; a good many went to Italy, and to Rome, where they were treated with great toleration by the majority of the fifteenth century Popes. Many Spanish Jews who had been banished in former years had settled in Rome, and even contrived to insinuate themselves into various ecclesiastical offices; an abuse which Innocent took measures to prevent.

Torrents of abuse have been poured forth against Innocent VIII on account of his Bull of December 5, 1484, on the subject of witchcraft. It has been obstinately maintained that the Pope by this Bull authoritatively imposed on the German nation the current superstitions in regard to the black art, demonology, and witchcraft. There could not be a greater distortion of facts than is involved in this assertion. All evidence goes to show that long before the Bull of Innocent VIII the belief in witchcraft had prevailed in Germany. The "Formicarius" of the Dominican inquisitor Johannes Nider, which appeared at the time of the Council of Basle, shows what fantastic notions on the subject were current at the beginning of the 15th Century. Nearly all the delusions which appear in the later witch-trials are to be found here; though there do not seem to have been so many executions as in later times, it is plain that the process of trial for witchcraft was in use long before the Bull of 1484. But the secular authorities had been accustomed to interfere in these trials, whereas in the process by the Inquisition, the cooperation of the secular power was only invited when the trial was ended.

What then did Innocent VIII do?

The Bull of December 5th, 1495, begins by saying that he had lately heard “not without deep concern,” that in various parts of upper Germany as also in the provinces, cities, territories, districts, and bishoprics of Mayence, Cologne, Treves, Salzburg and Bremen, many persons of both sexes falling away from the Catholic Faith, had contracted carnal unions with devils, and by spells and magic rhymes, with their incantations, curses, and other diabolical arts, had done grievous harm to both men and beasts. “They even deny with perverse lips, the Faith in which they were baptised.” Two Dominican professors of theology, Heinrich Institoris in Upper Germany, and Jacob Sprenger, in many parts of the Rhine Country, had been appointed Papal Inquisitors into all forms of heresy; but as the localities named in the Bull had not been expressly mentioned in these inquisitors’ faculties, several persons, clerics as well as laymen, inhabiting these places, had presumptuously taken upon themselves to deny that they had power there to arrest and punish these offenders.

Hence in the plenitude of his Apostolical powers Innocent now commands that these persons are not to be hindered in the exercise of their office towards any individual, whatsoever may be his rank and condition. After this, in accordance with the old Catholic custom, the Pope goes on to exhort the inquisitors to quench superstition by seeing that the Word of God is duly preached to the people in the parish churches, and employing whatever means may seem to them best calculated to secure that they shall be well instructed. He specially commands the Bishop of Strasburg to protect and assist them, to inflict the severest penalties of the Church on all who resist them or put hindrances in their way, and if necessary to call in the assistance of the secular power.

The Bull contains no dogmatic decision of any sort on witchcraft. It assumes the possibility of demoniacal influences on human beings which the Church has always maintained, but claims no dogmatic authority for its pronouncement on the particular cases with which it was dealing at the moment. The form of the document, which refers only to certain occurrences which had been brought to the knowledge of the Pope, shows that it was not intended to bind any one to believe in the things mentioned in it. The question whether the Pope himself believed in them has nothing to do with the subject. His judgment on this point has no greater importance than attaches to a Papal decree in any other undogmatic question, *e.g.*, on a dispute about a benefice. The Bull introduced no new element into the current beliefs about witchcraft. It is absurd to accuse it of being the cause of the cruel treatment of witches, when we see in the “Sachsenspiegel” that burning alive was already the legal punishment for a witch. All that Innocent VIII did was to confirm the jurisdiction of the inquisitors over these cases. The Bull simply empowered them to try all matters concerning witchcraft, without exception, before their own tribunals, by Canon-law; a process which was totally different from that of the later trials. Possibly the Bull, in so far as it admonished the inquisitors to be on the alert in regard to witchcraft may have given an impetus to the prosecution of such cases; but it affords no justification for the accusation that it introduced a new crime, or was in any way responsible for the iniquitous horrors of the witch-harrying of later times.

Unfortunately, nothing of any importance was done under Innocent VIII for the reform of ecclesiastical abuses. At the same time Infessura’s statement that the Pope had authorised concubinage in Rome is absolutely unfounded. We

have documentary evidence that in France, Spain, Portugal and Hungary, he punished this vice with severity. No proof that he favoured it in Rome has yet been adduced. The mere assertion of an admittedly uncritical chronicler with a strong party bias and given to retailing without examination whatever gossip was current in Rome, could not be accepted in any case without further testimony. In this particular instance it is not difficult to find the probable origin of the calumny. In 1489 it was discovered that a band of unprincipled officials were carrying on a profitable traffic in forged Bulls. Neither entreaties nor bribes were of any avail to induce Innocent to abstain from punishing the crime with the utmost severity. Domenico of Viterbo and Francesco Maldente who were found guilty were hanged, and their bodies burnt in the Campo di Fiore.

Now it is notorious that some of the forged Bulls were to this effect, and the supposed permission accorded by Innocent VIII to the Norwegians to celebrate Mass without wine was also a forgery.

The existence of such a confederacy for forging Bulls, throws a lurid light on the state of morals in the Papal Court, where Franceschetto Cibò set the worst possible example. The increasing prevalence of the system of purchasing offices greatly facilitated the introduction of untrustworthy officials. The practice may be explained, but cannot be excused by the financial distress with which Innocent VIII had to contend during the whole of his reign, and the almost universal custom of the time. In the Bull increasing the number of the College of Secretaries from the original six to thirty, want of money, which had obliged the Pope to pawn even the Papal mitre, is openly assigned as the reason for this measure. Between them, the new and the old secretaries (amongst the later were Gasparo Biondo, Andreas Trapezuntius, Jacobus Volaterranus, Johannes Petrus Arrivabenus, and Sigismondo de' Conti) brought in a sum of 62,400 gold florins and received in return certain privileges and a share in various taxes. Innocent VIII also created the College of Piombatori with an entrance fee of 500 gold florins. Even the office of Librarian to the Vatican was now for sale. No one can fail to see the evils to which such a state of things must give rise. Sigismondo de' Conti closes his narrative of the increase in the number of secretaries with the words; "Henceforth this office which had been hitherto bestowed as a reward for industry, faithfulness, and eloquence, became simply a marketable commodity. Those who had thus purchased the new offices endeavoured to indemnify themselves out of other people's pockets. These greedy officials whose only aim was to get as much for themselves as possible out of the churches with which they had to do, were naturally detested in all countries, and the most determined opponents of reform. The corruptibility of all the officials increased to an alarming extent, carrying with it general insecurity and disorder in Rome, since any criminal who had money could secure immunity from punishment. The conduct of some members of the Pope's immediate circle even, gave great scandal. Franceschetto Cibo was mean and avaricious, and led a disorderly life "which was doubly unbecoming in the son of a Pope. He paraded the streets at night with Girolamo Tuttavilla, forced his way into the houses of the citizens for evil purposes, and was often driven out with shame." In one night Franceschetto lost 14,000 ducats to Cardinal Riario and complained to the Pope that he had been cheated. Cardinal de La Balue also lost 8000 to the same Cardinal in a single evening.

In order to obtain the means for the gratification of such passions as these,

or worse, the worldly-minded Cardinals were always on the watch to maintain or increase their power.

This explains the stipulation in the election capitulation that the number of the Sacred College was not to exceed twenty-four. Innocent VIII however did not consider himself bound to observe this condition, and already in 1485 we hear of his intention of creating new Cardinals. The College refused its consent, and the opposition of the older Cardinals was so violent and persistent, that some years passed before the Pope was able to carry out his purpose. In the interval as many as nine of the old Cardinals had died; in 1484, Philibert Hugonet (September 12), Stefano Nardini (October 22), Jtian Moles (November 21); in 1485, Pietro Foscari (September) and Juan de Aragon; in 1486, Thomas Bouchier (June) and the good Gabriel Rangoni (September 27); in 1488, Arcimboldi and Charles de Bourbon (September 13).

Though, in one respect, these deaths facilitated the creation of new Cardinals, on the other, great difficulties were caused by the urgent demands of the various Powers for the promotion of their candidates. In the beginning of March 1489 the negotiations were at last brought to a conclusion, and on the 9th of the month five new cardinals were nominated. Two of these, the Grand-Master of the Knights of St. John, Pierre d'Aubusson, and the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Andre d'Espinay, were absent. The three who were on the spot, Lorenzo Cibò (son of the Pope's brother Maurizio), Ardicino della Porta of Novara, and Antoniotto Pallavicini of Genoa, received their Red Hats at once. Three others, Maffeo Gherardo of Venice, Federico Sanseverino (son of Count Robert), and Giovanni de' Medici were reserved *in petto*.

Some of the new Cardinals, as Ardicino della Porta, were fit and worthy men, which made it all the sadder that the natural son of Innocent's brother, and the boy Giovanni de' Medici should have been added to their ranks. Raffaele de Volterra severely blames this open violation of the prescriptions of the Church, and the Annalist Raynaldus rightly endorses his judgment.

Giovanni de' Medici, Lorenzo's second son, was then only in his fourteenth year; he was born December 11, 1475. His father had destined him for the Church at an age at which any choice on his part was out of the question, and confided his education to distinguished scholars such as Poliziano and Demetrius Chalkondylas.

At seven years old he received the tonsure, and the chase after rich benefices at once began. Lorenzo in his notes details these proceedings with appalling candour. In 1483, before he had completed his eighth year, Giovanni was presented by Louis XI to the Abbacy of Font Douce in the Bishopric of Saintes. Sixtus IV confirmed this nomination, declared him capable of holding benefices and made him a Protonotary Apostolic. Henceforth "whatever good things in the shape of a benefice, commendam, rectorship, fell into the hands of the Medici, was given to Lorenzo's son." In 1484 he was already in possession of the rich Abbey of Passignano, and two years later was given the venerable Benedictine Abbey of Monte Cassino in commendam. But even this was not enough for Lorenzo, who with indefatigable persistency besieged the Pope and Cardinals to admit the boy into the Senate of the Church. He did not scruple to represent Giovanni's age as two years more than it really was. Innocent VIII resisted for a long time, but finally gave way; and he was nominated with the

stipulation that he was to wait three years before he assumed the insignia of the cardinalate or took his seat in the College. Lorenzo found this condition extremely irksome, and, in the beginning of 1490, instructed his Ambassador to do everything in his power to get the time shortened. The Pope, however, who wished Giovanni to devote the time of probation to the study of Theology and Canon-law, was inexorable, and Lorenzo had to wait till the full period had expired. When, at last, the day for his son's elevation arrived he was too ill to be able to assist at any of the ceremonial services. The moment they were concluded the young Cardinal started for Rome, where great preparations were being made for his reception. On March 22, 1492, the new Cardinal Deacon of S^{ta} Maria in Dominica entered Rome by the Porta del Popolo; on the following day the Pope admitted him, with the customary ceremonies, to the Consistory. The General of the Camaldolese, Pietro Delfino, says that the bearing and demeanour of the young Cardinal made a favourable impression upon all present, and that he seemed more mature than could have been expected at his age. Lorenzo at once wrote to his son an admirable letter of advice and warning, displaying not only great political sagacity and knowledge of human nature, but the Christian faith and sentiment to which he had returned at the close of his life. It is touching to read the earnest exhortations to the young man to lead "an honourable, exemplary and virtuous life" which seemed especially needed by one going to reside in a great city which had become "a very focus of all that was evil." There would be no lack of "bad counsellors, seducers and envious men," who would endeavour to "drag you down into the abyss into which they themselves have fallen. Counting upon your youth they will expect to find this an easy task. Thus it behoves you to set yourself to prove that this hope is unfounded, and all the more because the College of Cardinals is at this moment so poor in men of worth. I remember the days when it was full of learned and virtuous men, and theirs is the example for you to follow. For the less your conduct resembles that of those who now compose it, the more beloved and respected will you be. You must equally avoid the Scylla of sanctimoniousness and the Charybdis of profanity. You should study to be moderate in all things, and avoid everything in your demeanour and in your words that might annoy or wound others, and especially not make a parade of austerities or a strict life. Your own judgment, when matured by experience, will instruct you better how to carry out my advice than any detailed counsels that I could give you at present.

"You will have no difficulty in understanding how much depends on the personality and example of a Cardinal. If the Cardinals were such as they ought to be, the whole world would be the better for it; for they would always elect a good Pope and thus secure the peace of Christendom. Endeavour, therefore, to be such that it would be well for all if the rest were like you. Be careful in all your intercourse with the Cardinals and other persons of high rank, to be guarded and reserved, so as to keep your judgments cool and unswayed by the passions of others, for many act irrationally, because their aims are illicit. Keep your conscience clear by avoiding in your conversation anything that could be injurious to others. I think this is of the first importance for you, for if any one from passion thinks he has a grudge against you, it is much easier for him to change his mind if there is no real ground of offence. It will be best for you, in this your first sojourn in Rome, to make much more use of your ears than of your tongue.

“Today I have given you up entirely to God and to His Holy Church. Be therefore a worthy priest, and act so as to convince all who see you that the well-being and honour of the Church and the Holy See are more to you than anything else in the world. If you keep this steadfastly before you, opportunities will not be wanting for being of use both to this city and to our family ; for to be united with the Church is advantageous to the city, and you must be the bond of union between the two, and the welfare of our house depends on that of Florence. Though the future must always remain impenetrable, yet I am confident that if you are constant in generously pursuing the good of the Church, we shall not fail to find means to secure ourselves on both sides.

“You are the youngest member of the College, not only of the present College, but the youngest that has ever as yet been made a Cardinal. You should, therefore, in all that you have to do with your colleagues be observant and respectful, and keep yourself in the background in the Papal Chapels and Consistories, or in deputations. You will soon learn which among them are deserving of esteem. You must avoid both being and seeming to be intimate with those whose conduct is irregular. In conversation keep to generalities as far as you can. In regard to festivities, I think it will be prudent for you to keep rather under the mark than to run any risk of exceeding what is permissible.

“Spend your money rather on keeping a well-appointed stable and servants of a superior class than on pomp and show. Endeavour to lead a regular life, and gradually get your household into strict order,—a thing which cannot be done immediately where both master and servant are new. Silks and jewels are for the most part unsuitable for you, but you should possess some valuable antiques and handsome books, and your circle should be rather select and learned than numerous. Also, it is better for you to entertain your friends at home than to dine out often; but in this matter you should follow a middle course. Let your food be simple and take plenty of exercise; many in your present position bring great sufferings on themselves by imprudence. This position is one which is both secure and exalted, and thus it often happens that those who have succeeded in attaining it become careless and think they can now do as they like, without fear of consequences, whereby both it and their health are imperilled. In regard to this point I recommend you to use all possible caution, and to err rather on this side than on that of over-confidence.

“Let it be your rule of life to rise early. Setting aside the advantage of the practice to your health, it gives you time to get through the business of the day and to fulfil your various obligations, the recitation of the office, study, audiences, and whatever else has to be done. There is another practice which is also very necessary for a person in your position, namely, always, and especially now that you are just beginning, to call to mind in the evening what will be the work of the day following, so that you may never be unprepared for your business. If you speak in the Consistory, it seems to me, considering your youth and inexperience, that it will be in all cases best and most becoming for you to adhere to the wise judgment of the Holy Father. You will be often pressed to speak to the Pope about this thing or that, and to make requests. Make it your rule in these early days to make as few of these as possible, so as not to be burdensome to him; for he is disposed by nature to give most to those who are least clamorous. It will be useful to be on the watch to say nothing that would annoy him, but rather to tell him things that will give him pleasure; while

modesty in preferring requests corresponds best with his own disposition, and puts him in a better humour. Take care of your health."

Lorenzo de' Medici's low estimate of the College of Cardinals in the time of Innocent VIII was unfortunately only too well founded. There still remained, no doubt, some good men in the Senate of the Church, but they were quite borne down by the worldly majority; Marco Barbo, one of the leaders of the nobler party, had died in the Spring of 1491; his death, says one of his contemporaries, was a great loss to the Holy See and to the whole of Christendom.

Of the worldly Cardinals, Ascanio Sforza, Riario, Orsini, Sclafenatus, Jean de La Balue, Giuliano della Rovere, Savelli, and Rodrigo Borgia were the most prominent. All of these were deeply infected with the corruption which prevailed in Italy amongst the upper classes in the age of the Renaissance. Surrounded in their splendid palaces, with all the most refined luxury of a highly-developed civilisation, these Cardinals lived the lives of secular princes, and seemed to regard their ecclesiastical garb simply as one of the adornments of their rank. They hunted, gambled, gave sumptuous banquets and entertainments, joined in all the rollicking merriment of the carnival-tide, and allowed themselves the utmost licence in morals; this was specially the case with Rodrigo Borgia. His uncle, Calixtus III, had made him a Cardinal and Vice-Camerlengo while he was still very young, and he had accumulated benefices to an extent which gave him a princely income. In the time of Sixtus IV he was already, according to d'Estouteville, the wealthiest member of the College of Cardinals. One of his contemporaries describes him as a fine-looking man and a brilliant cavalier, cheery and genial in manner, and winning and fluent in conversation; irresistibly attractive to women. His immoral courses brought upon him a severe rebuke from Pius II. But nothing had any effect. Even after he had received priest's orders, which took place in August 1468, and when he was given the Bishopric of Albano, which he afterwards exchanged in 1476 for that of Porto, he still would not give up his dissolute life; to the end of his days he remained the slave of the demon of sensuality.

From the year 1460 Vanozza de Cataneis, born of Roman parents in 1442, was his acknowledged mistress. She was married three times; in 1474 to Domenico of Arignano; in 1480 to a Milanese, Giorgio de Croce; and in 1486 to a Mantuan, Carlo Canale, and died in Rome on the 26th of November, 1518, aged 76. The names of the four children whom she bore to the Cardinal are inscribed on her tomb in the following order :—Caesar, Juan, Jofre, and Lucrezia.

Besides these, Cardinal Rodrigo had other children,—a son, Pedro Luis, certainly born before 1460, and a daughter, Girolama, but apparently by a different mother. Rodrigo turned to his Spanish home for the careers of these children, who were legitimised one after another. In 1485 he obtained the Dukedom of Gandia for Pedro Luiz; in the deed of King Ferdinand he is described as the son of noble parents, and he is stated to have distinguished himself by his military acquirements and to have rendered valuable services in the war against the King of Granada. Pedro was betrothed to the daughter of Ferdinand's uncle and majordomo, Donna Maria Enriquez; in 1488 he came to Rome, and in August fell sick there and died, certainly before the year 1491. He left all that he possessed to his brother Juan, the best of Rodrigo's sons, born in

1474, who eventually married his brother's intended bride.

The Cardinal's third son Caesar, born in 1475, was from childhood, without any regard to his aptitude or wishes, destined to the Church. Sixtus IV, on 1st October, 1480, dispensed him from the canonical impediment for the reception of Holy Orders, caused by his being born out of wedlock, because he was the son of a Cardinal and his mother was a married woman. At the age of seven years Caesar was made a Protonotary, and was appointed to benefices in Xativa and other cities in Spain, and under Innocent VIII to the Bishopric of Pampeluna. Jofre also, born in 1480 or 1481, was intended for the Church; he is mentioned as a Canon, Prebendary, and Archdeacon of the Cathedral of Valencia. Lucrezia, born in 1478, seemed, like her brothers, destined to make her home in her father's native land, for in 1491 she was betrothed to a Spaniard.

The mother of these children, Vanozza de Cataneis, possessed substantial property in Rome, and a house on the Piazza Branca, close to the palace which Rodrigo Borgia had built for himself. This mansion, now the Palazzo Sforza-Cesarini, was considered the finest, not only in Rome, but in the whole of Italy.

In the reign of Innocent VIII Jacopo da Volterra writes of Cardinal Borgia: "He has good abilities and great versatility, is fluent in speech, and though his literary attainments are not of the first order, he can write well. He is naturally shrewd, and exceedingly energetic in all business that he takes in hand. He is reputed to be very rich, and his influence is great on account of his connections with so many kings and princes. He has built for himself a splendid and commodious palace midway between the Bridge of S. Angelo and the Campo di Fiore. His revenues from his numerous benefices and abbeys in Italy and Spain and his three bishoprics of Valencia, Porto, and Cartagena are enormous; while his post of Vice-Camerlengo is said also to bring him in 8000 gold ducats yearly. He possesses immense quantities of silver plate, pearls, hangings, and vestments embroidered in gold and silk, and learned books of all sorts, and all of such splendid quality as would befit a king or a pope. I pass over the sumptuous adornments of his litters and trappings for his horses, and all his gold and silver and silks, together with his magnificent wardrobe and his hoards of treasure".

We obtain a highly interesting glimpse into the amazing luxury of Cardinal Borgia's palace from a hitherto unknown letter of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, dated 22nd of October, 1484. On that day Borgia, who, as a rule, was not a lover of the pleasures of the table, gave a magnificent banquet in his palace, at which, besides Ascanio, three other Cardinals were included amongst the guests, one of these being Giuliano della Rovere. The whole palace was splendidly decorated. In the great entrance-hall the walls were covered with hangings representing various historical events. A smaller room opened into this, also hung with exquisite Gobelin tapestry. The carpets on the floor were selected to harmonise with the rest of the furniture, of which the most prominent piece was a sumptuous state-couch upholstered in red satin, with a canopy over it. This room also contained the Cardinal's credenza, a chest surmounted by a slab, on which was ranged for exhibition an immense quantity of table plate and drinking vessels in gold and silver, while the lower part was a marvel of exquisitely finished work. This apartment was flanked by two others, one of which was hung with satin and carpeted, the divan in it being of Alexandrian velvet; while in the other, still more splendid, the couch was covered with gold

brocade and magnificently decorated. The cloth on the central table was of velvet, and the chairs which surrounded it were exquisitely carved.

Ascanio Sforza, created a Cardinal from political motives in 1484, by Sixtus IV and loaded with benefices, came next to Rodrigo in wealth and love of show. He was an ardent sportsman, and "Rome stood amazed both at the splendour of his Court and the number of horses, dogs, and hawks, which he kept. The enormous income which he drew from his many benefices and large temporal possessions, hardly sufficed to meet his boundless expenditure. The Roman annalist says he dares not attempt to describe the feast which Ascanio gave in the latter days of Innocent VIII in honour of Ferrantino the Prince of Capua, Ferrante's grandson, lest he should be mocked as a teller of fairy tales." His friends justly praised his talent for diplomacy and politics. He had also a taste for literature and art, wrote Latin and Italian poems, and was a generous patron of learned men. It should also be mentioned that Ascanio, in dispensing his gifts, was not unmindful of the poor. From a moral point of view Cardinal Federigo Sanseverino and the wealthy Battista Orsini, were not much better than Rodrigo Borgia.

Another of the worldly-minded Cardinals was the astute and ambitious La Balue who, since 1485, had returned to reside in Rome. His two master passions were politics and the accumulation of riches. In spite of all the vicissitudes of his tempestuous life, when he died in 1491 he was worth 100,000 ducats.

Equally worldly was Giuliano della Rovere, undoubtedly the strongest personality in the College of Cardinals. Politics and war were the main interests in his life. He "bore the stamp of the 15th Century to which he belonged, and carried into the next age its strength of will, its impetuosity in action, and its largeness in aim and idea. He was proud, ambitious, self-confident and hot-tempered, but never small or mean. He paid no more regard to his vow of celibacy than the majority of his colleagues; but through all his worldliness there was in him a certain seriousness, a capacity for something better, which was destined to show itself in later years. He was a noble patron of Art, and maintained his interest in it through all the stormiest episodes of his life.

Between the wealth acquired by the accumulation of benefices and foreign bishoprics, and their connections with so many powerful kings and princes, the influence of the Cardinals had become so great that there was manifest danger of the subjection of the Papacy to the Sacred College. The power of Giuliano della Rovere, during the reign of Innocent VIII and the high-handed manner in which he exercised it, went quite beyond the bounds of what was permissible. During the war of the Neapolitan Barons, he, on his own authority, had a Courier sent by the Duke of Milan, arrested, and his papers taken from him. The Milanese, Florentine, and Ferrarese Ambassadors of that day complained that two Popes were more than they could do with; one was quite enough.

These too-human princely Cardinals are likened by a modern historian to the old Roman Senators. "Most of them, like the Pope, were surrounded by a Curia of their own and a circle of nephews. They went about in martial attire and wore swords elaborately decorated. As a rule, each Cardinal had several hundred servants and retainers living in the Palace, and their number might be on occasion augmented by hired *bravi*. This gave them a following among the populace who depended on the Cardinals' Courts for their livelihood. Most of

these Princes of the Church had their own factions, and they vied with each other in the splendour of their troops of horsemen, and of the triumphal cars filled with masques, musicians, and actors, which paraded the streets during the Carnival, and on all festal occasions. The Cardinals of that day quite eclipsed the Roman nobles.”

The encouragement which they gave to Literature and Art, the patronage of which was looked upon as an indispensable adornment of greatness in the age of the Renaissance, is the one redeeming spot in the lives of these Princes of the Church, which in all other ways were so scandalously out of keeping with their spiritual character. It was not strangers only who were scandalised by the behaviour of these unworthy priests; many born Italians, especially the mission preachers, complain bitterly of them. The most energetic and outspoken of all was the Dominican, Girolamo Savonarola. In his sermons, but more especially in his poems, he paints a gruesome picture of the corruptions in the Church, and prophesies terrible manifestations of the wrath of God in the near future.

Anticipations of impending judgments prevailed widely during this period. Many prophets appeared, and predictions of the complete overthrow of all existing institutions, and the condign punishment of the corrupt clergy, were passed from mouth to mouth. One appeared in Rome in 1491.

A contemporary writer describes the preacher as poorly clad and only carrying in his hand a small wooden cross, but very eloquent and well educated. He collected the people in the public squares and announced in prophetic tones that in the current year there would be much tribulation, and Rome would be filled with the sound of weeping. In the year following the distress would spread over the whole country; but in 1493 the Angel Pope would appear (Angelicus Pastor), who would possess no temporal power, and would seek nothing but the good of souls.

The prophecies of Savonarola, however, produced far more impression than any of these, and the extraordinary influence of his sermons and writings is, for the most part, due to them. Many of them had their origin in visions, which he thought had been granted to him. In the Advent of 1492 he had a dream which he firmly held to be a Divine revelation. “He saw in the middle of the sky a hand bearing a sword, on which these words were inscribed—*Gladius Domini super terram cito et velociter.*” He heard many clear and distinct voices promising mercy to the good, threatening chastisement to the wicked, and proclaiming that the wrath of God was at hand. Then, suddenly the sword was turned towards the earth; the sky darkened; swords, arrows and flames rained down; terrible thunderclaps were heard; and all the world was a prey to war, famine and pestilence.”

BOOK IV

ALEXANDER VI. 1492-- 1503.

CHAPTER I.

Election and Coronation of Alexander VI.

DURING the long sickness of Innocent VIII, there had been much disorder in Rome, and the approaching vacancy of the Papal throne was anticipated with some apprehension; but the stringent precautionary measures adopted by the Cardinals and the Roman Magistrates proved sufficient, and all went off quietly enough. One of the Envoys reports, August 7, 1492, "It is true that a few were killed and others wounded, especially during the time that the Pope was in extremis, but afterwards things went better." Nevertheless the situation was sufficiently critical to make the Cardinals anxious to get the funeral over as soon as possible. During the interval Raffaele Riario, as Camerlengo, was an able and energetic ruler. Jean Villier de La Grolaie, Abbot of St. Denis, for whom a few years later, Michael Angelo carved his Pietà, was then Governor of Rome.

The question at once arose whether the two Cardinals, Sanseverino and Gherardo, nominated but not proclaimed by Innocent VIII, would be admitted to the Conclave. The first arrived in Rome on the 24th July and was immediately received into the Sacred College. Gherardo, who arrived on August 4th, bringing with him a strong letter of recommendation from the Venetian Council of Ten, was acknowledged as Cardinal on the following day. Many prophesied that his white Camaldolese habit would be a passport for him to the supreme dignity.

Immediately upon the conclusion of the obsequies on August 6th, the Conclave began; twenty-three Cardinals were present in the Sistine Chapel. The usual address was spoken by the Spanish Bishop, Bernaldino Lopez de Carvajal. He drew an impressive picture of the melancholy condition of the Church, and exhorted the Assembly to make a good choice and to choose quickly. The foreign Ambassadors and a number of noble Romans undertook the guardianship of the Conclave.

In view of the failing health of Innocent VIII, the Cabinets of the Italian Powers had for some time been occupied with the probability of a Papal election. In the Milanese State Archives there is an undated memorandum from an Envoy of Sforza, which probably belongs to the beginning of the year 1491, and gives much interesting information. According to it, Cardinal Ascanio Sforza seems to have believed that he could reckon with security on seven of the cardinals and probably on four more. His rival, Giuliano della Rovere, had nine on his side; neither, therefore, possessed the necessary majority of two-thirds. The writer of this account thought that Cardinal Ardicino della Porta or the Portuguese Cardinal Costa, most probably the latter, had the best chance.

On July 25, 1492, when the death of Innocent VIII was hourly expected, the intrigues in regard to the election were at their height. After Costa and

Ardicino della Porta, Caraffa and Zeno were most spoken of. Some were for Piccolomini and some again for Borgia. The Florentine Envoy writes, "In regard to these intrigues I will not attempt to enter into details which would only serve to bewilder you and myself, for they are innumerable and change every hour." The same Envoy, on the 28th July, mentions strenuous efforts on the part of the Roman Barons to influence the election, and the foreign Powers were equally active. It was currently reported that Charles VIII of France had paid 200,000 ducats into a bank, and the Republic of Genoa 100,000, in order to secure the election of Giuliano della Rovere. On the strength of this they fully expected that their countryman would be chosen.

As soon as it became known that the Pope was seriously ill an eager interchange of communications at once commenced between the Italian Powers, but they were unable to come to any agreement. Naples and Milan were at daggers drawn. The King of Naples, made doubly cautious by defeat, was anxious to conceal his views on the important subject as far as possible. On the 24th of July, the Milanese Ambassador at Naples reports that the King had declared that he would not meddle in any way with the Papal election; he had seen what came of that at the making of the last Pope, and would let things take their course at Rome, as far as he was concerned. All the same, the Ambassador was convinced that Ferrante was busily occupied with the approaching Conclave. In his opinion the King would favour the election of Piccolomini, and Camillo Pandone would be sent to Rome to win over Giuliano della Rovere to his side. Ferrante's letters to his Ambassador, Joviano Pontano, which however have not yet been fully known, throw somewhat more light upon this subject.

From the first of these, dated July 20, it appears that the King favoured the election of Giuliano della Rovere; he commissioned Virginio Orsini, who was in his pay, to promote it, and desired Fabricio and Prospero Colonna secretly to approach Rome. The second letter in cypher to Pontano bears date July 22. The King here pronounces against the election of Costa and prefers Pietro Gundisalvo de Mendoza; Pontano is told to inform Cardinal Giuliano of this. Giuliano seems to have had the King's entire confidence, and the election of Zeno was only contemplated as an alternative in case that of Giuliano could not be secured. Naples and France, though preparing for a final and decisive hostile encounter, supported meanwhile the same candidate for the Papal Chair.

Giuliano della Rovere did not want for rivals. An extremely interesting, as yet unprinted report of Giovanni Andrea Boccaccio, Bishop of Modena, to Eleonora, Duchess of Ferrara, gives Ardicino della Porta, of the party of Ascanio Sforza, and universally popular on account of his kindly disposition, as the first of these. He puts Caraffa in the second place, Ascanio Sforza in the third, Rodrigo Borgia in the fourth. Of this latter he says, that on account of his connections he is extremely powerful, and able richly to reward his adherents. In the first place, the Vice-chancellorship, which is like a second Papacy, is in his gift; then there are the towns of Civita Castellana and Nepi, an Abbey at Aquila, with a revenue of 1000 ducats, a similar one in Albano, two larger ones in the kingdom of Naples; the Bishopric of Porto, worth 1200 ducats, the Abbey of Subiaco including twenty-two villages, and bringing in 2000 ducats. In Spain he possesses upwards of sixteen bishoprics, and a number of abbeys and other benefices. Besides these, the Bishop mentions as aspirants to the Supreme office the Cardinals Savelli, Costa, Piccolomini, and Michiel, and many also, he adds,

speak of Fregoso, Domenico della Rovere and Zeno. All these Cardinals had dismantled their palaces, for on such occasions it often happens that false reports are started to provide an excuse for plundering the house, as is customary when any one is elected Pope. Besides all these, continues the Ferraresc Envoy, the name of Cardinal Giuliano is whispered in secret, and yet after all, only one can be chosen, unless indeed there should be a schism. A despatch dated August 4, from the Milanese Ambassador, confirms the statement that Ardicino della Porta had good prospects. It says that Giuliano sees that neither he nor Costa are likely to succeed, and that he must therefore support some adherent of Ascanio, and among these Ardicino della Porta is the only satisfactory one. He will not have Borgia at any price, and Piccolomini is an enemy of his; Ferrante's opposition makes Caraffa impossible; there is a chance, however, that Cardinal della Rovere may prefer Zeno to Ardicino della Porta. The same Ambassador also mentions an interview on the 4th of August between della Rovere and Ascanio in the Sacristy of S. Peter's, in which the former was supposed to have offered the Milanese Cardinal his personal support and that of his friends.

The situation on the eve of the Conclave seemed to be that Giuliano della Rovere, who was hated for the influence he had exerted over the late Pope and for his French sympathies, had no chance whatever, while the Cardinals Ardicino della Porta and Ascanio Sforza, favoured by Milan, had good reason to hope for success. The chances were against Borgia because he was a Spaniard, and many of the Italian Cardinals were determined not to elect a foreigner; but the wealth of the Spanish Cardinal was destined to turn the scales in the Conclave, as the shrewdness of the Ambassador had foreseen.

The Conclave began on August 6th. An election Capitulation was drawn up, and then the contest began. For a long time it remained undecided. On the 10th of August the Florentine Ambassador, who was one of the guards of the Conclave, writes that there had been three scrutinies without result; Caraffa and Costa seemed to have the best chance. Both were worthy men, and one, Caraffa, was a man of distinguished abilities. The election of either would have been a great blessing to the Church. Unfortunately a sudden change came over the whole situation. As soon as Ascanio Sforza perceived that there was no likelihood that he would himself be chosen, he began to lend a willing ear to Borgia's brilliant offers. Rodrigo not only promised him the office of Vice-Chancellor with his own Palace, but in addition to this the Castle of Nepi, the Bishopric of Erlau with a revenue of 10,000 ducats, and other benefices. Cardinal Orsini was to receive the two fortified towns of Monticelli and Soriano, the legation of the Marches and the Bishopric of Carthage; Cardinal Colonna, the Abbey of Subiaco with all the surrounding villages; Savelli, Civita Castellana and the Bishopric of Majorca; Pallavicini, the Bishopric of Pampeluna; Giovanni Michiel the suburban Bishopric of Porto; the Cardinals Sclafenati, Sanseverino, Riario and Domenico della Rovere, rich abbeys and valuable benefices. By these simoniacal means, counting his own vote and those of the Cardinals Ardicino della Porta and Conti who belonged to the Sforza party, Borgia had thus secured 24 votes, and only one more was wanting to complete the majority of two-thirds. This one however was not easy to obtain. The Cardinals Caraffa, Costa, Piccolomini and Zeno were not to be won by any promises however brilliant; and the young Giovanni de' Medici held with them.

Cardinal Basso followed Giuliano della Rovere, who would not hear of Borgia's election. Lorenzo Cibò also held aloof from these unhallowed transactions. Thus Gherardo, now in his ninety-sixth year and hardly in possession of his faculties, alone remained, and he was persuaded by those who were about him to give his vote to Borgia. The election was decided in the night between the 10th and 11th August, 1492, and in the early morning the window of the Conclave was opened and the Vice-Chancellor, Rodrigo Borgia, was proclaimed Pope as Alexander VI. The result was unexpected; it was obtained by the rankest simony. Such were the means, as the annalist of the Church says, by which in accordance with the inscrutable counsels of Divine Providence, a man attained to the highest dignity, who in the early days of the Church would not have been admitted even to the lowest rank of the clergy, on account of his immoral life. The days of distress and confusion began for the Roman Church; the prophetic words of Savonarola were fulfilled; the sword of the wrath of God smote the earth and the time of chastisement had arrived.

However just in itself this view of the matter may be, it must not be supposed that the general feeling of the time was unfavourable to the election of Alexander VIth. On the contrary Rodrigo Borgia was looked upon as the most capable member of the College of Cardinals. He seemed to possess all the qualities of a distinguished temporal ruler; and to many he appeared to be just the right man to steer the Papacy, now more than ever the fulcrum on which all the politics of the time were balanced, through the complications and difficulties of the situation. That this was considered enough to outweigh all objections from the ecclesiastical point of view is significant of the tendencies of the time. One of his contemporaries in describing him only says, he is an ambitious man, fairly well-informed and ready and incisive in speech; of a secretive temperament; singularly expert in the conduct of affairs. Sigismondo de' Conti who had opportunities of getting to know Borgia well, characterises him as an extremely accomplished man, uniting to distinguished intellectual gifts a thorough knowledge of business and capacity for it. "It is now thirty-seven years" he continues "since his uncle Calixtus III made him a Cardinal, and during that time he never missed a single Consistory unless prevented by illness from attending, which very seldom happened. Throughout the reigns of Pius II, Paul II, Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII, he was always an important personage; he had been Legate in Spain and in Italy. Few people understood etiquette so well as he did; he knew how to make the most of himself, and took pains to shine in conversation and to be dignified in his manners. In the latter point his majestic stature gave him an advantage. Also he was just at the age, about sixty, at which Aristotle says men are wisest; robust in body and vigorous in mind, he was admirably equipped for his new position". Further on the same writer completes the picture, adding, "He was tall and powerfully built; though he had blinking eyes, they were penetrating and lively; in conversation he was extremely affable; he understood money matters thoroughly." The Spanish Bishop Bernaldino Lopez de Carvajal, in 1493 speaks in enthusiastic terms of the physical beauty and strength of the newly elected Pope. Still greater stress is laid upon his imposing presence, a quality that has always been highly valued by the Italians, in the description given of him by Hieronymus Portius in the year 1493 : "He is tall, in complexion neither fair nor dark; his eyes are black, his mouth somewhat full. His health is splendid, and he has a marvellous power of enduring all sorts of fatigue. He is singularly eloquent in speech, and is gifted with an innate good

breeding, which never forsakes him”.

In all these descriptions nothing is said about Borgia’s moral character; but it must not be inferred from this that it was unknown, but rather that public opinion in those days not only in Italy, but also in France and Spain, was incredibly lenient on that point. Among the upper classes a dissolute life was looked upon as a matter of course; in Italy, especially, the prevailing state of things was deplorable. The profligacy of the rulers of Naples, Milan, and Florence of that time was something almost unheard of. The fact that the lives of many princes of the Church were no better than those of the temporal rulers gave little or no scandal to the Italians of the Renaissance. This was partly due to the general laxity of opinion in regard to morals, but the habit of looking upon the higher clergy mainly as temporal governors, had also something to do with it.

At the same time, while the irregularities of the Cardinal’s earlier life were apparently easily forgiven, much indignation was aroused by the shameless bribery by means of which he had secured his election. There is a stinging irony in Infessura’s words; “Directly he became Pope, Alexander VI proceeded to give away all his goods to the poor,” which are followed by the enumeration in detail of the rewards bestowed on each of the Cardinals who voted for him. In speaking of this simoniacal election, the Roman notary Latinus de Masiis exclaims: “Oh, Lord Jesus Christ, it is in punishment for our sins that Thou hast permitted Thy vicegerent to be elected in so unworthy a manner!”

Nevertheless, it is a fact that Borgia’s election was hopefully welcomed by many both in Italy and abroad. On the 16th of August, 1492, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola despatched a letter of congratulation to Alexander VI which is full of sanguine anticipations. In Rome it was said that the election of so distinguished and genial a Pope, whose good looks and dignified bearing also won the hearts of the common people, augured a brilliant Pontificate. As early as August 12 the conservators with some of the most notable of the citizens, 800 in all, came in procession on horseback with lighted torches to the Vatican to greet the new Pope. Bonfires blazed in all directions throughout the city.

The coronation on August 26 was unusually splendid. Both the Florentine and the Mantuan Ambassadors agree in declaring that they had never witnessed a more brilliant ceremony. Innumerable multitudes flocked into Rome; nearly the whole of the nobility of the Patrimony was assembled. The streets were decorated with costly hangings, exquisite flowers, garlands, statues and triumphal arches. All the grace and beauty of the Renaissance was displayed, but its darker side was not absent. The Roman epigraphists and poetasters, who some years later were remorselessly to load the name and memory of this Pope with opprobrium, surpassed themselves in the ingenuity and rank paganism of their compliments. It would be impossible to exceed the profanity of some of their productions, of which the following distich is a specimen :—

“Rome was great under Caesar, greater far under Alexander,
The first was only a mortal, but the latter is a God.”

It is not surprising that good men such as Delfini, the General of the Camaldolese, were scandalised at such unmeasured adulation. “An incident which I saw with my own eyes,” writes Delfini to a friend, “forcibly reminded me

of the instability of all human things. In the Lateran Basilica the Pope suddenly fainted, and water had to be dashed on his face before he could recover consciousness." Indeed, at the end of the great day the whole Court was utterly worn out with fatigue, aggravated by the heat and dust. "Your Highness can imagine," writes Brognolo the Mantuan Envoy, "what it was to have to ride from eight to ten miles at a stretch in such a crowd." Thus the statement of Guicciardini, a bitter opponent of Alexander, that the news of his election filled all men with dismay is proved entirely false. On the contrary, it was hailed with the greatest satisfaction by several of the Italian Powers, notably by Milan. An Envoy reports that Duke Ludovico il Moro was in the highest spirits at the success with which his brother Cardinal Ascanio Sforza's efforts had been crowned. He had good reason to rejoice. Senator Ambrogio Mirabilia writes on August 13, that Cardinal Ascanio is the man who made Alexander VI Pope, consequently it is impossible to exaggerate the power and influence that he possesses; indeed, he is held to be as much Pope as Alexander himself.

In Florence as in Milan the election was received with public rejoicing and ringing of bells. Before the coronation festivities both Sforza and Alexander himself had written letters to Piero de' Medici, assuring him of their friendly dispositions; and indeed, the son of Lorenzo had reason to expect kindness from the new Pope. The Grand-Master of the Knights of S. John was convinced that the wisdom and justice of Alexander VI would rid the East of the tyranny of the Turks. It is not surprising that in various parts of Italy there should have been some who were dissatisfied with the result of the Conclave. Some such malcontents were to be found even in Genoa, where grateful memories of Calixtus III caused the majority to hail the elevation of his nephew with joy, and when Guicciardini says that Ferrante, King of Naples, wept when he heard that Borgia had been elected, we must not accept the statement too literally. In the King's letters there is nothing to support it, nor was he the sort of man who would have been likely to shed tears on such an occasion; at the same time, Borgia's elevation, which he had throughout strenuously opposed, could not have been agreeable to him; but Ferrante had quite wit enough to conceal his sentiments. He immediately despatched a letter of congratulation to Alexander, couched in the most friendly terms; and on the 15th of August desired Virginio Orsini to assure the Pope of his devotion "as a good and obedient son". Ferrante may at that time have thought it possible to win Alexander VI, though, considering the existing relations between Naples and Rome, which were such that open war might be declared at any moment, the task was not an easy one.

At the Spanish Court the tension between Rome and Naples excited serious apprehensions. In Spain, Alexander's enterprising disposition was well-known, and he was credited with an ardent desire to accomplish something that should be remembered. While only a Cardinal he had founded the Dukedom of Gandia; and now that he was Pope, what might he not attempt for the aggrandisement of his family?

The Venetians made no secret of their displeasure at Alexander's elevation. Their Ambassador at Milan, spoke very plainly to the Envoy from Ferrara of the means by which the election had been carried. It had been obtained, he said, by shameless simony and fraud; and France and Spain would certainly withhold their obedience when they became aware of this abominable crime. Many of the Cardinals had been bribed by the Pope, but there were ten who had received

nothing, and who were thoroughly disgusted; the hope here insinuated that a schism would ensue was not realised, for almost all the Powers hastened to profess their obedience to the new Pope in the most obsequious terms. Lodovico il Moro had proposed that all the Envoys of the League,—Milan, Naples, Ferrara, and Florence,—should present themselves in Rome together; but the vanity of Piero de' Medici, who was bent on coming to Rome and making his entry with great pomp at the head of the Florentine mission, upset this plan. After the Florentines, followed the representatives of Genoa, Milan, and Venice. According to the custom of the time, these delegates were chosen from the ranks of the most distinguished Humanists and scholars. Thus Florence was represented by Gentile Becchi, and Milan by the celebrated Giason del Maino. The addresses delivered on this occasion were admired as master-pieces of humanistic eloquence, and extensively disseminated through the press. They were crammed with quotations from the classics; but, “though the great qualities of the newly-elected Pope were eulogised in borrowed terms, a real underlying conviction that his gifts were of no common order can be plainly traced.”

In foreign countries a high opinion was entertained of the new Pontiff. The German chronicler, Hartmann Schedel, wrote soon after he came to the throne that the world had much to hope for from the virtues of such a Pope. The new Pope, he says, is a large-minded man, gifted with great prudence, foresight, and knowledge of the world. In his youth he studied at the University of Bologna, and obtained there so great reputation for virtue, learning, and capability that his mother's brother, Pope Calixtus III, made him a Cardinal; and it is a further proof of his worth and talents that he was called at such an early age to a place in this honourable and illustrious assembly, and was also made Vice-Chancellor. Such things being known of him, he was quickly elected to govern and steer the barque of S. Peter. Besides being a man of a noble countenance and bearing, he has, in the first place, the merit of being a Spaniard; secondly, he comes from Valentia; thirdly, he is of an illustrious family. In book-learning, appreciation of Art, and probity of life he is a worthy successor of his uncle, Calixtus of blessed memory. He is affable, trustworthy, prudent, pious, and well-versed in all things appertaining to his exalted position and dignity. Blessed indeed therefore is he adorned with so many virtues and raised to so high a dignity. We trust that he will prove most serviceable to all Christendom, and that in his pilgrimage he will pass safely through the raging surf and the high and dangerous rocks, and finally reach the steps of the heavenly throne.” The Swedish Chancellor, Sten Sture, sent a present of horses and costly furs to Rome as a token of good-will.

The new Pope began his reign in a manner which tended to confirm these good opinions. He at once took measures to secure a strict administration of the laws. This had become exceedingly necessary, as in the short time which had elapsed between the commencement of the illness of Innocent VIII and Alexander's coronation, two hundred and twenty murders had been committed in Rome. Alexander VI ordered a searching investigation into these crimes; he nominated certain men to visit the prisons, and appointed four commissioners to hear complaints in Rome; and on Tuesdays he himself gave audiences to all who had any grievance to bring before him. He endeavoured by the strictest economy to repair the disordered state of the finances, as is proved by the household accounts. The whole monthly expenditure for housekeeping was only

700 ducats. His table was so plain that the Cardinals, unaccustomed to such simple fare, avoided invitations as much as possible. The Ferrarese Envoy, writing in 1495, says : “the Pope has only one course at dinner; he requires this to be of good quality, but Ascanio Sforza and others, such as Cardinal Juan Borgia and Caesar, who, in former days, often dined with him, by no means relish this frugality, and avoid being his guests as much as they can.”

In other points also the new Pope made a favourable impression. He said to the Florentine Envoy on the 16th of August, that he would do his utmost to preserve peace and to be a father to all without distinction. The Envoy from Ferrara reports that Alexander means to reform the Court; there are to be changes in regard to the secretaries and officials connected with the press; his children are to be kept at a distance. The Pope told the Milanese Ambassador that he was resolved to restore peace to Italy, and to unite all Christendom to withstand the Turks; his uncle Calixtus had set him an example on this point which he was determined to follow.

It is probable that there was a moment in which Alexander really entertained the idea of restraining his family ambition and devoting himself to the duties of his office. Unfortunately these good intentions were but short-lived; his inordinate attachment to his family soon burst forth again. To establish the power of the house of Borgia on secure and lasting foundations became the one purpose of his whole life. Even in the Consistory of the 31st August, in which the rewards to the electors were dispensed, Alexander gave the Bishopric of Valencia, which was worth 16,000 ducats, to his son Caesar, although Innocent VIII had already bestowed on him that of Pampeluna. In the same Consistory he made his nephew Juan, the Archbishop of Monreale, Cardinal of Sta. Susanna. Six Legates were also either appointed or confirmed at this Consistory: Giuliano della Rovere to Avignon; Fregoso to Campania; Savelli to Spoleto; Orsini to the Marches; Sforza to Bologna; and Medici to the Patrimony.

Unfortunately for Alexander, as had happened with Calixtus, all his relations immediately flocked to Rome, fully and recklessly determined to make the most of the golden opportunity. Not only his near relations, but all who could in any way claim kinship or friendship with the new Pope, trooped thither to seek their fortunes. Gianandrea Boccaccio, writing to the Duke of Ferrara, declares that “ten Papacies would not have sufficed to provide for all these cousins”. The motive which only too soon brought about a complete and unfortunate revolution in Alexander’s conduct, was in itself not an ignoble one, namely, his affection for his family, and more especially for his children, Caesar, Jofre, and Lucrezia. The latter whose name has become historical, was her father’s greatest favourite. “Chroniclers and historians have conspired with the writers of epigrams, romances, and plays to represent Lucrezia Borgia as one of the most abandoned of her sex, a heroine of the dagger and poison-cup. The times were bad, the Court was bad, the example of her own family detestable, but even if Lucrezia may not have been wholly untainted by the prevailing corruption, she by no means deserves this evil reputation. The most serious accusations against her, rest on stories which, in their foulness and extravagance, surpass the bounds of credibility and even of possibility, or on the lampoons of a society famed for the ruthlessness of its satire. Numbers of well attested facts prove them to be calumnies.” All that is known also of Lucrezia’s

personal appearance is out of harmony with such a character.

All her contemporaries agree in describing her as singularly attractive with a sweet joyousness and charm quite peculiar to herself. "She is of middle height and graceful in form," writes Nicolo Cagnolo of Parma, "her face is rather long, the nose well cut, hair golden, eyes of no special colour; her mouth rather large, the teeth brilliantly white, her neck is slender and fair, the bust admirably proportioned. She is always gay and smiling." Other narrators specially praise her long golden hair. Unfortunately we have no trustworthy portrait of this remarkable woman; at the same time we can gather from some medals which were struck at Ferrara during her stay there, a fair notion of her features. The best of these medals, designed apparently by Filippino Lippi, shows how false the prevailing conception of this woman's character, woven out of partisanship and calumny, has been. The little head with its delicate features is rather charming than beautiful, the expression is maidenly, almost childish, the abundant hair flows down over the shoulders, the large eyes have a far-off look. The character of the face is soft, irresolute and gentle; there is no trace of strong passions; and rather it denotes a weak and passive nature incapable of self-determination. Thus Lucrezia's fate was entirely in the hands of her relations. At eleven years old she was betrothed to a Spanish grandee, Juan de Centelles, and later to Don Gasparo, Count of Aversa. Both of these engagements were broken off. The all-powerful Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, then proposed an alliance with a member of his own family, Giovanni Sforza, Count of Cotignola and Lord of Pesaro, a brilliant offer which Alexander gladly accepted.

Caesar Borgia shared with his sister Lucrezia the smiling countenance and ready laugh which both inherited from their father, however little resemblance there may have been in their characters either to him or to each other. "Caesar possesses distinguished talents and a noble nature," writes the Ferrarese Envoy in 1493, "his bearing is that of the son of a prince; he is singularly cheerful and merry, and seems always in high spirits. He never had any inclination for the priesthood; but his benefices yield more than 16,000 ducats. He was well-versed in the culture of the time, loved Art, and associated with poets and painters and had a poet attached to his court. Personally, however, his taste was rather for war and politics. He combined unusual military and administrative talents with an iron will. Like most of the princes of the day his one aim was to obtain power, and no means were too bad for him provided they would serve his end. When he had got what he wanted he showed his better side. He was a first-rate Condottiere, excelled in all knightly arts, and surpassed the best "Espadas" in a bull-fight; with one blow he completely severed the head of a powerful bull from the trunk. His complexion was swarthy, in his latter years his face was disfigured with blotches. The expression of his eyes which were deep-set and penetrating, betrayed a sinister nature, voluptuous, tyrannical and crafty. All the members of Caesar's household, his servants, and latterly his fighting men and even his executioner were Spaniards; he and his father usually spoke Spanish to each other.

Ferrante had already taken umbrage at the project of an alliance between Sforza and Caesar's sister; and soon, other events occurred which further disturbed the relations between Rome and Naples. King Ladislaus of Hungary had announced that he did not consider his betrothal to Ferrante's daughter binding, and there was reason to believe that the Pope would decide in his

favour. In addition to this family affair, the ambitious projects of Lodovico il Moro were a still more serious cause of apprehension to the King of Naples. Lodovico was bent on dethroning his nephew Giangaleazzo of Milan, who was married to a granddaughter of Ferrante. France was already on his side and he further hoped to secure the assistance of the Pope through his brother Ascanio Sforza, whose influence in Rome was unbounded. Hence the King awaited with feverish anxiety the result of the visit of his second son, Federigo of Aragon, Prince of Altamura, to Rome. He had gone there on the 11th November, 1492, to profess obedience in his father's name, and to persuade the Pope to enter into an alliance with Naples. Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere had prepared a handsome apartment for him in his palace. Federigo proffered his obedience on the 21st December, and on Christmas Day received from the Pope a consecrated sword. On the 10th January, 1493, he left Rome without obtaining anything. There was no chance of an alliance, and in the matter of the betrothal the Pope was not encouraging. Nor indeed was this at all surprising, for just at this moment Alexander had received information of an intrigue against the States of the Church which the King had been carrying on.

After the death of Innocent VIII Franceschetto Cibò had fled to his brother-in-law Piero de' Medici, and from thence endeavoured to sell his property in the Romagna. On the 3rd September, 1492, an arrangement was entered into through the mediation of Ferrante and Piero by which in consideration of a payment of 40,000 ducats, Virginio Orsini became lord of Cervetri and Anguillara. It was clear Virginio could never have produced so large a sum without the assistance of Ferrante. Alexander VI was completely taken by surprise, and fully determined when he heard of the sale, that this important domain should not remain in the hands of a man who had once threatened to throw Innocent VIII into the Tiber. Virginio Orsini was Commander-in-Chief of the Neapolitan army, and altogether on intimate terms with both Naples and Florence. Thus the Pope had good reason to suspect that his neighbours had a hand in the transaction by which the most powerful of the Roman barons obtained an important accession of strength. There was no need of those machinations on the part of Lodovico il Moro and Cardinal Ascanio of which Ferrante complained; the danger to Rome of a power like that of the Prefects of Vico springing up in its near neighbourhood must be patent to every one. When the Pope heard that Virginio's troops had already occupied these cities, he entered a protest before the Cardinals in Consistory, and a formal complaint against Giuliano della Rovere who had favoured the acquisition of this important territory by an enemy of the Holy See. Giuliano replied that it would have been a worse evil to have allowed these cities to fall into the hands of a relation of Cardinal Ascanio. As in the Conclave, so now in the Consistory, Ascanio Sforza and Giuliano della Rovere stood in bitter opposition to each other; the latter could count on the support of Naples and the Orsini and Colonna. Nevertheless he did not feel himself secure in Rome, and retired towards the end of the year to the fort which Sangallo had built for him in Ostia. Ferrante approved of this step and promised his protection to the Cardinal. At Ostia, Giuliano received Federigo of Aragon on his return journey from Rome, and soon after also Virginio Orsini, who promised to support him in every way. The Envoy who relates this adds that Ostia is thoroughly defensible.

The fort of Ostia was in those days supposed to be impregnable; it

commanded the mouth of the Tiber, Giuliano's action in entrenching himself there was a direct menace to the Pope. An incident related by Infessura shows how much alarmed Alexander was. One day he had gone over to the villa Magliana intending to spend the day there; on his arrival a cannon was fired off as a salute which so terrified him that he at once returned to the Vatican; he apprehended an attack from some of Giuliano's adherents and thought the shot was a preconcerted signal.

At this time Civita Vecchia was fortified by his orders, which is another proof that he was thoroughly frightened. Disturbances also began to appear in the States of the Church, in which Ferrante and Piero de' Medici seemed to have a hand, and this further inclined the Pope to look favourably on a proposal suggested by Ascanio Sforza and Lodovico il Moro, for entering into a defensive alliance with Venice. The King of Naples now became uneasy and put forth all his diplomatic skill to prevent this. In March 1493, he sent the Abbot Rugio to Rome, to settle the dispute about Cervetri and Anguillara, and other Envoys to Florence and Milan with the same object. Overtures were made for a marriage between Caesar Borgia, who wished to return to secular life, and a daughter of the King; later, negotiations were begun for a marriage between Caesar's younger brother Jofre and a Princess of the house of Aragon. This proposal was eagerly accepted by Ferrante; but both projects soon fell through; probably Ascanio had a hand in bringing this about. Ferrante complained bitterly; "the Pope ought to consider," he wrote, "that we have come to years of discretion, and have no notion of allowing him to lead us by the nose." At the same time he kept up close communications with Giuliano della Rovere and threw troops into the Abruzzi. The treaty between Alexander, Venice and Milan was now concluded. On the 25th April, 1493, the new League, in which Siena, Ferrara, and Mantua were included, was announced in Rome; Milan and Venice engaged at once to send several hundred men to help the Pope against Virginio Orsini.

Meanwhile Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere still remained at Ostia. A Milanese Envoy reports on the 7th of March, 1493, that he never went out of the Castle without a strong escort.

Later, Giuliano asked Ferrante's advice as to some other strong place to which he might retire. All this time the Neapolitan King was doing his utmost to stir up the other Cardinals who sided with Rovere, and urge them on to resist the Pope's project of creating new Cardinals. In June he privately informed them that his troops were ready, in case of need, to support them against the Pope. At the same time, Ferrante despatched a letter to Antonio d'Alessandro, his Envoy at the Court of Spain, vehemently protesting his innocence, and accusing the Pope of being the only true disturber of the peace. Alexander's main object in all his policy, he said, was to stir up scandals and strife in Italy; his purpose in his nomination of new Cardinals, was merely to raise money in order to attack Naples. "Alexander VI" he writes, "has no respect for the holy Chair which he occupies, and leads such a life that every one turns away from him with horror; he cares for nothing but the aggrandisement of his children by fair means or by foul. All his thoughts and all his actions are directed to this one end. What he wants is war; from the first moment of his reign till now, he has never ceased persecuting me. There are more soldiers than priests in Rome; the Pope thinks of nothing but war and rapine. His cousins (the Sforzas) are of the same mind, all their desire is to tyrannise over the Papacy so that when the

present occupant dies they may be able to do what they like with it. Rome will become a Milanese camp.”

A few months later, Ferrante entered into the closest relations with this same much abused Pope. Of course there can be no doubt that the charges against Alexander's conduct were well-founded. The proof is not far to seek. On the 12th June, 1493, marriage of Lucrezia Borgia with Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro was celebrated at the Vatican with great pomp, in the presence of Alexander VI. At the wedding feast the Pope and twelve Cardinals sat down at table with the ladies who were present, among whom was the notorious Giulia Farnese. “When the banquet was over” says the Ferrarese Envoy, “the ladies danced, and as an interlude, we had an excellent play with much singing and music. The Pope and all the others were there. What more can I say? my letter would never end were I to describe it all; thus we spent the whole night, whether well or ill, I will leave to your Highness to determine.”

Directly after these festivities, Diego Lopez de Haro, Ambassador of Ferdinand the Catholic, arrived in Rome to tender his obedience. According to Infessura, Lopez availed himself of this opportunity (June 19, 1493), to express the dissatisfaction of the King, who lived in internecine conflict with the infidels, at the breaches of the peace in Italy, and to require that the Marani (crypto-Jews) who had been allowed to establish themselves in Rome, should be expelled. According to the same authority, the Ambassador also demanded the surplus revenues, amounting to over 100 ducats, from the Spanish benefices, for the King, to assist him in his war with the infidels; if this were refused, the King would find means to take it without leave. He adds, that Diego Lopez complained of the simony which prevailed in Rome, and warned the Pope not to give away anything of more value than a parish benefice. The rest of his observations in regard to the reform of the Church, says Infessura, I pass over. On the other hand, not a word of all this is to be found in Burchard, who was present at the Ambassador's audience. As it is in itself extremely improbable that an Ambassador sent to tender obedience should have exceeded his commission in this way, grave doubts must rest upon this story of Infessura. The statement of the Spanish historian Zurita, who only says that Lopez told the Pope that the King looked upon the affairs of Naples and of the House of Aragon as his own, is probably nearer to the truth.

Ferrante was naturally greatly rejoiced at this declaration on the part of the Spanish Ambassador. He saw clearly, however, that there was nothing in this to warrant any relaxation in his efforts to counteract Lodovico il Moro's plans, for obtaining through the mediation of his brother Ascanio, the investiture of Naples from the Pope for the King of France, and continued to labour with feverish energy to avert this danger. Towards the end of June he again sent his second son, Federigo of Altamura, to Rome to endeavour to arrange the affairs of Anguillara and detach the Pope from the League. He now adopted a menacing attitude. Federigo joined the party of the Cardinals of the opposition, attaching himself especially to Cardinal della Rovere, while Alfonso of Calabria with his troops threatened the frontier of the States of the Church. The immediate effect of these measures, however, was to increase the influence of Ascanio Sforza. Ferrante then resolved to try other tactics. Federigo, who was at Ostia negotiating with the Cardinals of the Opposition, della Rovere, Savelli and Colonna, desired to return to Rome, at any price, to get the Orsini affair set

to rights, to promise the payment of the investiture tribute without delay, and to conclude a family alliance with the Borgia before the French Ambassador Perron de Baschi could arrive in Rome. The matrimonial projects for Jofre Borgia again came to the fore. He was to marry Sancia a natural daughter of Duke Alfonso of Calabria, and to receive with her the principality of Squillace and the countship of Coriata; the engagement was to be kept secret till Christmas. At the same time the Spanish Ambassador proposed a marriage between Juan Borgia, second Duke of Gandia, and Maria, daughter of King Ferdinand's uncle.

It was not in Alexander's power to withstand the bait of such advantageous offers for his belongings. At the same moment, also his allies in the League, Venice and Milan, adopted an attitude which seemed to threaten ultimate desertion, and this made him all the more ready to lend a willing ear to these proposals. The only remaining difficulty now was to come to a satisfactory arrangement with Virginio Orsini and Giuliano della Rovere. After much discussion the former agreed to pay 35,000 ducats to the Pope, and in return received from him the investiture of Cervetri and Anguillara. At the same time a reconciliation between Giuliano della Rovere and Alexander was effected. On the 24th July, Cardinal della Rovere and Virginio came to Rome, and both dined with the Pope. On the 1st August, Federigo was able to announce to his father that Alexander had signed the articles of agreement. On the 2nd of August his much-loved son Juan, Duke of Gandia, gorgeously equipped, set out for Spain to be united to his Spanish bride.

A few days later Perron de Baschi arrived in Rome to demand the investiture of Naples for Charles VIII. The Pope sent an answer couched in vague terms, and in the subsequent private audience his language was equally indecisive. The French Envoy had to depart on the 9th August without having accomplished his mission.

Ferrante now flattered himself that the dreaded storm had blown over. He wrote in high spirits to his Envoy in France. "When Perron de Baschi gets back to France, many projects will have to be given up, and many illusions will be dissipated. Be of good cheer, for perfect harmony now reigns between me and the Pope." On the 17th of August the deed of investiture was ready for Virginio Orsini; on the previous day Jofre Borgia had been married by procuration to Sancia the daughter of Alfonso of Calabria. Alexander communicated the arrangement in regard to Cervetri and Anguillara to Lodovico il Moro on the 21st of August. Eight days before this a Milanese Envoy had written home "Some people think that the Pope has lost his head since his elevation; as far as I can see, the exact contrary is the case. He has negotiated a League which made the King of Naples groan; he has contrived to marry his daughter to a Sforza, who, besides his pension from Milan, possesses a yearly income of 12,000 ducats; he has humbled Virginio Orsini and obliged him to pay; and has brought King Ferrante to enter into a family connection with himself. Does this look like a man whose intellect is decaying? Alexander intends to enjoy his power in peace and quietude." As to Cardinal Ascanio, the writer believes that he will not lose his influence, in spite of the favour which Giuliano della Rovere now enjoys. He was mistaken in this, however, for the immediate result of the Pope's reconciliation with Ferrante, Giuliano and the Orsini, was the temporary disgrace of the hitherto all-powerful Cardinal Ascanio who was forced to leave

the Vatican.

Meanwhile, the relations between Alexander VI and Ferrante had, very soon after their reconciliation, been again disturbed, had then improved for a short time, but quickly changed anew for the worse. In any case it must have disagreeably affected Ferrante to find that in the nomination of the new Cardinals on September 20th, 1493, his was the only important State which was not represented.

Raimondo Peraudi was recommended by Maximilian of Austria; Charles VIII asked for Jean de la Grolaie, Ferdinand of Spain for Bernaldino Lopez de Carvajal. A Cardinal was given to England in the person of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury; Venice had the eminent theologian, Domenico Grimani; Milan, Bernardino Lunati; Rome was represented by Alessandro Farnese (hitherto head of the Treasury) and Giuliano Cesarini; Ferrara had Ippolito d'Este. The Archbishop of Cracow, Frederick Casimir, was made Cardinal at the request of King Ladislaus of Hungary, and King Albert of Poland. Alexander added Caesar Borgia, and Giovanni Antonio Sangiorgio, Bishop of Alessandria, noted for his great juridical learning and the blamelessness of his life.

In these first nominations of Alexander there is in the main, nothing to find fault with; the various nationalities were all considered, and many both able and worthy men are to be found among the new Cardinals. The elevation of Ippolito d'Este aged only fifteen, and that of Caesar Borgia who was far more fit to be a soldier than an ecclesiastic, cannot of course be defended. Sigismondo de' Conti says that Alessandro Farnese was nominated at the request of the Romans, while other writers speak of an unlawful connection between Alexander VI and Farnese's sister Giulia (*la bella*). "If this was the case, Farnese's personal worth was such as to give him the means of causing this questionable beginning to be soon forgotten."

The creation of these Cardinals on 20th September, 1493, was a great addition to Alexander's power and a terrible blow to the Cardinals of the opposition. They could not contain themselves for rage, while the crafty Ferrante, with an eye to the future, took pains to conceal his annoyance. Giuliano della Rovere especially was furious, and now quarrelled again with the Pope. When the news was brought to him at Marino, he uttered a loud exclamation, and fell ill with anger. The Milanese Envoy writes in great delight, 24th September: "Words would fail me to describe the honour which this success has brought to your Highness and Cardinal Ascanio." On the 28th September the latter informs his brother: "The Cardinals of the opposition continue their demonstrations against the Pope. Cardinal Caraffa keeps away from Rome. Costa intends to retire to Monte Oliveto. Giuliano is as he was; Fregoso and Conti follow him. Nothing is to be heard of Piccolomini. Such being the state of things, the Pope fears there may be disturbances, and would be glad of your Highness's advice."

CHAPTER II.

ALLIANCE BETWEEN ALFONSO II OF NAPLES AND ALEXANDER VI.

FLIGHT OF CARDINAL GIULIANO DELLA ROVERE TO FRANCE.—INVASION OF ITALY BY CHARLES VIII.

As the year 1493 drew to its close, signs of a fresh rupture between Ferrante of Naples and Alexander VI began to appear. On the 5th December, Ferrante complained of the too amicable relations between the Pope and the King of France; and on the 18th he wrote a letter to his Envoy in Rome, in which the facts of the case are somewhat distorted. "We and our father," he says, "have always been obedient to the Popes, and yet, one and all, they have invariably done us as much mischief as they could; and now, although this Pope is a countryman of our own, it is impossible to live with him a single day in peace and quietude. We know not why he persists in quarrelling with us; it must be the will of Heaven, for it seems to be our fate to be harassed by all the Popes." All the latter correspondence of the King is filled with complaints against Alexander VI, who, he says, breaks all his promises, and does nothing to hinder the designs of the French against Naples. Through all the bluster, however, we detect a secret hope, which he never relinquishes, of eventually winning Alexander's friendship.

Ferrante instinctively felt that the catastrophe could no longer be averted, and that the kingdom which he had built up at the cost of so much bloodshed was doomed. The marriage of Maximilian of Austria with Bianca Sforza was to him an additional reason for being on his guard against Lodovico il Moro. The last months of Ferrante's life were full of care and anxiety. On the 27th of January, 1494, the news of his death reached Rome. The question of the moment now was, what line the Pope would adopt in regard to the new King, Alfonso II. Charles VIII at once despatched an embassy to Rome. If Alexander seemed inclined to be favourable to Alfonso, he was to be threatened with a General Council. At the same time the French King entered into communication with Giuliano della Rovere, whose friendship with the Savelli, the Colonna, and Virginio Orsini, made him one of the most dangerous enemies of the Holy See.

Meanwhile, in the Pope's cabinet the Neapolitan question was already decided. Alfonso had done everything in his power to win Alexander; he not only paid the tribute about which his father had made so many difficulties, but undertook to continue it in the future, and persuaded Virginio Orsini to promise complete submission to the Pope. As early as the first week in February, Alexander warned the French Envoys against any attack upon Naples, and at the same time wrote a letter to the King, in which he expressed surprise that Charles

should entertain designs against a Christian power when a close union between all European States was indispensable in order to resist the Turks. To mitigate this rebuff, the Golden Rose was sent to him on the 8th March, 1494. On the 14th the Neapolitan embassy, consisting of the Archbishop of Naples, Alessandro Caraffa, the Marquess of Gerace, the Count of Potenza, and Antonio d'Alessandro arrived and made their obedience privately on the 20th. Two days later a Consistory was held, at which a Bull was read containing the Pope's formal decision in favour of the House of Aragon. Innocent VIII had already granted the investiture of Naples to Alfonso as Duke of Calabria, and now this could not be revoked. When Alfonso also complied with Alexander's demands in regard to the Duke of Gandia and Jofre Borgia, a further step in his favour was taken. At a Consistory on the 18th of April, the Pope commissioned Cardinal Juan Borgia to crown Alfonso at Naples. The Consistory lasted eight hours; the Cardinals of the opposition protested vehemently; the French Envoy threatened a General Council. All was in vain. On the same day the Bull appointing the Legate for the Coronation was drawn up.

Great was the astonishment and dismay at the French Court at Alexander's defection. Letters came from them announcing that Charles VIII would withdraw his obedience, and that all French benefices would be taken away from the Cardinals who sided with the Pope, and given to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza.

Another danger for Alexander was to be feared from the Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere. Already, on March 8, in a despatch in cypher of the Milanese Envoy, Taberna, the possibility is suggested of detaching this Cardinal from Naples and winning him over to the French cause, and thus attacking the Pope from the ecclesiastical side. Secret negotiations in this direction were begun. On the 26th of March Giuliano came to Rome; but even before the Consistory of April 28 he again betook himself to Ostia, whence he proceeded to enter into close relations with the Colonna. "If Cardinal Giuliano can be got to ally himself with France," writes Taberna on the 2nd May, "a tremendous weapon will have been forged against the Pope." And this was accomplished.

On the 24th April, 1494, the news was brought to Alexander that Giuliano had fled on the preceding night in a ship, with a retinue of twenty persons, leaving the fort of Ostia provisioned for two years, under the charge of the prefect of the city, Giovanni della Rovere. The Pope immediately sent to the Neapolitan Envoy to request the King's help to enable him to recover this important post, which commanded the mouth of the Tiber. A similar command was despatched to the Orsini and the Count of Pitigliano, who arrived on the evening of the 25th. "Ammunition and troops," says the Mantuan Envoy on the following day, "are being collected in all directions to act against Ostia." Strong as it was, the fort did not hold out long. By the end of May it had capitulated through the mediation of Fabrizio Colonna. "The conquest of this fortress was of the highest importance to the Pope. Ostia was the key to the Tiber, and communication by sea was absolutely necessary to the security of the alliance with Naples."

Alfonso was crowned in Naples by Cardinal Juan Borgia on the 8th of May. On the previous day the marriage of Jofre Borgia with Sancia had been solemnised. Jofre became Prince of Squillace, with an income of 40,000 ducats;

his brothers Juan and Caesar were not forgotten. The former received the principality of Tricarico and the latter sundry valuable benefices.

Cardinal Giuliano had in the first instance fled to Genoa, from whence Lodovico il Moro enabled him to proceed to France. He went first to his episcopal palace at Avignon, and then to the camp of Charles VIII, who had already, on the 17th of March, announced his intention of starting for Italy, long before the arrival of Giuliano, which did not take place till the 1st of June. The Cardinal's vehement representations, now added to the entreaties of the Neapolitan refugees and the intrigues of Lodovico il Moro, materially contributed to hasten the French invasion.

This alliance between Giuliano and the French King threatened a serious danger for Alexander VI. From the beginning the enemies of the Pope had counted upon the Cardinal to carry the war into the purely ecclesiastical domain. Accordingly, the King at once informed Rovere that he desired to have him at his side at his meeting with the Pope, when the question of the reform of the Church would be broached. Giuliano himself openly declared the necessity of calling a Council to proceed against Alexander VI. There could be no doubt of the effect this must produce upon the Pope. "His simoniacal election was the secret terror of his whole life. He dreaded above all things the use that might be made of this blot in his title to the Papacy, by the Cardinals of the opposition and his other enemies to bring about his downfall, in view of the universal feeling of the crying need of reform in the Church. In addition to this, the Gallican tendencies in France threatened the power of the Church, both materially and spiritually. Hence, when Ascanio Sforza, in a letter in cypher to his brother on the 18th June, says that the Pope is in the greatest alarm at the efforts of Cardinal Giuliano to support the calling of a Council and the Pragmatic Sanction, his statement is in all probability perfectly true. Alexander's dismay could not be concealed, when in May Charles's Envoys arrived in Rome, to assert the right of their master to the throne of Naples and demand his investiture. By his orders they were treated with all possible consideration. In his reply the Pope spoke of reconsidering the evidence in favour of the rights of the King. The Envoys, however, saw plainly that Alexander meant to adhere to his alliance with Naples, and occupied themselves with preparing the way in secret for stirring up troubles in the States of the Church by subsidising Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna as well as other Roman nobles. It was Ascanio Sforza who had brought about the defection of the Colonna; on the 28th of June he betook himself to their strongholds. The Pope had an enemy in his own house, says Sigismondo de' Conti; his army was insignificant, and he could not expect any effectual help either from the King of the Romans or from any other European power. The loyalty of the more distant parts of the States of the Church, such, for instance, as Bologna, was very doubtful. It was not surprising, therefore, that the Pope's alarm almost bordered on despair, and the steps which he took to defend himself betrayed these sentiments.

His ally, Alfonso, was already on friendly terms with the Sultan Bajazet. The Pope made no objection to this, and on May 12th wrote a letter to Bajazet, bespeaking his goodwill for Naples. In June, Alexander requested Bajazet to send the accustomed yearly payment (40,000 ducats) for Dschem, as the money was needed to enable him to defend himself against Charles VIII. His messenger, the Genoese, Giorgio Bocciardo, was commissioned to inform the

Sultan that the French King intended to get Dschem into his hands, in order, when he had conquered Naples, to set him up as sovereign at Constantinople. Bocciardo was also to beg the Sultan to persuade Venice to abandon her attitude of strict neutrality, and take an active part in withstanding Charles. Later, the Pope made another attempt, through his Legate in the same direction, but in vain. Alexander and the King of Naples found themselves completely isolated in presence of the French invasion. They met at Vicovaro on the 14th July, to arrange their plan of operations. It was agreed that Alfonso, with a portion of his forces should occupy Tagliacozzo, while Virginio Orsini was to remain in the Campagna, to hold the Colonna in check. The mass of the Neapolitan and Papal troops, supported by the Florentines under Alfonso's eldest son, Ferrantino, Duke of Calabria, were to march into the Romagna, and from thence threaten Lombardy; Federigo of Aragon, the King's brother, was Admiral of the fleet which was intended to conquer Genoa.

If this plan had been quickly and resolutely carried out, it might have succeeded. But from the very beginning the reverse was the case. The attitude of the Bolognese caused the Pope great anxiety; and that of his own immediate surroundings, many of whom had been tampered with by Charles VIII, was even more unsatisfactory. At the end of August he commanded the Cardinals who had fled from Rome to return under pain of losing their benefices, but without effect. Ascanio Sforza remained with the Colonna, and Giuliano della Rovere with the French. Both said openly that Alexander had not been lawfully elected, and must be deposed.

Charles VIII, secure of the friendship of Lodovico il Moro and of the neutrality of Venice, had advanced, on August 23, 1494, as far as Grenoble. Shortly before this he had commanded all French prelates to leave Rome, and had strictly forbidden any money to be sent thither. On the 29th August he took leave of the Queen, and on the 3rd September he crossed the frontier between France and Savoy, with the avowed object of making good by force of arms the old, but unjustifiable, claims of the House of Anjou to the Crown of Naples.

The strength of the French army, which included several thousand Swiss, has been much exaggerated. A careful investigator estimates the land forces at 31,500 men, with 10,400 on board the ships, and, for the Italy of those days, a considerable force of artillery. The young commander of this army was a small and weakly man, with a large head and puny limbs. "The French King," wrote the Venetian ambassador, Zaccaria Contarini, "is insignificant in appearance; he has an ugly face, large lustreless eyes, which see badly, an enormous hooked nose, and thick lips which are always open. He stutters and has a disagreeable, convulsive twitching in his hands, which are never still." The hideous head of this ungainly little man, whose physical defects made him doubly repulsive to the artistic temperament of the Italians, was teeming with the most ambitious projects. He proposed to conquer the kingdom of Naples, "to possess himself of the Italian peninsula between the new French state and the continent; to attain imperial dignity, whether in the East or the West, remained for the present undetermined; to make the Papacy again dependent on France, and himself the master of Europe." It is difficult to believe that he could have entertained any serious hopes of conquering Jerusalem in the course of his intended expedition against the Turks; but there is no doubt that the attack upon Italy, always such a tempting object to a conqueror, was entirely his own doing. Charles

encountered nothing but opposition and discouragement from his councillors and generals, who had not the slightest desire to embark in a bloody war of subjugation; but the King carried his purpose, and commenced an undertaking, the result of which was to effect a complete alteration in the relations which had hitherto obtained between the southern and south-western states of Europe.

CHAPTER III. CHARLES VIII BEFORE ROME

Presto vedrai sommerso ogni tiranno,
E tutta Italia vedrai conquistata
Con sua vergogna e vituperio e danno.
Roma, tu sarai presto captivata ;
Vedo venir in te coltel dell' ira,
E tempo è breve e vola ogni giornata.

Vuol renovar la Chiesa el mio Signore
E convertir ogni barbara gente,
E sarà un ovile et un pastore.
Ma prima Italia tutta fia dolente,
E tanto sangue in essa s'ha a versare,
Che rara fia per tutto la sua gente.

THESE lines by Fra Benedetto are a summary of the prophecies of his master, Savonarola. In his Lent sermons of the year 1494, the great preacher had announced the coming of a new Cyrus, who would lead his army in triumph through the whole of Italy, without breaking a lance or meeting with any resistance.

This “resuscitated Cyrus” made his entry into Turin on September 5, 1494. Had he been the acknowledged sovereign of Savoy, his welcome could not have been more brilliant or joyous. Throughout the whole country he was equally well

received. At Chieri the children came out to meet him, carrying banners bearing the French arms; and at Asti he was greeted by Lodovico Sforza, Ercole of Ferrara, and Giuliano della Rovere. The French King, on his side, did his best to impress the lively imagination of the Italians, and the white silken standard of the army bore the mottoes *Voluntas Dei*, and *Missus a Deo* interwoven with the Royal arms.

During his stay at Asti the news arrived of the victory of his brother-in-law, Louis of Orleans, at Rapallo, over Federigo of Aragon; the moral effect in Italy of this success was immense. At that moment the progress of the expedition was temporarily checked by the sudden illness of Charles. He soon recovered, however, and it was plain that he had not relinquished his plans. On the 14th October, he entered Pavia in triumph; on the 18th he was in Piacenza, where an Envoy from the Pope made vain endeavours to come to an agreement on the Neapolitan claim. At Piacenza he heard of the death of the unfortunate Giangaleazzo, Duke of Milan. By this event Lodovico il Moro obtained the Ducal throne of Milan, which had been for so long the object of his desires. Shortly after, the news arrived that Caterina Sforza and her son Ottaviano had declared for France. This was the beginning of troubles for Alexander and Alfonso in the Romagna itself. About the same time the French troops crossed the Apennines by the Col de la Cisa, and encamped before the Florentine fortress of Sarzana. As the news spread of this irresistible stream of foreign barbarians pouring unchecked into Italy, it created indescribable consternation throughout the country. The Italians were used to the game of brag played by the mercenary troops; but now they found themselves face to face with war in earnest, with all its horrors and bloodshed. Rumour magnified the army into a host that could not be counted, and told tales of giants and savages, and invincible weapons. In Rome the alarm was aggravated by the revolt of the Colonna and Savelli instigated by Ascanio Sforza. On the 18th of September Ostia was treacherously handed over to the Colonna, who immediately hoisted the French flag. French galleys soon began to appear at the mouth of the Tiber, which made the occupation of Ostia still more serious for Alexander. In dread lest he should lose more cities in the States of the Church, the Pope, after a consultation with Virginio Orsini, determined to declare war against the rebels. On the 6th October an ultimatum was sent to them, commanding them to lay down their arms; troops were collected, and it was decided that Cardinal Piccolomini should be sent to Charles VIII. The French King, in a letter to his Envoy at Rome, announced that the Colonna were under his protection; and at the same time informed the Pope that he had bound himself by a vow to visit the Holy Places in Rome, and hoped to be there by Christmas.

It was fortunate for Alexander that the Colonna had but few fighting-men; there was no want of will on their part to do him as much mischief as possible. A conspiracy was discovered which aimed at nothing less than the seizure of Dschem, a revolution in Rome, and the imprisonment of the Pope; simultaneously with this there was to be a rising in the southern parts of the States of the Church. Alexander and Alfonso took measures to protect themselves; Dschem was shut up in the Castle of S. Angelo, the Colonna were outlawed and troops sent against them. Although they were not powerful enough to carry out their plans in their entirety, their revolt had the effect of preventing the King of Naples from employing all his forces against the French

in the Romagna.

Meanwhile Charles VIII had entered Tuscany. There was so little attempt at resistance that the French were amazed at their good fortune. Commynes repeatedly exclaims that God himself was with them. The veil of aesthetic culture which had hitherto partially concealed the moral and political corruption of Italy was rent asunder, its utter disunion, and the shortsighted selfishness of the various states became glaringly apparent. Piero de' Medici, on the 26th October, presented himself at the French camp and quietly yielded up all his fortified cities to the conqueror without ever drawing a sword. This dastardly act, however, instead of saving him, proved his ruin. "The sword has arrived," cried Savonarola, on the 1st November, from his pulpit in the Cathedral in Florence; "the prophecies are on the eve of their fulfilment, retribution is beginning; God is the leader of this host." To the eloquent Dominican it was due that, in spite of the universal excitement, so few excesses were committed in Florence, and the inevitable overthrow of the Medici was so quietly effected. On the 9th of November the Florentines rose with the war cry, "The people and liberty, down with the Balls" (the Medici arms). Piero and his brother, the Cardinal, fled, and their palace, with all the art-treasures which it contained, was plundered by the populace.

Charles VIII entered Lucca on the 8th November, and it was here that Cardinal Piccolomini, who had been sent by Alexander VI to endeavour to come to terms, found him but the French King refused to see him, saying that he was coming to Rome in order to treat with the Pope himself. Alexander could have no illusions as to what this meant. On the 4th November Piccolomini had written to him from Lucca that the French proclaimed that their King was coming to Rome "to reform the Church." On the 9th November Charles was welcomed at Pisa by the citizens, as their liberator from the tyranny of Florence. Here he received Savonarola and the Florentine deputation. Savonarola greeted him as the most Christian King, the messenger of God sent to deliver Italy out of her distresses and to reform the Church. At the same time, he warned Charles that he must be merciful, especially towards Florence, otherwise God would punish him severely.

On the 17th November, the French army entered Florence, which was decked in festal array to receive it. The mob shouted "Viva Francia"; at night the city was illuminated. After the festivities came the negotiations, which were not easy to arrange. After a good deal of discussion, it was agreed that Charles should be given the title of protector and restorer of the liberties of the Florentines, and should receive 12,000 golden florins. He was not to retain the fortified places which Piero had yielded for more than two years, and was to deliver them up before that time if the war with Naples were concluded earlier. The Medici were to remain in exile.

It was about this time that Cardinal Giuliano's brother fell upon Bocciardo, who was on his way home accompanied by a Turkish Envoy bringing the annual pension for Dschem, ten miles before they reached Ancona, and succeeded in getting possession of all his letters and the money. The manifesto to all Christian nations, written in the style of an Emperor and Pope rolled into one, which Charles VIII issued on the 22nd of November, has been connected with this occurrence. In this document he declared that the object of his expedition

was not conquest, but simply following in the footsteps of his predecessors, the overthrow of the Turks and the liberation of the Holy Land. He only desired to recover possession of his Neapolitan kingdom in order to accomplish this. He asked nothing from the Pope but a free passage through the States of the Church, and supplies for his troops on their march; if this were refused, he would take it without leave. He protested beforehand against being held responsible for any ill consequences that might ensue, and, if necessary, would renew this protest before all the princes in Christendom, whom he purposed to summon to join him in his expedition against the Turks. This manifesto was published in Latin and French, and soon after translated into German, and disseminated through the press.

Charles's manifesto contained for Alexander a hardly-veiled threat of a Council and deposition. It was the strongest pressure that the King could put upon him; and Charles, knowing how apprehensive he was on this point, had good reason to hope that it would prove effectual.

The Pope had completely broken down before the rapid progress of the French, and the extreme improbability of help being forthcoming, either from Venice or from any other quarter. The King of Naples urged him to proceed against Charles and Lodovico il Moro with spiritual weapons, but Alexander could not make up his mind to this. Alfonso complained to the Florentine Envoy of the Pope's niggardliness and nepotism, and of his cowardice. It is easy to see from the reports of this Ambassador that the King no longer felt secure of the Pope's support. Alexander was, indeed, in great difficulties. The rebellion of the Barons made the neighbourhood of Rome thoroughly insecure; French ships were continually bringing reinforcements to the defenders of Ostia, and to the Colonna and Savelli. All the Pope's enemies were unwearied in proclaiming that the French King was going to summon a Council and have the Pope deposed. The manifesto of November 22nd showed what Charles's dispositions were; and at his side stood Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere to bear witness, as no one better could, to the simony by which his election had been secured. His heart sank within him at the future that lay before him. Sanudo expressly mentions this terror of his, lest Charles should determine to depose him and set up an anti-Pope.

Under these circumstances it appeared not impossible, even at the last moment, to win Alexander over for France. Two attempts were made in this direction. On the 2nd of November, Ascanio Sforza came to Rome and had several long conversations with the Pope; the first lasted five hours, and did not conclude till midnight. Ascanio enumerated all the dangers that were to be feared from the French King, and tried to persuade Alexander to adopt a neutral attitude. The Pope is said to have replied that he would rather sacrifice his crown, his dominions, and even his life, than abandon Alfonso. It is certain that at that time he thought of making his escape from Rome, and enquired at Venice whether he might hope to find a refuge there. Some people thought they perceived an air of satisfaction in Ascanio's demeanour when he was leaving Rome, which convinced them that he had come to an understanding with the Pope. This, however, was not the case. A few days later Pandolfo Collenuccio, acting on behalf of the Duke of Ferrara, made another attempt to persuade Alexander to side with France; but he emphatically declared that he would rather leave Rome, and even give up both life and crown than become the slave

of the French King, who was bent on being master of the whole of Italy. When the news arrived, on November 14, that Charles had refused to receive Piccolomini, the French Cardinal Peraudi was immediately appointed Legate, and despatched to the King. He was commissioned to inform Charles VIII that Alexander would come to meet him, in order to consult with him about the proposed Crusade; but the crafty King declined this great honour, saying that he wished to do homage to the Pope in the Holy Father's own palace. At the same time, he succeeded in talking over Cardinal Peraudi, who was really eager for the Crusade, and winning him to his side. Thus Alexander found his policy defeated on every side. As a last resource he sent a third Legate, Cardinal Sanseverino, who had been in France, and belonged to the party of Ascanio, to arrest if possible the onward march of the French. But Charles informed him that he had resolved to keep Christmas with the Pope in Rome, and there to treat with the Holy Father in person. In great haste Sanseverino hurried back to Rome—he only took 36 hours to accomplish the 100 miles from Siena—to bring this news to the Pope. Soon after, came the alarming announcement that Viterbo had opened her gates to the enemy, the Papal governor had fled, and Virginio Orsini with his troops had arrived too late. The advance of the French was so rapid and unexpected that Giulia Farnese, who was travelling, fell into the hands of the enemy, but was soon released at Alexander's request. The Envoy who relates this closes his report with the words : "The French King will not meet with the smallest resistance in Rome".

The Pope continued to cast about on all sides to find some one who would deliver him from this terrible Pilgrim. On the 24th November he sent for Maximilian's Ambassador, the Prince of Anhalt. Charles VIII, he said, not only aimed at the conquest of all the Emperor's possessions in Italy, but at obtaining the imperial dignity for himself. Even with the knife at his throat he, the Pope, would never consent to this. Hence he desired the Ambassador to urge the King of the Romans to come forward as the protector of the Church. He also implored the Venetian Envoys to stand by him.

The excitement in Rome increased from day to day. The city was blockaded on the sea-side by Ostia and on the land by the Colonna, and food was already beginning to become scarce. The gates of the city were closed with chains and some were walled up; S. Angelo was put in a state of defence. It was said that Alexander would fly to Venice or Naples, to escape being deposed by the French. Cardinal Sanseverino advised the Pope to try for a reconciliation with Ascanio Sforza, who was on the most intimate terms with Charles VIII. This was attempted, and on the 2nd December, Ascanio again came to Rome; Cardinals Sanseverino and Lunati conducted the negotiations, in his name with Juan de Lopez, the Pope's confidant; they seemed to be on the point of coming to an agreement, in accordance with which Sforza and Prospero Colonna were to march against Viterbo. When, on the 9th December, Sforza and Colonna were preparing to depart, they, together with the two Cardinals, were arrested and put in prison by the Pope's orders; and the French Ambassador was informed that passage through the States of the Church could not be granted to Charles VIII. What could have induced Alexander to act in this manner? The reason is not far to seek. The Duke of Calabria, Giulio Orsini, and the Count of Pitigliano were encamped with the Neapolitan army before Rome. On the 10th December they entered the city. Alexander hoped, through the imprisonment of Prospero

Colonna and the Cardinals, to regain his power over Ostia, and to induce the inhabitants of the Campagna to rise against the French. Neither of these hopes were realised. Charles VIII steadily advanced, meeting with no serious resistance anywhere, and favoured by the unusual mildness of the winter.

The more the Pope saw of the Neapolitan army the more convinced he became that it was no match for the French. Consequently, the more distinguished Germans and Spaniards in the city were requested to undertake the military organisation of their countrymen; Burchard, the Prefect of Ceremonies at the Papal Court, called the Germans together at the Hospital of the Anima. The assembly resolved not to comply with the Pope's wish, because the German corps would have to be under the orders of the city authorities. Alexander grew more and more helpless from hour to hour. "At one moment he wanted to defend himself, the next to come to terms; then, again, he thought of leaving the city." On the 18th December Burchard relates that everything in the Vatican, down to the bedding and table service, was packed for flight; all valuables had been sent to S. Angelo; the Cardinals' horses were standing ready to start. On the same day, the Milanese Envoy writes that he is convinced that Alexander intends to fly from Rome that night, taking the imprisoned Cardinals with him. After all the Pope did not fly, probably because now, flight was hardly possible.

On the 17th December, Civita Vecchia was taken by the French; and on the same day a still more disastrous event occurred; the Orsini went over to the French King and admitted him to their strong castle of Bracciano, where he set up his head-quarters. It was on the 19th also that the first French outposts appeared on Monte Mario. From the windows of the Vatican the Pope could see the enemy's cavalry galloping their horses in the meadows under S. Angelo. Cardinal Sanseverino was now released, in order to treat with Charles VIII. Meanwhile the scarcity in Rome was becoming intolerable. The Romans sent word to the Pope that if he did not come to terms with Charles within two days, they would themselves admit him into the city. The Duke of Calabria advised Alexander to fly to Naples, and promised him 50,000 ducats a year and the fortress of Gaeta. To give effect to this proposal a deed was drawn up and was only awaiting the Pope's signature, when, at the last moment, he again changed his mind. He determined to release Cardinal Sforza, to give up resisting and irritating the French King, and permit him to enter the city. On the morning of Christmas-day he informed the Cardinals and the Duke of Calabria of this decision. Charles VIII granted to the latter a letter of safe conduct, with which the Duke and his troops left Rome the same day, going in the first instance to Tivoli and then to Terracina. During the night three French Envoys had entered Rome; their suite coolly took possession of the places in the chapel reserved for the prelates. The pedantic Prefect of Ceremonies, Burchard, wanted to turn them out; but the terrified Pope prevented him, angrily exclaiming: "You will cost me my head; let the French put themselves wherever they please."

The Pope and the King found it extremely difficult to come to an understanding, because Charles demanded that Dschem should be at once delivered over to him, while the Pope was not prepared to do this until the Crusade had actually begun. This point was left undecided for the present. Charles promised to respect all the Pope's rights, both temporal and spiritual; the whole of the city on the left bank of the Tiber was given up to be occupied by

his troops. A Commission was appointed to arrange for the billeting of the French, who, since the 27th of December, had been arriving in detachments, while the Pope's army (consisting only of 1000 horsemen and a few foot soldiers) occupied the Borgo. Alexander shut himself up with his Spanish body-guard in the Vatican.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HOLY LEAGUE OF MARCH 1495.—

FLIGHT OF THE POPE.—RETREAT OF THE FRENCH FROM ITALY.

THE French King decided to make his formal entry into Rome on S. Silvester's Day which had been declared auspicious by the Astrologers. Early in the morning the Pope sent Burchard, the Prefect of Ceremonies, to meet him at the village of Galera, and to arrange the details of the reception. Charles told him that he wished to make his entry quietly and without pomp. To the address of the delegates of the Roman citizens who accompanied Burchard, he gave a short and colourless reply. "The King made me ride by him" says Burchard, "and in the course of our journey of four miles asked me so many questions about the customary ceremonial, the Pope, Cardinal Caesar Borgia, and other things, that it was all I could do to give satisfactory answers to them all."

At the Borghetto, Cardinal Sforza came to meet the King, at the Ponte Molle, he was received by Cardinal Cibò. At the Porta del Popolo, the keys of all the city gates were handed over to the King's Grand-Marshal. The entry of the troops lasted from 3 o'clock in the afternoon till 9 in the evening, amid cries from the mob of Francia, Colonna, Vincoli (Giuliano della Rovere). The Via Lata, now the Corso, was lighted with lamps when darkness came on, and crowded with spectators.

A long file of mercenaries, Swiss and German, headed the march, powerful men and splendid soldiers, keeping line and time perfectly, to the sound of their trumpets. Their uniforms were short, many coloured and close-fitting; some had plumes in their helmets. They were armed with short swords, and spears ten feet long, made of oak and pointed with iron; a fourth part of them, instead of spears, carried strong halberds fitted for striking as well as thrusting. Five thousand Gascons, mostly cross-bow men, followed the Swiss and Germans, forming a strong contrast to them by their small stature and sober uniforms. Next came 2500 heavy cavalry with sharp lances and iron maces, and amongst them rode the flower of the French nobility in gorgeous silk mantles and costly

helmets with gilt chains. Each knight was followed by three horsemen, his esquire and two grooms, all armed. The horses were large and powerful, with close cropped ears and tails, according to the fashion of those days in France. Attached to these were about 5000 light cavalry, armed with English long-bows and long arrows which carried far. Some of these also had daggers with which to stab those who had been ridden down by the dragoons. The arms of their chiefs were embroidered in silver braid on their cloaks. Four hundred archers, of whom one hundred were Scots, came next to the King, whose body-guard was formed of two hundred of the noblest of the French knights, on foot. They carried iron maces like heavy axes on their shoulders; but when on horseback they were armed like the Dragoons, and only distinguished by their finer horses and magnificent accoutrements.

The Cardinals Ascanio Sforza and Giuliano della Rovere rode beside the King, and behind him Cardinals Colonna and Savelli. Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna and the other Italian generals rode amongst the French nobility. The men and horses and banners of the French loomed larger and more numerous even than they were, in the uncertain light of the torches, and struck terror into the hearts of the Romans; but the climax of fear and wonder was reached when the artillery appeared on the scene, more than 36 bronze cannons rattling over the pavement at a rapid trot. Each of these guns was eight feet long, weighed six thousand pounds, and had a bore of the size of a mans head. In addition to these there were field-pieces half as long again, and falconets, the smallest of which discharged shot as large as a pomegranate.

Besides those already mentioned, the Cardinals Jean de la Grolaie, Peraudi, Sanseverino and Lunati were also in the King's train, and accompanied him to his residence, the Palace of San Marco. All the important points of the city were occupied that same evening by detachments of French soldiers. A portion of the artillery was stationed in front of the King's palace.

All the Cardinals except Caraffa and Orsini came to pay their respects to Charles, who received them haughtily and without the usual honours. The only exception that was made was in favour of Cardinal Cesarini. Charles required from the Pope that the Castle of S. Angelo and Prince Dschem should be delivered over to him, and that Caesar Borgia should accompany him to Naples. On the 5th January, a Consistory was to have been held to deliberate on these points, but had to be postponed till the following day, the Pope having had a fainting fit. The result was a resolution that all three demands should be refused. When the Cardinals, who had been charged with the negotiations, informed the King of this decision he replied "My Barons will acquaint the Pope with my will." Alexander then expressed his readiness to give up Civit  Vecchia, but not S. Angelo at any price. The Envoys were greatly alarmed as to the possible consequences of this reply.

In the city the panic was so great that the inhabitants buried all their valuables. "The discontent of the people is at its height" says Brognolo the Mantuan Envoy on January 6th, 1495, "the requisitions are fearful, the murders innumerable, one hears nothing but moaning and weeping. In all the memory of man the Church has never been in such evil plight." "It is impossible" he writes two days later "for so large an army to remain long in Rome, both provisions and money are beginning already to fail. Today, in consequence of a paltry

quarrel between the French and the Swiss, all the troops were called out and the streets swarmed with armed men.” Although the King had gallows erected in the public squares, the disorders amongst the soldiers continued. On the 7th January the Pope, accompanied by six Cardinals (Caraffa, Orsini, Giovanni Antonio di S. Giorgio, Pallavicini, Juan and Caesar Borgia), fled through the underground passage to the Castle of S. Angelo. It was not only his personal security which was now in danger, but his actual existence as Pope. The five Cardinals (G. della Rovere, A. Sforza, Peraudi, Savelli and Colonna), who had constant access to Charles VIII, were unwearied in urging him to call a Council in order to depose the simoniacal Pope, and reform the Church. “Reform” was only a pretext, as Commynes himself, though a Frenchman, acknowledged. The accusation of simony at the election, he observes, was true; but the man who preferred it, Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, was the one who of all others had received the highest pay for his vote at the Conclave. In a later account he says that the draft of the decree for Alexander’s deposition was already on paper at that time; but it was not Charles’s intention, nor would it have been for his interest, to proceed to this extremity.

Briçonnet, writing about this time to the Queen of France says, “the King desires the Reform of the Church but not the deposition of the Pope.” The French King has recently been severely blamed for not having followed up his victory and destroyed his opponent. Such a judgment betrays a complete misapprehension of the circumstances of the case.

Only those who, like the Germans, knew nothing personally of Charles VIII could have supposed that the young and pleasure-loving King could be seriously anxious for the reform of the Church. Commynes remarks that “the King was young, and his surroundings were not of a nature to fit him for so great a work as the reform of the Church.” Lodovico remarks with a sneer that the French King would do well to begin by reforming himself. As regards the deposition of Alexander, Charles must have felt that the great powers of Europe, already jealous of his successes, would not have stood quietly by had he attempted to take such a step as this; Maximilian, Ferdinand and Isabella, and Venice, would all have supported the Pope. He must also have been aware that he would have had to face opposition among his own subjects whose veneration for the Head of the Church would have recoiled from such an extreme measure.

Apart, however, from all this, what would Charles have gained by substituting Giuliano della Rovere or Ascanio Sforza for Alexander? was he not far more likely to get what he wanted from the timid and vacillating Borgia. As a matter of fact the policy which he pursued was that of squeezing as much as possible out of Alexander by playing upon his fears. Threat followed upon threat. Commynes relates that the French artillery was twice got ready for action. If Alexander had hitherto believed that the Castle of S. Angelo was capable of standing a siege he was undeceived on the 10th January, 1495; during that night a considerable piece of the wall of the fort fell down of its own accord. There was nothing for it but to give way. “Although the terms were hard in the extreme” writes Sigismondo de’ Conti “the Pope agreed to everything for fear of being attacked.”

The terms of the agreement of January 15th, 1495, were the following; Caesar Borgia was to accompany the army as Cardinal Legate (really as a

hostage) for the next four months. Dschem was to be handed over to Charles during the expedition against the Turks; the Pope notwithstanding, still to receive the 40,000 ducats for his pension. The Cardinals, Barons, and Cities, with their Prefects, who had joined the French, were to receive a complete amnesty. Cardinal Giuliano was to retain Ostia, the Legation of Avignon, and all his other possessions and benefices. Cardinal Peraudi was to be confirmed in his Bishopric, and Cardinal Savelli reinstated in the Legation of Spoleto. In future all Cardinals were to be free to leave Rome whenever they pleased. The Pope granted a free passage to the French army through the whole of the States of the Church, and gave up Civita Vecchia to the King. Governors, acceptable to the King, were to be appointed to the cities in the March of Ancona and the Patrimony, and a similar condition was to be observed in regard to the Legates of the Campagna and Maritima during the expedition against Naples. The Pope was to keep the Castle of S. Angelo, and, on Charles' departure, the keys of the city were to be restored to Alexander. Charles was to profess obedience to the Pope, to impose no constraint upon him either in things spiritual or temporal, and to protect him against all attacks. In regard to the election capitulation, the King and the Pope were to come to terms.

The agreement contains nothing about the investiture with Naples; Alexander had been as firm on this point as on that of the Castle of S. Angelo. It was also an important gain for the Pope to have managed to avert the attack on his spiritual power. The vexation of the Cardinals of the opposition was intense. Ascanio Sforza and Lunati left Rome at once. Peraudi is said to have gone to Alexander and rated him soundly to his face; but of all the irreconcilables, Giuliano della Rovere was the worst. Charles VIII twice personally endeavoured to mollify him, but without success. He absolutely refused to trust Alexander, even when the Pope in an autograph Brief assured him that he should not be molested on any pretext. He remained with the King.

On the same day, 16th January, 1495, that the Cardinals Sforza and Lunati left Rome, the French King accepted the Pope's invitation to take up his abode in the Vatican, where the so-called apartment, *stanze nuove*, had been prepared for him. Alexander VI came through the covered way from S. Angelo to receive the King, who on his part hastened to forestall the Pope. They met at the garden entrance of the tunnel, and the moment the first salutations were over Charles asked for the Red Hat for his friend and favourite, Briçonnet. The request was granted on the spot, and all possible honour in every way was shown to the King. On the 18th January the agreement was officially ratified, and on the following day Charles presented himself in the Consistory to make his obedience to the Pope. After the three prescribed genuflections he kissed the Pope's foot and hand, who then raised and embraced him. The President of the French Parliament, de Ganay, then said that the King had come to profess his obedience, but that first he had a favour to ask, namely, the investiture with Naples. Alexander answered evasively; but nevertheless Charles proceeded to make his obedience, pronouncing in French the prescribed formula. "Holy Father, I am come to offer obedience and homage to your Holiness, as my predecessors the Kings of France have done before me". When Charles had ceased speaking, de Ganay added that his master acknowledged Alexander as the true Vicar of Christ, and successor of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul.

Alexander had now surmounted his greatest danger; he had obtained the

recognition of the ruler of France and conqueror of Italy. He showed his gratitude by making the King's cousin, Philip of Luxemburg, a Cardinal on January 21st. On the 25th of January, the Feast of the Conversion of S. Paul, the Pope and the King proceeded together in state, accompanied by the Cardinals and Ambassadors, from S. Peter's to S. Paul's as a public manifestation of their friendship. "Alexander VI" says the Mantuan Envoy, "endeavours to gratify the French in every way; all possible expectancies, reservations and favours of all sorts are bestowed on them." The Ferrarese Envoy was convinced that Charles had received the investiture of Naples, and been named Emperor of Constantinople. Similar rumours were circulated throughout Italy and Germany. In reality, beyond the agreement of January 15th, the King had obtained nothing except the nomination of two Cardinals.

The commissariat for the French army in Rome became daily more and more difficult, and the disputes between the citizens and the soldiery were incessant. Charles could have had no motive for lingering there any longer, unless it were that he still hoped to obtain the investiture of Naples. If so, he was mistaken. When at last he took leave of the Pope on January 28th, the only document that he received was the Bull granting free passage to his army through the States of the Church.

In splendid weather, Charles VIII set out to attack Naples, along the same Roman road which had been selected by Charles of Anjou, 229 years before. Giuliano della Rovere and Peraudi awaited him in Marino, and it was here that he was informed of Alfonso II's abdication. So abject was the terror of the despotic ruler of the two Sicilies, that he would start up in his sleep crying that "he heard the French coming, and all the trees and rocks calling France". He fled to Sicily, leaving to his youthful son Ferrantino a ruined kingdom with the enemy at the gate.

At Velletri, Charles met with a significant token of the change in the temper of the Great Powers of Europe which had been wrought by his conquests in Italy. The Envoys of Ferdinand the Catholic, expressed the displeasure of their King at his disrespectful treatment of the Pope, his occupation of the strongholds in the States of the Church, and, finally, of this expedition against Naples; they reminded him of the conditions in the treaty of Barcelona, which conferred on their King the right to defend the Church, and they demanded that Ostia should be restored, Caesar Borgia released, and the attack upon Naples relinquished. Charles refused, and high words passed between them.

Another unpleasant surprise befell Charles at Velletri; Caesar Borgia suddenly disappeared. The King complained to the Pope, who professed utter ignorance of the whereabouts of the missing Prince, and expressed his regret, but did not send any other Cardinal. Charles however, still continued his southward march, lured on by easy victories, for everywhere the party of Anjou rose to meet his troops. On the 27th January, Ferrantino himself announced to his Envoy "Aquila has raised the standard of Franco, Sulmona and Popoli have followed suit; in the Abruzzi all is lost as far as Celano."

To please the Colonna, Charles permitted the storming of the fastnesses of the Conti, although these were within the States of the Church. The Fort of Monte S. Giovanni, close to the Neapolitan border, fell at the first onslaught, and was set on fire, while nearly all its inhabitants were cut to pieces. The

destruction of this stronghold which had been supposed impregnable, and the barbarity which accompanied it, so terrified the Neapolitans that they retired without striking a blow. The French found the fortified cities, the passes, and even the important post of S. Germano, undefended. Even the weather seemed to be on their side. The February of that year was unusually mild; the fields were brilliantly green and studded with spring flowers. On the 16th February Gaeta fell. Capua had opened her gates on the 13th to the French. Ferrantino waited in vain for help from Spain and the Turks. On the 22nd February he fled to Ischia, while Charles VIII enthusiastically welcomed by the populace, entered Naples in triumph. Caesar's boast "I came, I saw, I conquered," wrote Sigismondo de' Conti, "was surpassed". "In the short space of a few weeks," remarks another contemporary writer, "the French conquered as by a miracle, a whole kingdom, almost without striking a blow." "The French," said Alexander VI, "came in with wooden spears and found they had nothing to do but the quartermaster's work of marking the doors with chalk."

There was nothing now to delay the Crusade for the conquest of the Holy Land, which had been so solemnly announced by Charles, and within his own immediate circle voices were not wanting to remind him of the fact. One of the most urgent of these was that of Cardinal Peraudi, whose whole life had been devoted to this cause. There are clear indications that Charles VIII at this time was seriously considering the project of the war against the Turks, for which Alexander VI had promulgated a Bull in February; but he never got so far as to take any action in the matter. He preferred to remain in Naples and revel in the delights of the earthly paradise which had been so easily won; the prowess of the zealous champion of Christendom and reformer of the Church expended itself in enterprises of a very different character. This, however, did not prevent the French from threatening Alexander with a Council which was to reform both the Pope and the Church.

DEATH OF PRINCE DSCHEM.

Dschem's death which took place February 25, 1495, was a severe blow to the King, but not more so than to the Pope. In those days, all cases of sudden death were invariably attributed to poison; and the enemies of Alexander at once accused him of the crime, but without the smallest ground. It is clear that Dschem died a natural death; probably the result of his disorderly life. According to Sigismondo de' Conti, it was in consequence of his death that the King gave up all thoughts of the Crusade. To the French army the prolonged stay in Naples was most disastrous. Bacchus and Venus reigned paramount among the soldiers.

While Charles VIII was thus revelling in the delights of the South, a storm was gathering against the "foreign barbarians" in the North. The unexampled good fortune of the French aroused an alarm in Italy which was shared by the Cabinets of foreign powers. It seemed as if France was on the point of obtaining that imperial power and worldwide domination at which she had so long been aiming. The opposition of Spain has already been mentioned. Upon the first successes of Charles, Maximilian I had entered into an alliance with Venice, where many were already beginning to perceive the consequences of the neutrality of the government; but the negotiations proceeded but slowly, until

the fall of the Aragonese kingdom startled them into brisker life. Lodovico il Moro, who had long ceased to be friends with the French King, in telling the bad news to the Venetian Envoy, added that now there was not a moment to lose. In Venice the consternation was so great that Commynes compares it to that which was caused in Rome by the news of the battle of Cannae. Secret negotiations were at once set on foot. From the unsatisfactory answer to the request made at the end of March by the French Envoy for the investiture with Naples, Charles could easily guess that the Pope was aware of what was going on. Alexander openly alluded to the League which he had been requested to join, and sent the golden Rose to the Doge. By the time his messenger had got to Venice the coalition against France was well started.

On the 31st March, 1495, a Holy League for 25 years was concluded between Venice, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, Maximilian I, Lodovico il Moro, and the Pope, for the defence of Christendom against the Turks, and for the preservation of the dignity of the Chair of S. Peter and the rights of the Holy Roman Empire. The members of the League engaged to defend each other's dominions against all attacks of foreign powers who, at the present time, had possessions in Italy, and this was to hold good even though such powers should have lost the territories that now belonged to them. Each member was to furnish 8000 horsemen and 1000 foot soldiers, the Pope to provide half this number, but with the condition that he should use his spiritual powers.

On Palm Sunday, April 12th, the League was solemnly announced in the various States which had joined it. The Pope ordered the Vicars and Governors in the States of the Church to have the event solemnly celebrated in their Vicariates and cities. On the 5th of April the Venetian Envoy officially informed Charles of the conclusion of the League. He was furious at the news; Cardinal Giuliano endeavoured in vain to calm him.

The only chance of salvation now lay in a rapid retreat before the allies should have time to collect their forces. Instead of this, the French King, with incomprehensible fatuity, wasted the precious moments in endeavouring by alternate entreaties and menaces to induce the Pope to grant him the investiture of the kingdom. When he saw that the case was hopeless, he proceeded on May 12th, to the Cathedral of Naples, crowned, carrying the Imperial Orb in his left hand and the Sceptre in his right, and accompanied by a splendid retinue, to assert his claim before all the world both to the Kingdom of Naples and the Empire of the East. The strange procession elicited no demonstration of any sort. Not till May the 20th, did the King with the half of his army commence his retreat; the rest of the troops remained under the command of Montpensier to hold the conquered kingdom.

To Alexander this meant a renewal of the perilous situation of the previous December. In the beginning of May he complained to the Envoys of Spain, Venice, and Milan, that Venice was the only member of the League which had sent him any troops; could not the Powers see, he said, that he would have to bear the first brunt of the attack; he did not wish to lose his tiara. On May 3rd, a consultation was held in Consistory as to whether the Pope should leave Rome. The general opinion was in favour of his remaining; especially as the Romans were confident of their ability to defend the city; but on the 4th, Alexander informed the Cardinals that, as the presence of the French was likely to cause

disturbances in Rome, he intended to retire to Orvieto. On the 6th of May, Charles despatched a tranquillising letter to the Pope; he pledged his Royal honour that during his stay in Rome he would undertake nothing to the disadvantage either of Alexander or the Romans. The Pope replied that he and the Sacred College could not sanction the King's project of coming to Rome, let him choose some other meeting-place, Orvieto or Spoleto; two Legates would be sent to conduct him through the States of the Church. Accordingly, on May 11th, Cardinals Morton and Carvajal were selected in Consistory for the office. At the same time, Rome was put in a state of defence, and entrenchments were thrown up before the Castle of S. Angelo. On the 19th of May, fresh Envoys arrived from the King, Cardinal de la Grolaie, M. de Bresse, and Francois de Luxemburg. They offered in the name of the King a yearly tribute of 50,000 ducats, and the payment of the 100,000 ducats still owing from Alfonso and Ferrante, if the Pope would grant him the investiture of Naples; in regard to the Turkish war, Charles would personally arrange with Alexander. The Pope refused, although the Envoys spoke in a menacing tone.

The excitement in the city meanwhile increased from day to day. "People are in terror" writes an Envoy on the 20th May, "not only for their property, but for their lives also. During the last hundred years Rome has never been so entirely cleared of silver and valuables of all sorts. Not one of the Cardinals has plate enough to serve six persons; the houses are dismantled. Every day fresh troops come in; bastions have been erected at four of the gates." Some days earlier the same writer had announced that the Pope meant to fly without waiting for any more communications with the King. This intention was carried out. On the 27th, Alexander left Rome accompanied by his body-guard, some Venetian and Milanese mercenaries, and twenty Cardinals, and went by Civita Vecchia to Orvieto. In the Consistorial Acts, it is stated that the Pope left Rome in order to avoid disturbances which might arise during the passage of the King's army, in consequence of the different nationalities comprised in the Papal and French troops.

On the 1st of June Charles VIII, accompanied by the Cardinals Giuliano, Fregoso, and La Grolaie, arrived at the gates of Rome. By the Pope's orders, Cardinal Morton, the Legate who had been left behind, invited him to take up his residence in the Vatican. The King declined this, and after a visit to S. Peter's, established himself in the Palace of Cardinal Domenico della Rovere in the Borgo. The garrisons were now withdrawn from Terracina and Civita Vecchia, but that of Ostia remained. The King, anxious to give no handle of accusation to his enemies, enforced the strictest discipline. The Swiss soldiers were not allowed to enter the city. Except for one or two isolated cases of robbery, the French occupation this time passed off without disorder. On the 3rd of June Charles moved on to Baccano.

Charles VIII still hoped that the Pope and he might meet, and sent an embassy to Orvieto to endeavour to bring this about. Even Cardinal Sforza on the 1st of June still believed that Alexander would see the King; but the Pope could not bring himself to trust the French, and on June 5 he hurried away to Perugia with his Cardinals and the Envoys. Now at last, Charles became convinced that there was no chance of a meeting. When his scouts announced that the Venetian and Milanese troops were on their way to join each other at Parma he hastened his retreat.

On the 13th June the French King reached Siena, and soon after arrived at Poggibonzi, where Savonarola came to meet him. "Most Christian Prince" he said "you have incurred the wrath of God by neglecting that work of reforming the Church which, by my mouth, He had charged you to undertake, and to which He had called you by so many unmistakeable signs. This time you will escape from the danger which threatens you; but if you again disregard the command which He now, through me His unworthy slave, reiterates, and still refuse to take up the work which He commits to you, I warn you that He will punish you with far more terrible misfortunes, and will choose another man in your place."

Charles succeeded in crossing the Apennines in safety with all his artillery! It was not till he reached the Taro at Fornuovo that he came across the army of the allies under the command of the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga. On the 6th of July they fought; the battle was sharp but short. Charles plunged into the thickest of the fray, nor was the Marquess Gonzaga behind-hand in daring; he had three horses killed under him. The King's army might have been practically annihilated, if it had not been for the undisciplined Bohemians who formed part of the Italian force, and who at once began to ransack the enemy's baggage. This enabled the French to cut their way through, though not without severe loss. The booty was large and valuable, consisting of all the plunder which had been gathered during the course of their victorious progress through the unfortunate country which had been so easily mastered. There were innumerable chests filled with jewels and gold and silver plate, two banners, Charles's helmet and sword, and his golden seal, together with a book containing the portraits of many fair ladies whose favours the gallant monarch had won in the various cities through which he had passed. It was not wonderful that the Italians should have claimed the victory, although the object of the battle had not been attained. The beautiful Madonna della Vittoria, which was painted by Mantegna by order of the Marquess of Mantua, remains as a standing memorial of this claim. It is now in the Louvre in Paris.

The patriotism of the Italian poets burst into flame over the success of their arms at Fornuovo, and they are almost unanimous in singing of it as a brilliant victory. Antonio Cammelli is the only one who, with a calmer and clearer insight than the rest of his countrymen acknowledges that.

Passo il Re franco, Italia, a tuo dispetto
 Cosa che non fe mai 'l popul romano,
 Col legno in resta e con la spada in mano
 Con nemici a le spalle e innanti al petto
 Cesare e Scipion, di lui ho letto,
 I nemici domar de mano in mano:
 E costui, come un can che va lontano
 Mordendo questo e quel passò via netto.

Not till the 15th July, when he reached Asti, was Charles able at last to give a little well-earned rest to his jaded troops. Fortune seemed now to have entirely abandoned the French. The expedition against Genoa was unsuccessful, and Ferrantino drove Charles' troops out of Naples and forced them to retire to Castelnuovo.

The Pope had returned to Rome on the 27th June. A few days later he forbade the Swiss mercenaries to take part in the war against the allies. Stronger measures soon followed. At the request of the Venetians on the 5th of August a monition was issued threatening Charles with excommunication; but the most pressing danger for the King was the impending double attack upon France from Ferdinand of Spain on one side, and the Emperor Maximilian on the other. It was imperatively necessary to get home as soon as possible. He was fortunate enough by the conclusion of a separate peace with Ludovico Sforza at Vercelli on the 9th October, to withdraw that vacillating Prince from the League, and soon after re-entered his own dominions. All his lofty projects had failed and the shock which had been given to international relations in the South of Europe had rendered the prospect of the Crusade, of which the expedition to Italy was to have been the prelude, more gloomy than at any previous period.

This disastrous year, which had twice seen Rome at the mercy of the French, closed with one of the most destructive inundations that had ever been known in the Eternal City. Mementos of the high-water marks of 1495 are still to be found in places. On November 25, 1495, the weather was exceptionally cold. On December 1st it snowed a little and then the temperature rose suddenly and torrents of rain fell. When this had lasted for two days and a half, on the 4th, the sky cleared and fine weather set in. Presently, the Tiber began to rise with extraordinary rapidity, and submerged all the lower part of the city. Just as the Cardinals were coming out of a Consistory, the flood reached the streets round the castle of S. Angelo, and in a moment turned them into a swirling sea. They only just succeeded, with great difficulty, in getting across the bridge. Cardinal Sclafenati found it impossible to reach his palace; when he turned his horse the water was up to the saddle. "After dinner," says one of the Venetians, "our Ambassador Girolamo Zorzi rode out to look at the inundation. We made our way towards the street by the river bank (called Canal del Ponte because it was so frequently flooded), and found the whole place under water; the Ponte Sisto was almost covered and the river was still rising, roaring fearfully and full of the wreckage of mills, wooden bridges, and cottages. We tried to go to Sta Maria del Popolo but that was out of the question. The sight of the falling houses, and the wretched fugitives escaping from them, was so heart-rending that we could bear it no longer and resolved to go home. The water was up to the saddles of our horses. At one in the morning the flood reached our own street. We did our best to dam up the doors and windows in the basement so as not to lose the wine in the cellars, but in vain, the water burst up through the floor, and had not the servants taken the casks on their shoulders and carried them up to the story above, we should have had none left. Presently the rising waves washed away our barricades, and in a moment the court-yard was a lake; the servants in the cellars had to fly for their lives. Our neighbours the Flemings were also forced to fly, lamenting the loss of all their goods, which they had to leave behind. Our landlord Domenico de' Massimi strove in vain to rescue the costly comestibles with which his shop was stocked. The water came pouring down in conflicting

streams through the various streets, and everything was washed away. His shopmen could only save themselves by swimming, and he and his servants had to wade through the water breast-high. His loss is estimated at 4000 ducats. We provided him and all our neighbours with wine, while he supplied us with bread. The water continued to rise till the evening of Saturday. In our court-yard it was seven feet deep and ten feet in the street. Nearly all the city was in the same plight. People went about in boats, reminding us of our own lagoons, carrying provisions to the imprisoned inhabitants of the houses." In many places the water rose so rapidly that the people were drowned in their beds. Many lost their lives, and a still greater number all that they possessed. All night long cries of distress were to be heard from those who had been overtaken by the waters. For three hours a terrific storm raged; it seemed as though we were at sea.

The distress in many quarters of the city was extreme in consequence of the destruction of the food supply and of the wells. "Though we were surrounded with water" writes the Venetian narrator, quoted above, "many are perishing with thirst even at this moment. In Trastevere it is feared that all the bridges will be destroyed. Many houses and palaces have fallen and their inhabitants have been buried under the ruins. The Mosaic pavements in the churches are broken up, the tombs are burst; all the food in the city is spoilt. Almost all the cattle in the neighbourhood have been drowned; the herds took refuge in the trees; many died of hunger and cold, others contrived to reach the city by swimming with the help of uprooted trees or branches, and arrived half-dead. It is feared that no crops can be grown next year where the water has been. There were great floods in the reigns of Popes Sixtus IV and Martin V but never one like this. Many are filled with terror, and think there is something beyond nature in it; but it is not for me to say anything on this point. There is every reason to fear that there will be great mortality among the cattle, as has always been the case after calamities of this sort. These parts of Rome have suffered so much that it makes the heart ache to see it. The Pope has ordered processions to implore the mercy of God. Rome, December 4, 1495."

On the night of Saturday to Sunday the flood slowly began to subside. "Yesterday morning" writes a Venetian to his friends at home, "the water had receded out of the streets, but the court-yards and cellars are filled with dead animals and filth of all sorts; it will take more than three months to cleanse them. The damage done to the city is incalculable; a quarter of a century will hardly suffice to repair it. The boats on the Tiber, the mills and all the old houses are destroyed, and all the horses that were in the stables have been drowned. In consequence of the destruction of the mills there will soon be no bread to be had. Thank God all our own people are safe. Many of the prisoners in Torre di Nona were drowned. The moats surrounding the Castle of S. Angelo are still as full as they can hold of water. Many of the labourers in the vineyards have perished, and nearly all the herds of cattle in the flooded districts. On Friday evening a poor fellow was fished out of the river at the Ripa Grande, more dead than alive, clinging to the trunk of a tree; he had been caught by the water at Monte Rotondo, eleven miles from Rome, and carried down all that way. The brothers of S. Paolo came to see our Ambassador yesterday evening; they said the water in their church was up to the High Altar; you know how high that is, and can imagine what it must have been in other places. The havoc that the Tiber has wrought on this occasion is incredible. I could fill a quire of paper

with marvels and with the account of the damage the city has sustained. I beg your Excellency to forward this report to Marino Sanudo; in very truth since Rome has been Rome, such a flood as this has never been seen. Rome, December 8, 1495.” The Venetian Annalist who has preserved this letter estimates the damage to the city at 300,000 ducats.

We cannot be surprised to find that the popular imagination was vividly impressed by such a calamity as this. The fate of Sodom and Gomorrah was recalled; the Venetian letter of December 8, already quoted, speaks of a belief in many minds that “the judgments of God were about to burst on the city, and that it would be entirely destroyed.” The prevailing excitement found vent in portentous stories, which were widely circulated and believed. One of those which was most highly credited was told of a monster said to have been found on the banks of the Tiber in January 1496. The Venetian Envoys describe it as having “the body of a woman and a head with two faces. The front face was that of an ass with long ears, at the back was an old man with a beard. The left arm was human; the right resembled the trunk of an elephant. In the place of a tail it had a long neck with a gaping snake’s head at the end; the legs, from the feet upwards and the whole body, were covered with scales like a fish.” The Romans looked upon this and other reported marvels of a similar character as omens announcing fresh disasters,—war, famine and pestilence. In other parts of Italy the same feeling prevailed. Thus, the strange beast which was found at the door of the Cathedral of Como was thought to portend the approach of evil times. On all sides men’s minds were filled with gloomy forebodings.

The mighty voice of Savonarola in Florence thundered prophecies of woe upon woe. “I announce to you ” he cried in his Lent sermons of the year 1496, “that all Italy will be convulsed, and those who are most exalted will be most abased. O Italy! trouble after trouble shall befall thee; troubles of war after famine, troubles of pestilence after war, trouble from this side and from that. There will be rumours upon rumours—now rumours of barbarians on this side, then rumours of barbarians on that. Rumours from the East, from the West; from all sides rumour after rumour. Then men will yearn for the visions of the prophets, and will have them not; for the Lord saith, ‘Now do I prophesy in my turn.’ Men will lean on astrology, and it will profit them nothing. The law of the priesthood shall perish, and priests be stripped of their rank; princes shall wear hair-cloth; the people be crushed by tribulation. All men will lose courage, and as they have judged, so shall they themselves be judged.”

CHAPTER V.

EXPEDITION OF MAXIMILIAN I TO ITALY.

MURDER OF THE DUKE OF GANDIA

THE withdrawal of Charles VIII from Italy was far from including the complete liberation of the Peninsula from French occupation. His troops still held the important frontier fortress of Asti and the Florentine castles, to keep the road across the Apennines open, while ten thousand French soldiers yet remained in the Neapolitan territory. Charles VIII himself spoke openly of returning, and the Florentines were doing their best to enable him to do so. Thus it was of the highest importance that the French should be got out of the kingdom of Naples as quickly as possible; but although Ferrantino was supported by a contingent of Papal and Spanish troops under the celebrated Gran-Capitano Gonsalvo de Cordova, it seemed far from certain that he would succeed in accomplishing this. They still held their ground in Calabria, a portion of the Abruzzi, and in Terra di Lavoro; Tarento, Salerno, Gaeta, and other strong places were in their hands. In the beginning of the year 1496, provisions were introduced into Gaeta by French ships, together with a reinforcement of 2000 men and a store of ammunition. In spite of remonstrances from the Pope, Virginio Orsini gratified his spite against the Colonna, who were fighting on Ferrantino's side, by taking service with the French, who achieved some successes in the Abruzzi.

A change for the better in Charles' fortunes was by no means impossible. The Pope showed his consciousness of the danger by expending a large sum on the fortifications of S. Angelo, and he often personally inspected the works during their construction. The pecuniary loss to the Court, now that no French ecclesiastics ever came to Rome for their benefices, was very considerable. "In spite of all, however," says Sanudo, "the Pope still held fast by the League." The Briefs of those days showed that he was doing his utmost to uphold Ferrantino. It was about this time that the Papal Nuncio, Lionello Cheregato, begged Maximilian I to come to Italy.

The first reverse sustained by the French in Naples was consequent upon the arrival of assistance from Venice, for which Ferrantino had paid by handing over Brindisi, Otranto, and Trani to the Republic. The French general, Montpensier, now saw plainly that all was lost unless he could obtain efficient help from the King. By the month of April 1496, the French had hardly any footing left in Calabria, Apulia, and Terra di Lavoro. Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino, who would have been well pleased to see the Pope turning his attention to the conquest of Virginio Orsini's possessions, was taken into the pay of the League in May. By the end of June, the rest of the French army, with Montpensier and Orsini, were shut up in Atella, situated in the Basilicata, and a month later they were forced to capitulate.

The success of the League was complete; and when, on its renewal on July 18, 1496, England also joined it, it became a European coalition. Shortly afterwards Maximilian I appeared in Upper Italy, and was welcomed at Mende, near Milan, on August 31, by the Papal Legate, Cardinal Carvajal. The entire force of the King of the Romans numbered only 4000 men; not one of the German Princes put in an appearance. In the matter of funds his ease was even worse, Venice failing to produce the promised subsidies. The Venetian government knew from trustworthy sources that Charles had no real intention of resuming the war in Italy, and by no means welcomed the arrival of the Emperor, whom they had invited under very different circumstances. His well-chosen plan of operations added still more to their disgust, as it would have effectually barred the way to the accomplishment of their designs on Milan. He purposed to force Savoy and Montferrat to join the League, and to wrest Asti from the French, in which case it would naturally have returned to Lodovico il Moro. They adhered to their policy of tacit opposition in spite of stringent remonstrances from the Pope. "We do not consider," Alexander wrote on the 4th September, 1496, to the Doge, "that the French ought to be left alone because for the moment they are not attacking us. As long as they, refuse to evacuate Naples and Ostia, and to withdraw the declaration of war against Italy, and continue daily to pour troops and ammunition into the country, to send war-ships to Gaeta, and to forbid the customary missions to Rome,—in short, to do all the things that are done in time of war, so long must we look upon them as enemies. They want not the will to do worse things, but only the power. We see all the signs of war and none of peace. In going on with the war and occupying the passes we are not attacking them, but merely defending ourselves."

All his remonstrances, however, were ineffectual, and Maximilian found it impossible to carry out his plans. He therefore now resolved to endeavour to force the Florentines to relax their hold on Pisa, and to relinquish the French alliance, by possessing himself of their port at Leghorn. But here, too, he failed mainly for want of the promised and indispensable help which Venice and Milan still withheld. Towards the end of the year he returned to the Tyrol thoroughly disgusted with the faithless allies who had so meanly failed to keep their engagements.

Meanwhile, Alexander VI was busily occupied in taking advantage of the altered conditions in the Neapolitan kingdom to carry out his own purposes. "By the expulsion of the French from Italy he was now relieved from the danger which had hung over him for so long," and he at once set to work to crush his disloyal nobles. "The French invasion had brought to light the utter untrustworthiness of the Papal feudatories. The great majority of them, and especially those who were most powerful, had faithlessly abandoned the Pope in the hour of danger. Some, regardless of their oath of fealty, had simply gone over to the enemy; others had made separate terms with him, leaving their sovereign helpless and defenceless."

The most guilty of all were the Orsini; it was their defection which had practically delivered the Pope into the hands of the French; it was right that the first blow should be aimed at them. Already, in February 1496, Virginio Orsini had been proclaimed a rebel; as he and his family still held to the French, on the 1st June the extreme censures of the Church were pronounced against them,

with confiscation of all their possessions. Alexander VI no doubt intended to bestow their property on some of his relations.

The task of chastising the Orsini was assigned to Juan Borgia, Duke of Gandia, Alexander's son, who was married to the first cousin of King Ferdinand the Catholic, and who was summoned from Spain to Rome for this purpose. The Pope had a mistakenly high opinion of the military talents of this Prince. When he arrived in Rome, on August 10, the French garrison at Atella had already been forced to capitulate. The effect of this was to hand over Virginio Orsini and his son Giovanni Giordano to Ferrantino, who, by the Pope's orders, kept them shut up in prison. Thus the Orsini were deprived of their ablest leader and chief.

This was an opportunity too precious to be lost. Extensive preparations for the expedition against the Orsini were at once commenced, and the Duke of Urbino was also summoned. The Duke of Gandia had already in September been chosen Legate for the Patrimony, and was, on the 26th October, in S. Peter's, appointed Commander-General of the Papal troops. Besides the Duke of Urbino, he was to be accompanied by Cardinal Lunati as Legate. On the following day the expedition started to conquer the strongholds of the Orsini. At first all went well. Scrofano, Galera, Formello, and Campagnano were rapidly subdued, one after the other. Anguillara opened its gates without making any resistance.

The next step was to proceed to lay siege to the family Castle of Bracciano. This majestic fortress, with its five round towers, still crowns the height above the blue lake in grey and massive grandeur. Here the whole clan, with all their forces, was assembled. The youthful Alviano, with his high-spirited consort Bartolomea, Virginio's sister, commanded the defenders. The French flag floated over the towers, and the war cry was 'France.' At the beginning of the siege the Duke of Urbino was wounded, and thus the leadership devolved on the inexperienced Duke of Gandia, who from the first was far from successful. Simultaneously with Bracciano, Trevignano, on the other side of the lake, had also been invested, but without result. No progress was made until the end of November, when the guns which the Pope had borrowed from the King of Naples arrived, and then first Isola, and soon after Trevignano, fell; but Bracciano still held out. The troops suffered much from the bad weather and rain; when winter began in earnest it was still more difficult to keep the field. The besieged made numerous sorties; detachments appeared even close under the walls of Rome, where the party of the Orsini began to stir in a very disquieting manner. The Pope was beside himself; his illness on Christmas Day was attributed to vexation at the ill-success of his army. Reinforcements were despatched to Bracciano, and it was hoped that at last, either by force of arms or starvation, the garrison would be compelled to yield. It certainly could not have held out had it not been relieved by the force which Vitellozzo, the tyrant of Citta di Castello, and Carlo and Giulio Orsini, with the help of French gold, were able to send to its assistance. The approach of these troops obliged the Papal army to raise the siege and withdraw the artillery to Anguillara for security, while the rest of the forces went forth to encounter the new enemy. They met at Soriano on January 25, 1497, and the battle ended in the total defeat of the Papal troops. Guidobaldo was taken prisoner, Gandia was wounded, and their army completely routed; the Orsini were now masters of the Campagna.

Alexander VI now made peace as quickly as possible (on the 5th of February). All their castles were restored to the Orsini on payment of 50,000 golden florins, the Pope only retaining Anguillara and Cervetri. The Duke of Urbino was not included in the treaty, and remained in prison in Soriano; he had later to ransom himself.

The Pope's unfortunate attack upon the Orsini left him in an extremely isolated position. The only friend whom he could now trust was Gonsalvo de Cordova, the General of the Spanish sovereigns, on whom he had recently bestowed the title of "Catholic." On the 19th February Gonsalvo came to Rome, and after a brief sojourn of three days, proceeded with 600 horsemen and 1000 foot soldiers to attack Ostia, which, still in the hands of the French, was a standing menace to the Pope. On the 9th March it was forced to yield. About the same time the Pope decided, by his own personal authority, to deprive Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere of his benefices, and his brother Giovanni, who had sided with Vitellozzo, of the Prefecture of Rome.

On the 15th of March, 1497, Gonsalvo de Cordova and the Duke of Gandia, "the one an able general and statesman, the other a mere stage prince bedizened with ornaments and tinsel," returned to Rome. Modern writers assert that the Spanish leader seriously remonstrated with Alexander on his nepotism and his misconduct; but there is no mention of this in contemporaneous authorities. There was certainly occasion enough for such remonstrances, considering the life Alexander was then leading and his partiality towards his family. It was about this time that Cardinal Peraudi said to the Florentine Envoy, "When I think of the lives of the Pope and some of the Cardinals, I shudder at the idea of residing at the Court; I will have nothing to say to it unless God reforms His Church." In Rome also Alexander was extremely unpopular, mainly because he had surrounded himself almost exclusively with Spaniards. Since February 1496 the Spanish party in the College of Cardinals had received a great accession of strength; on the 19th Alexander had added four, namely—Juan Lopez, Bartolomeo Martini, Juan de Castro, and his sister's son Juan Borgia, to the five which it already contained. In May 1497 Juan Borgia was made Legate of Perugia. On the 7th June a secret Consistory was held, in which the Duchy of Benevento and the cities of Terracina and Pontecorvo were granted to the Duke of Gandia and his legitimate male descendants. Out of the 27 Cardinals who were present, Piccolomini was the only one who raised his voice against this alienation of these Church lands, and his remonstrance was unavailing. According to the Spanish historian Zurita, the Ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabella had also endeavoured to prevent it, on the ground that it was an injury to the Church and to Christendom.

These distinctions, conferred at the cost of the Church on a man who had shown himself such an incapable commander in the field, were made all the more scandalous by the Duke's notorious immorality. On the 8th of June the Pope appointed Cardinal Caesar Borgia, Legate for Naples, where he was to crown the new King Federigo.

On the 14th June a banquet was given in the vineyard of Vanozza, close to S. Pietro in Vincoli, at which the Duke of Gandia and his brother Caesar, with many of their friends, and among them Juan Borgia, were present. It was somewhat late in the evening when the two brothers, with Cardinal Juan,

mounted their mules in order to return to the Papal palace. Close to the Cesarini palace, where Cardinal Ascanio Sforza was then residing, the Duke of Gandia took leave of his companions, saying that he was going to pay a visit which he wished to make unattended. The others endeavoured to persuade him to take an adequate number of servants with him, but he refused, and disappeared into the darkness, accompanied by only one groom and a man in domino, whom he had brought with him to the feast, and who for the last month had visited him daily. When he got to the Piazza degli Ebrei he dismissed the groom, also desiring him to wait an hour for him, and if he did not return by the end of that time to go back to the palace. Then he took the domino up on the mule behind him and rode off, whither no one knew.

When, on the following morning (June 15), his confidential servants found that he did not return, they sent word to the Pope. Alexander was a good deal disturbed, but both he and the servants consoled themselves with the probability that the Duke might be engaged in some gallant adventure, and was afraid of compromising himself if he were seen to leave the house. When, however, night came on, and still the Duke was missing, the Pope's distress became acute, and he commanded that every possible effort should be made to discover what had happened to him. All Rome was filled with dismay and apprehension; many of the citizens closed their shops and barricaded their doors; there was no knowing what the enemies of the Borgia might do. Excited Spaniards went about the streets with drawn swords. The Orsini and Colonna called their troops together. At last the groom was found badly wounded and unable to give any information; and soon after, the Duke's mule was caught, the stirrups bearing traces of a struggle; but of the Duke himself nothing could be heard. At length, on the 16th June, the searchers were put on the right track by a Slavonian timber merchant, whose yard was close to the Hospital of his nation, on the banks of the Tiber. He was in the habit of keeping watch at night over his property, and deposed to having seen on Thursday, "about two o'clock in the morning, two men come out of the street to the left of the Hospital and return again, after having looked round cautiously in all directions, as though to see if the coast were clear. Soon after, two other men appeared from the same place, and after looking about in a similar manner, and seeing no one, made a signal. Upon this a horseman issued from the lane, riding a white horse, and carrying a corpse in front of him, the trunk and legs hanging on either side of the horse, being supported by the two men whom he had seen at first. The other two carried dark lanterns, and when the ghastly cortege had reached a place on the bank where rubbish was shot into the river, the men took the body and hurled it into the water, flinging it as far as they could. The horseman asked if they had thrown it well in, to which they replied, 'Right well, Signor,' and then the five men disappeared down the street which leads to the Hospital of S. James." When the man was asked why he had not informed the authorities, his answer was significant of the state of Rome under the Borgia. "In the course of my life," he said, "I have seen more than a hundred bodies thrown into the Tiber at this spot, and never heard of any one troubling himself about them."

Men were immediately set to work to drag the river, and about midday of the same day, a body was found not far from Sta Maria del Popolo, and close to a garden belonging to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza. It was that of the Duke of Gandia. The throat had been cut, and it bore nine ghastly wounds. His purse,

containing 40 ducats, and his rich garments were untouched. Robbery, therefore, had had nothing to do with the murder. The corpse was taken at once to S. Angelo and there washed and clothed in ducal robes, and then taken on an open bier to lie in state at Sta Maria del Popolo. In addition to the Duke's suite and the Spanish and Milanese Envoys, many prelates and other persons joined the procession.

"When Alexander VI heard that the Duke had been murdered and his body thrown like carrion into the Tiber, he was perfectly overcome; he shut himself up in his room, overwhelmed with grief, and wept bitterly. From Wednesday evening until Sunday morning he neither ate nor drank, nor had he a moment's sleep from Thursday morning till Sunday." So says Jakob Burchard, though we seek in vain for any account of the murder itself in his pages. There were many indications that the crime had been planned long before and carried out with great skill. The only person who could have told in which direction the Duke had gone was the groom, and he had been rendered incapable of saying anything. The time that had elapsed before the body was found was a great advantage for the murderers, enabling them to obliterate all traces which might have led to their discovery. In Rome all sorts of wild rumours were flying about, which rapidly developed into still wilder tales. The consternation and distress in the Papal palace were unexampled. The complete failure of the police to discover anything left a free field for the invention of any amount of myths. Suspicion fell first upon the Orsini and Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, who had a short time before had a violent quarrel with the Duke. This, however, did not prevent many others from being suspected, amongst whom were Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro, brother-in-law of the murdered Prince, Cardinal Sanseverino, the Duke of Urbino, the rebels of Viterbo, and Count Antonio Maria della Mirandola. Many believed that the Duke had fallen a victim to the jealousy of some Roman husband.

On the 17th of June, the Governor of the City received orders from the Pope to have all the houses on the banks of the Tiber thoroughly searched up to Sta Maria del Popolo. The Palace of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, who on the previous day had sent a confidential account to his brother in Milan of the event, was included in the investigation. The Cardinal commended the action of the Pope, and remarked that he would have been still better pleased if the examination had been made the day before; he begged that the Governor would begin with his house. Out of considerations of personal dignity he absented himself from his palace for the time; he told the Milanese Envoy that the Governor of the City had informed him that amongst the Duke's papers, letters had been found from Fabrizio Colonna earnestly warning him against a Roman citizen in whom Gandia had great confidence. On the 20th June, Cardinal Ascanio wrote to his brother: "Although all possible pains have been taken, as yet nothing certain has been discovered either as to the place of the murder or the person who did it. The Duke was last seen that night close to the cross in the street leading to Sta Maria del Popolo; it is thought that the crime was committed somewhere near this cross, because both horsemen and others on foot were seen there. The uncertainty which prevails has given rise to many different conjectures. Some think it had to do with a love affair; the Duke of Urbino, the Orsini, and Cardinal Sanseverino have also been suspected. Again, it is said that some of my people may have done it on account of the recent quarrel with the Duke. Finally, it has been asserted that either Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro

or his brother Galeazzo is the murderer.” At the end of his epistle Ascanio refers to letters from his brother saying that Giovanni Sforza had come to Milan, and that his brother Galeazzo had never left Pesaro. “Although it is incredible,” he continues, “that either of them should have been guilty of such a cruel act, still I am glad that Giovanni has written here to prove that he and his brother are innocent. Now that it is known that he had gone to Milan and that Galeazzo had not left Pesaro, people here are starting fresh hypotheses, and seeking in all possible ways to find out the truth.”

In corroboration of this, there is a letter to Giovanni Bentivoglio of June 20th, 1497, which says “two days ago the brother of the Lord of Pesaro was openly spoken of as the assassin; now this is no longer believed. All sorts of contradictory opinions are held. But since every word and every judgment connected with this affair is beset with doubt and danger, I leave the matter to those whom it concerns. The Pope is deeply distressed at the loss he has sustained, and is minded to change his life and become a different man. He has gone to S. Peter’s and intends to erect the Tribune for the High Altar there, according to the design of Nicholas V, which will cost 50,000 ducats; in Sta Maria Maggiore there is also to be a new Tribune for the Papal Benediction, and already 2000 ducats have been set apart for this. Moreover yesterday in the Consistory he promised a reform of the Church, both in temporal and spiritual matters, and appointed a commission of six Cardinals and three Prelates for this purpose. Finally he announced his intention of equipping forty squadrons, but will have no Roman Barons among them. It is thought that he will give the command to Gonsalvo de Cordova, who is a truly able and worthy man. He has also promised many other excellent things; time will soon shew whether he is in earnest.”

In regard to the proceedings at the Consistory of June 19th, we have a detailed report of the Venetian Ambassador and a letter from Ascanio Sforza. It was attended by all the Cardinals in Rome, excepting Ascanio, and, in addition to the representatives of the League, by the Ambassadors of Spain, Naples, Venice and Milan. After the Cardinals had each severally offered their condolences, the Pope addressed them in a speech in which he freely gave vent to his grief. “The blow which has fallen upon us” he said, “is the heaviest that we could possibly have sustained. We loved the Duke of Gandia more than any one else in the world. We would give seven Tiaras to be able to recall him to life. God has done this in punishment for our sins, for the Duke had done nothing to deserve this mysterious and terrible death. It has been said that Giovanni Sforza is the criminal. We are convinced that this is not the case, and equally so, that neither his brother nor the Duke of Urbino are guilty; may God forgive the murderer. We, on our part, are resolved to amend our own life and to reform the Church. The reform of the Church will be put into the hands of six Cardinals and two Auditors of the Rota. From henceforth benefices shall only be given to deserving persons, and in accordance with the votes of the Cardinals. We renounce all nepotism, We will begin the reform with ourselves and so proceed through all ranks of the Church till the whole work is accomplished.” Six Cardinals were appointed on the spot to constitute the Commission of Reform.

When the Pope had finished his speech, the Spanish Ambassador Garcilaso della Vega stood up to apologise for the absence of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza. The Cardinal, he said, desired him to entreat his Holiness to give no

credence to the reports that were going about that he was the murderer, and had assumed the leadership of the Orsini party. If the Pope permitted, he would come forward and defend himself. He had only kept away from today's Consistory out of fear of the Spaniards. The Pope replied "God forbid that I should harbour any such horrible suspicions of the Cardinal. I have always looked upon him as a brother and he will be welcome whenever he comes."

On the same day, 19th of June, the death of the Duke of Gandia was officially announced to the Italian and foreign Powers. "We do not know," the letter says, "by whom the murder was committed, or what was its cause." The loss of one whom he loved only too dearly was, he considered, a visitation from God and a warning to him to amend his life. The Powers replied at once with letters of condolence. The Emperor Maximilian expressed a hope that the Pope would persevere in his good resolutions and carry them out. Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, between whom and the Pope negotiations for a reconciliation were in process, and Girolamo Savonarola also expressed their sympathy. In the anguish of the first shock Alexander had written to the King of Spain that he was thinking of resigning the Tiara. Ferdinand, who knew the Pope well, advised him to do nothing in a hurry and spoke of the healing hand of time.

On the 26th June, 1497, the Pope received the Envoys of the League and of Federigo of Naples; he assured them that he was anxious to do everything that was possible in the cause of peace and the well-being of Italy. On the following day, the Milanese Envoy wrote home that Cardinal Ascanio Sforza was much disturbed at the suspicions of which he was the object; he declared that nothing worse could have happened to him than the death of the Duke, which had put a stop to important negotiations which were just approaching completion. The Envoy adds in cypher that indications had at last been discovered which pointed to the Orsini as the authors of the murder, these were being followed up with all possible energy; the clearer they became, the greater the Pope felt was the necessity for caution, lest anything should transpire prematurely. In the same letter he mentions that Alexander was beginning to doubt whether it would not be better to send Cardinal Ascanio to Naples as Legate for the Coronation, instead of Caesar. Coupled with this, the fact that on June 21st, he had a long conversation with the Pope, seems to prove that Alexander really did not believe in his guilt. On the other hand, all this may have been merely a blind. In any case the Pope soon changed his opinion. Venetian reports announce in July that Sforza and Alexander were now bitterly estranged, because it became certain that the former was the Duke's murderer. The Cardinal, on account of the strong feeling against him amongst the Spaniards, thought it prudent to leave Rome. He went first to Frascati and then to Grottaferrata and Genazzano. The Venetian Envoy thinks that he is now turning to the Colonna because the Orsini are trying to make friends with the Pope. The same writer reports that in August he came to Rome to attend the funeral of his friend Cardinal Lunati, and had a long interview with the Pope, and that every one believes Ascanio to have been the murderer of the Duke.

In a letter, partly in cypher, from the Cardinal to his brother, dated Genazzano, July 26th, 1497, the former refers to a previous communication of July 6th, in which he had told him of Alexander's expressed suspicions of the Orsini, on whom he would avenge himself if they proved to be well-founded. Some new results of the investigations would be communicated to the Duke of

Milan, and the Pope would do nothing without his advice. Later, in August, the Venetian Ambassador announces that Ascanio is in Rome and the Pope displays no hostile feeling against him, although it is held for certain that he had murdered the Duke of Gandia. Alexander VI could not have shared this opinion, for when he and Ascanio fell out in December 1498, this accusation does not appear in the violent recriminations which they hurled at each other, and it was not till July 1499, and for reasons quite unconnected with the tragedy of 1497, that the Cardinal finally left the Court. In June 1498 he wrote to his brother that the new accusation lately raised against him, of his having been the intermediary between Prospero Colonna and Giovanni Sforza in the matter of the Duke's assassination, troubled him very little; which looks as if his conscience was clear. The charges made against the Orsini and Giovanni Sforza of having been implicated in the bloody deed seem much more likely to be true.

Since the Spring of the year, the Tyrant of Pesaro had become completely estranged from Alexander on account of his refusal to agree to the dissolution of his marriage with Lucrezia, which the Pope desired. In March he fled from Rome to Pesaro. According to a Venetian account he had come secretly to Rome just at the time of the murder, but a Milanese letter states that he was then staying with Lodovico il Moro. On the other hand he had plenty of grievances both personal, and probably also political, and might very well have employed hired assassins; and "his violent conduct in Pesaro, in 1503, showed him to be quite capable of such a deed." At the same time the fact that on the 19th June, Alexander VI formally dismissed the charge against him, and that from that time he was held to be clear of suspicion, speaks in favour of his innocence. In the whole course of the long negotiations about the dissolution of his marriage, while many other evil things were said of Giovanni Sforza, he was never accused of the murder.

On the other hand, the charge of being the chief instigators and contrivers of the crime was openly and persistently preferred against the Orsini. "The Orsini certainly had ample cause for hating the Pope and the Duke. They had been the first to be attacked by Alexander in order to carve out of their estates a principality for his son, and found the House of Borgia. Their reply had been the victory of Soriano, and the peace in the end was a far from dishonourable one for them; but the relations on both sides remained hostile, and the Orsini could not but be aware that whenever a good opportunity presented itself the contest would be resumed. If the Duke, who was the chief cause of the attack upon them, were put out of the way, they might hope to be secure against the probability of its renewal." What happened was the exact contrary: Alexander, convinced that they were responsible for the murder, was bent on revenge. In December it was known that the destruction of the Orsini had been determined on; but at this point Venice intervened and compelled the Pope to desist from his purpose. He did not, however, relinquish it, and indeed could not, considering their attitude towards him. In February 1498, it was reported that they were plotting against his life. From Alexander's later action we gather that in pursuing the Orsini he believed that he was executing a just vengeance on the murderers of his son, and contemporary accounts from Rome fully confirm the truth of this view.

We do not possess the requisite materials for attaining to perfect certainty in regard to the guilt of the Orsini, and it always remains a possibility that the

assassination had nothing to do with politics. The dissolute life of the Duke of Gandia was notorious in the city, and at first, it was very commonly believed that he had come by his death in some intrigue. It is quite probable that this natural explanation is the true one. The investigations were prolonged for more than a year, but brought to light nothing new. In consequence, the air was thick with rumours. Nothing stimulates the imagination so much as a mystery, and where no one knows the truth the most impossible things are believed. Every one who could in any conceivable way be supposed to have an interest in the Duke's death was suspected; amongst the names mentioned were not only the Orsini, Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, and Giovanni of Pesaro, but even Gandia's brother Jofre. In the Consistory of June 19th, the Pope at once put aside all the other names, but made no remark when the Orsini were spoken of. This is certainly significant. Probably the actual history of this ghastly tragedy will never be completely unveiled, but the more we study the facts, both preceding and subsequent to it, the more do they seem to tend towards the implication of this family. It may very well be that knowing the Prince's character, they sought and found in some love adventure the easiest and safest means of putting him out of the way; but the evidence against them is not strong enough to justify anything more definite than a well-grounded suspicion.

In all the reports written at the time, as far as they are known, there is not the slightest hint to be found of that which came a few years later to be almost universally believed, namely, that Caesar Borgia was the assassin. The earliest accusation against him was started nine months later, and is found in a Report of the Ferrarese Envoy to Venice, which fact is noteworthy. Many of the Orsini, and Giovanni Sforza who had been so deeply injured by Caesar, had taken refuge in Venice, and the news soon spread from thence. Paolo Capello repeated it in his Report of September 1500, and Silvio Savelli in his pamphlet of November 1501. Even at that time, however, it had not yet acquired a very wide circulation. The Neapolitan poets, writing before 1500, though ascribing every imaginable vice to the Borgia do not mention fratricide in the lists; and even later the murder is ascribed to many other persons besides Caesar; but the belief in his guilt continued to strengthen with time, until at last it came to be accepted as a certainty. When we remember the intense and universal hatred which Caesar Borgia eventually aroused against himself, both in Rome and in the whole of Italy, we cannot be surprised that "one undeserved accusation should be added to the many which he so richly merited; and considering what the times were, it is equally easy to understand that it should be widely believed. Also, in those days court scandals passed quite as rapidly from one court to another as they do in our own day, and thus the rumour soon reached Spain, and there too, found many to credit it." It was not, however, generally adopted in Spain. Bernaldez, in his Chronicle narrating the murder of the Duke, naturally mentions the Cardinal, but does not in any way connect his name with the crime.

There does not seem any sufficient reason which could have induced Caesar to commit this unnatural crime at this particular juncture "when he was about in a signal manner to participate in the honours and dignities which the Pope was preparing for the Borgia family, by crowning the King of Sicily. In order to excuse or account for the atrocity which filled Spain and Portugal with horror, it has been said that Caesar disliked and wished to escape from his

ecclesiastical position, and that Don Juan stood in his way; but it is plain that on the Duke of Gandia's death, his son and not Caesar would succeed to the title. It would also be necessary to show that Don Juan was really an obstacle to his brother's plans, and that these could only be realised by getting rid of him. No proof of this, however, is forthcoming". On the contrary, it may be justly asked how could the Duke of Gandia, whose military incapacity had just been made patent in the campaign against the Orsini, in any way compete with such a man as Caesar. His conduct also after the murder seems to prove his innocence. "He remained quietly in Rome and only left it on the 22nd July, to accomplish his mission at Naples. Thus he was present throughout all the proceedings there from the 14th June to the 22nd July, and nothing in his actions or demeanour could be adduced to justify any suspicions against him. It is also incredible that the Pope, if he had believed him guilty, could have made him his brother's executor, and thus forced Donna Maria, the King of Spain's cousin, into close and frequent intercourse with her husband's murderer."

Whether the Duke of Gandia fell a victim to the revenge of the Orsini and Giovanni Sforza, or to his own profligacy, or to both, it is certain that Caesar was not implicated in this crime. "But for Alexander VI—the death of the son, the one whom he so dearly cherished, on whom all his hopes were concentrated, torn from him in such a horrible manner—the blow came as an unmistakeable summons to stop short in the course he was pursuing, and to change his life. In the first moments of anguish he seriously and earnestly resolved to take measures at once for the reformation of the Church, and the amendment of his own life; and in order to carry out the first of these intentions he appointed a Commission of six Cardinals, on the 19th of June. This was the turning point in his career. If he meant to fulfil the resolutions embraced in the hour of sorrow, to look upon himself as the Steward, and not the Lord of the Church, to put an end to simony, and to no longer make the advancement of his children the one aim and purpose of his Pontificate, if he in reality meant, as he had declared in that first moment, to be the Father of Christendom and live up to his exalted vocation, he had now received a stern warning to make no further delay. It was still possible for him, supported by the general demand for reforms, by a consistent course of eradicating abuses, above all that formed by the official sale of benefices in Rome, to set the current flowing in a better direction. The reform, however, would have to be steadily carried out step by step. It must begin with the Pope himself, and so pass on to the College of Cardinals, and gradually embrace the bishops and prelates, the priests and monks, and finally the whole of the laity.

There is no doubt that in those sorrowful days of the Summer of 1497, Alexander VI sincerely desired and intended to institute searching reforms. "The Reform Commission sits every morning in the Papal Palace," writes the Florentine Envoy on the 22nd June. In July the Venetians were lost in amazement at the accounts which reached them of the proposed changes in Rome. Such men as the pious General of the Camaldolese, Peter Delphinus, were full of joyful hopes that this terrible event might pave the way for a real amendment. In August it was reported that Alexander had commanded Jofre and his wife to leave Rome and take up their abode in the Castle of Squillace, which belonged to the Prince; and on the 7th of the month the order was obeyed. It was also understood that for the future the Pope was resolved not to

permit either his children or nephews to reside in his neighbourhood, and that even Lucrezia would be sent to Valencia. Other councillors were added to the original six Cardinals, and those belonging to the Court who were absent were summoned to meet in November in order to deliberate on measures of reform.

The amount of preparatory work done by Costa and Caraffa shows how thoroughly in earnest the Cardinals of the Commission of Reform were. On the one hand, the decrees and various schemes of reform of earlier Popes were collected, on the other, opinions were taken on the abuses to be remedied, especially those in the Papal Chancery. Proposals founded on the data thus obtained were then put forward, carefully worked out, and finally formulated into resolutions. At last a comprehensive Bull of Reform was drafted, which began with the following words :

“By the providence of God we have been raised on the Watch-tower of the Apostolic See in order that in one measure we should exercise our pastoral office by removing what is bad and promoting what is good. Therefore with our whole soul we desire an amendment in morals, having observed a gradual deterioration in this respect. The ancient and salutary decrees by which Councils and Popes had endeavoured to stem the tide of sensuality and avarice have been violated. Licentiousness has reached an intolerable pitch; for the nature of man is prone to evil and will not always obey reason, but holds the spirit, in the words of the Apostle, captive under the law of sin. Even when we were only a Cardinal under Pius II, Paul II, Sixtus IV, and Innocent VIII, we strove to accomplish something in this direction, and also at the commencement of our Pontificate we desired to attend to this matter, but the very grave position in which we were placed by the arrival of Charles VIII of France, obliged us to lay it aside until now. We mean to begin with the reform of Our own Court, which is composed of members of all Christian nations, and should be an example of virtue to all. For the inauguration of this most necessary and long desired work, we have selected six of the best and most God-fearing of the Cardinals; namely, Olivero Caraffa, Giorgio Costa, Antoniotto Pallavicino, Giovanni Antonio di S. Giorgio, Francesco Piccolomini, and Raffaele Riario. With their assistance, after a careful review of the enactments of our predecessors and due consideration of the needs of the present day, in the plenitude of our Apostolic power we publish the following ordinances, to be binding for all time. We command that they be inviolably observed; but without prejudice to the validity of the decrees of our predecessors on the same subjects.”

The Bull begins with various ordinances relating to the Pope himself and his Court. Regulations on sacred Liturgy in the Papal Chapel then follow, which contain strict injunctions in regard to silence during the Offices; and the morals generally of the singers and other court officials are dealt with.

The enactments which follow against simony and reservations are still more stringent. A special section is directed against the alienation of any portion of the States of the Church. The Pope is also forbidden to give away any Church territories under the title of a Vicariate. All decrees contravening these enactments in any way are null, unless they have received the consent of the Cardinals. This section also includes regulations dealing with governors and castellans within the States of the Church, and in the same connection there is

an important clause prohibiting promises to Princes of presentations to Bishoprics. In regard to the deposition and translation of Bishops, the existing legal provisions are strengthened.

The Bull then proceeds to the reform of the College of Cardinals. The most important points are that no Cardinal shall possess more than one Bishopric or draw an annual revenue from benefices exceeding 6000 ducats. Cardinals are not to retain Legations for more than two years, so as to fulfil their obligation of residence in Rome with punctuality. Stringent enactments are drawn up against simoniacal practices at Papal elections and against the worldly lives of the Cardinals. The canonical prohibitions against gaming and field-sports are confirmed. Visits to the Courts of secular Princes without a written permission from the Pope are also forbidden, together with any entanglements in the worldly affairs of Princes, taking part in tournaments or carnival sports, or attending representations of the Pagan drama. The households of Cardinals are not to consist of more than eighty persons, of whom at least twelve must be in Sacred Orders, and they are not to keep more than thirty horses. Conjurors, strolling comedians and musicians must not enter their palaces; nor may they employ boys and youths as body servants. Residence at the Court was to be more strictly enforced. No funeral obsequies were to cost more than 1500 florins.

These regulations are in themselves enough to show what abuses had crept into the College of Cardinals, but a deeper insight into the prevailing corruption is furnished by those relating to the papal officials, more especially such as had been guilty of extortion in the collection of taxes. The sale of offices was to be done away with. Detailed instructions are given in regard to the maintenance of the fabric of S. Peter's and the staff for architectural works.

The provisions dealing with expectancies and reservations, and those regarding concubinage reveal the prevalence of serious evils. Respecting the latter it is decreed that all priests of whatever degree must conform to the enactments of the Bull within ten days of its publication; failing this, at the end of a month the culprit will be deprived of his benefices and pronounced incapable of holding any others.

The Bull then goes on to forbid wharf-ducs, and to regulate the corn supply of the city, but soon returns to ecclesiastical affairs. Amongst other things, solemn vows taken by children are pronounced invalid. Further rules are laid down in regard to the granting of tithes to secular Princes, the abuse of commendams, and irregularities in religious houses of men and women. The reform of the Apostolic Chancery is dealt with in great detail. The grave and manifold abuses in this department were to be put down with a strong hand. A secretary for example was not to accept anything beyond the prescribed fee however freely it might be offered. If he had done so he must either return the money or give it to the poor. Anything of the nature of bribery was strictly forbidden.

We see in all these prescriptions the result of Alexander's long experience in the vice-chancellorship. He knew what bitter feelings had been aroused in all parts of the world by the corrupt practices of the secretaries of the Court with which the whole of Christendom was in constant communication. The concluding part of the document was devoted to the reform of the Penitentiary.

Unfortunately, the Bull which contained all these excellent provisions never got beyond the draft stage. The work of reform was put off at first, and then forgotten. Meanwhile, his distress and compunction had subsided, and it became evident that Alexander “did not possess the moral strength to give up his licentious habits. In such a case, where salvation could only be found in setting a noble example of a complete transformation of life, a passing resolve adopted in a moment of anguish and horror and quickly forgotten, was of no avail. The only alternative to the cloister would have been to have entirely broken with the past and, what was perhaps still more difficult, with his whole surroundings in the present; but he would not have been Rodrigo Borgia, he would not have been Pope Alexander had he had the courage to make such a change.” The old spirit of nepotism gradually revived and grew stronger than ever, and all desire for better things was stifled by the demon of sensuality. The latter state became worse than the former. The Pope now fell more and more under the influence and control of Caesar Borgia.

On the 22nd July, Caesar had left Rome for Naples as Legate for the Coronation, with a large retinue. There, his demands for money and favours of all sorts were so importunate that the Florentine Ambassador wrote “It would not be surprising if the poor King were driven to throw himself into the arms of the Turks to escape from his tormentor.” In the beginning of September, the Cardinal returned to Rome. Jakob Burchard says that at his reception in the Consistory, the father and son did not speak a word to each other. It soon became known that Caesar intended to resign his cardinalate and to marry. It would appear that in December Alexander had not yet given his consent to this step; or, if he had done so, it seems impossible to understand his having in that month bestowed on Caesar the benefices, bringing in a revenue of 12,000 ducats which had been held by Cardinal Sclafenati who had just died. Nevertheless, the Venetian Ambassador, writing at this time, says that it was proposed to bestow on him the lordships of Cesena and Fano. On December 24, 1497, Cardinal Ascanio Sforza announces to his brother in a report in cypher “I and King Federigo and your Highness’s Envoys had a conversation with the Pope which lasted more than four hours. Briefly, the subject was the daily increasing efforts which Caesar is making to obtain leave to resign his seat in the College of Cardinals. The Pope is anxious, if this is to be, that it should be carried out under the best pretext that can be found, and in such a manner as to give as little scandal as possible.” In this conversation another topic was also touched upon which was equally calculated to provoke unfavourable comments, and do no good to Alexander’s reputation, namely, that of the annulling of Lucrezia’s childless marriage with Giovanni Sforza.

The negotiations concerning this disgraceful affair had been going on ever since the Spring of 1497. At first Lucrezia seems to have stood by her husband; but on the 14th of June we hear of a complete breach between the pair. At that time, the Pope, supported by Caesar and the Duke of Gandia, declared that Lucrezia must not be permitted to remain in the hands of such a man; the marriage they said had never been consummated and could and should be annulled. Even the murder of the Duke of Gandia produced no abatement in the energy with which the case was prosecuted. Accordingly, in August a new marriage was already in contemplation for Lucrezia; but up to the end of December Giovanni Sforza offered a most determined resistance. At last,

however, yielding to the strong pressure put upon him by his kinsmen Lodovico il Moro and Cardinal Ascanio, he consented to declare in writing that the marriage with Lucrezia had never been consummated. On the 20th of December the dissolution of the marriage was formally pronounced and Sforza was required to return his wife's dowry to the amount of 31,000 ducats. The injured man took his revenge by attributing to Alexander the worst possible motives. The annulling of this marriage gave so much scandal that people were prepared to believe anything that could be said by the enemies of the Borgia, and credited them with crimes "which the moral sense shrinks from putting into words."

At the same time, Alexander VI cannot be acquitted of the charge that his conduct was such as to shock the public opinion of a profoundly corrupt age, to a degree hitherto unexampled. There seemed no end to the accumulation of scandals in the Borgia family. First there was the flight of Sforza from Rome; then came the mysterious assassination of the Duke of Gandia, next the dissolution of Lucrezia's marriage securing obvious political advantages, then Caesar's resignation of the Cardinalate, and finally the abandonment of the scheme of reform, and the return of the Pope to his old way of living. Can we wonder that where the Borgia were concerned nothing was thought too horrible to be believed? "I will make no comment on these matters" writes the Venetian Envoy in September 1497, alluding to the scandalous reports then current in Rome, "but it is certain that this Pope permits himself things that are unexampled and unpardonable."

Meanwhile, the sensational tales of the doings of the Borgia family which amused the profligate upper classes, led the populace to believe that demoniacal agencies were at work. On the 14th June, 1499, strange noises were said to have been heard in S. Peter's and torches carried by no human hands appeared and vanished in all parts of the building; a seeress declared the bearers to be the prince of hell and his myrmidons. On December of the year following, the ghost of the Duke of Gandia was supposed to have appeared in the Castle of S. Angelo, moaning fearfully. When, on the 29th of October, 1497, the powder magazine in the Castle was struck by lightning, the alarm became more intense. The explosion destroyed the upper portion of the fortress, shattered the marble angels and hurled large stones across the water as far as the Church of S. Celso. "The reign of Pope Alexander," writes the Venetian chronicler Malipiero, "is full of startling and portentous events; his antechamber was struck by lightning, the Tiber overflowed and flooded the city; his son has been horribly murdered, and now the Castle of S. Angelo has been blown up."

CHAPTER VI.

Savonarola and Alexander VI.

As it became more and more evident that nothing in the way of reform was to be hoped for from Alexander VI, the eyes of many in Italy began to turn towards the eloquent Dominican, who seemed to concentrate in himself all the elements of resistance to the anti-Christian Renaissance and the secularisation of the Church, personified in the Pope, which the country contained.

In Florence, corrupted as it had been by the Medici, and made into a nest of "heathen philosophers, voluptuaries, dilettanti, money-lenders and traders, intriguing politicians and sharp-witted critics Savonarola had, at least for the moment, succeeded in bringing about an amazing moral revolution. There seemed reason to hope that the reform of Rome might be achieved by the same hand, especially as in his preaching he dwelt so much on the vocation of Florence as "the heart of Italy" to diffuse the renovating lights throughout the whole world. In his sermons he incessantly insisted, with ever-growing vehemence, on the absolute necessity of a complete reformation of Rome, the Pope, and the Court. At that time this sort of plain speaking gave little or no offence there. Alexander was extremely indifferent to strictures of that kind; no doctrine of the Church was assailed, and he had no desire to curtail the orator's liberty of speech. Had Savonarola confined himself to the subjects proper to his vocation as a preacher and a religious, he would probably never have come into serious collision with the Pontiff; but as, on the contrary, his passionate zeal drove him in his discourses to trench more and more on political ground, they soon provided his enemies with a good excuse for calling on the Pope to intervene.

Savonarola's growing influence threatened to make him the virtual "King of Florence," and his enemies were both numerous and powerful. Foremost amongst them was Piero de' Medici with his adherents, and next to them came those who disliked and resented the democratic and theocratic ideals and the stern moral discipline which he wished to introduce into the constitution of the State. This party was known as the Arrabiati, while the followers of the Friar were called Frateschi or Piagnoni (mourners over the corruption of the times). Finally, there were the anti-Gallican Italian States. Florence was the only Italian power which withstood the Pope on this point, and Savonarola was the indefatigable and passionate advocate of the French alliance. The Divine commission, which he persistently claimed for himself, emphatically included this advocacy. From first to last he believed the frivolous, dissolute King of France to be God's chosen instrument for the reformation of the Church. He predicted that Charles would be always victorious, and that Florence, if she remained faithful to him, would regain all her* lost possessions. In almost every one of his sermons he insisted on the necessity of joining France. He reiterated again and again that "Charles VIII would certainly reform the Church."

When we call to mind that the King of France had repeatedly threatened the Pope with a so-called Reformation Council,—in other words, a Council to

depose him,—it cannot seem strange that Savonarola should gradually come to be regarded with more and more suspicion in Rome ; and all the more so as it was notorious that the one thing that the Pope had most at heart, namely, that Florence should join the League, had no more determined opponent than the Friar. Savonarola felt himself perfectly secure in the favour of the people; all accounts agree in describing his influence as unbounded. “He is invoked as a Saint and revered as a prophet,” writes the Ferrarese Envoy the Florentine chronicler Landucci says that “many were so infatuated with the new prophet that they would have had no hesitation in going to the stake for him”. Encouraged by the enthusiastic support of his followers, the hot-blooded Dominican embarked in a general war of extermination against his opponents. In one of his sermons he went so far as to demand, crucifix in hand, that all who attempted to bring the tyrants back to Florence should be punished with death. At last Alexander VI felt it necessary to take some steps; but he proceeded with the greatest moderation. f| On the 25th of July, 1495, a Brief couched in very friendly terms, summoned Savonarola, “in the name of holy obedience,” to come at once to Rome to give an account of the prophecies for which he claimed Divine inspiration. On the 30th the Friar sent his reply; while acknowledging the duty of obedience, especially in a religious, he excused himself from coming, on the ground of the state of his health, and his conviction that his enemies would throw the whole city into confusion if he left Florence at this moment.

Upon this a second Brief was sent in September addressed to the friars of S^{ta} Croce, who were on bad terms with those of S. Marco. In this Brief, Savonarola was described as “a certain Fra Girolamo” who gave himself out to be a prophet without being able to prove his claim either by miracles or direct evidence from Holy Scripture. The patience of the Pope, it continued, was now exhausted. Savonarola must abstain from preaching of any kind, and the Convent of S. Marco was henceforth to be reunited to the Lombard congregation, to whose Superior the Friar must now render obedience. All recalcitrants were declared, *ipso facto*, under the ban of the Church.

This command of the Pope marked the turning point in Savonarola’s life. As a priest and Friar he had sworn obedience to the Head of the Church. Alexander’s personal character and the political motives by which he was actuated in no way affected this obligation. In issuing the ordinance contained in the Brief of September 8, the Pope was clearly acting within his canonical rights. Savonarola did not deny this. Writing to a brother of his Order in Rome on 15th September, he says: “I know the root of all these plots, and know them to be the work of evil-minded citizens who would fain re-establish tyranny in Florence... Nevertheless, if there be no other way of saving my conscience, I am resolved to make submission, so as to avoid even a venial sin.” His answer to Alexander, sent on 29th September, was not quite so clear or decided. In it he lamented that his enemies should have succeeded in deceiving the Holy Father ... “As to my doctrines,” he continued, “I have always been submissive to the Church; as regards prophecy, I have never absolutely declared myself a prophet, although this would be 110 heresy; but I have undoubtedly foretold various things, of which some have been already fulfilled; and others, that will be verified at some future time. Moreover, it is known to all Italy that the chastisement hath already begun, and how solely, by means of my words, there hath been peace in Florence, the which failing, all would have suffered greater

woes.” ... “As to leaving our case to the decision of the Lombard Vicar, this implies making our adversary our judge, since the quarrels between the two congregations are publicly known.” In separating themselves from this congregation they had only passed from a laxer to a stricter rule, which all authorities agree may lawfully be done. “Our reunion with the Lombard Friars at this moment would only deepen the rancour already, unhappily, existing between the two congregations, and give rise to fresh disputes and fresh scandals. Arid finally, inasmuch as your Holiness declares that you desire this union in order to prevent others from lapsing into my errors, and inasmuch as it is now most plain that I have not lapsed into error, the cause being non-existent, neither should its effect remain. Having therefore proved the falsity of all the charges brought against me, I pray your Holiness to vouchsafe a reply to my defence and to grant me absolution. I preach the doctrine of the Holy Fathers ... and am ready if I should be in error ... to avow it publicly, and make amends before the whole people. And now again I repeat that which I have always said, namely, that I submit myself and all my writings to the correction of the Holy Roman Church.”

In his next Brief, despatched on the 16th of October, Alexander displayed admirable moderation and prudence. With “great consideration” it yielded the most important point, that of the reunion of the Convent of S. Marco to the Lombard Province, only insisting that Savonarola should absolutely abstain from preaching. In fact, for the Friar of S. Marco, politics and preaching were almost synonymous. The Brief began with a review of the action of Rome up to the present moment. In the beginning the Pope had expressed his disapproval of the disturbances in Florence, which had been in a great measure caused by Savonarola’s preaching, because, instead of directing his sermons against the vices of the Florentines, he had filled them with predictions of future events, which, he said, had been revealed, to him by the Holy Ghost. Such preaching was full of danger for many souls and could not fail to engender strife. Therefore, after mature deliberation, he had decided to summon Savonarola to Rome, there to give an account of his doings. Now, however, to his great joy, he gathered from the letter which he had lately received, and from what he had been told by others, that the Friar was ready, as a good Christian, to submit to the Church; in, all things. Hence he would willingly believe that Savonarola had erred rather through excess of zeal than with any evil intent. The matter, however, was too important to be passed over lightly, and therefore he determined to write to him again, commanding him in the name of holy obedience to abstain from all preaching, either in public or privately, until he was able, conveniently and safely, to appear himself in Rome, or until a commission had been sent to Florence. If he obeyed this command, the former Briefs would be rescinded.

Meanwhile, on the 11th of October, Savonarola, seeing Florence in imminent danger from Piero de’ Medici, had thrown all other considerations to the winds and reascended the pulpit, in order to rouse his fellow-citizens to a strenuous resistance. Again he called for the death of all who attempted to bring back the Medici. “They must be treated,” he cried, “as the Romans treated those who wished to bring Tarquinius back. You would rather let Christ be struck than strike a fellow-citizen. Let justice take its course. Off with the head of the traitor, were he even the chief of the first family in the city. Off, I say, with his head”.

Similar expressions recur in the sermons of 16th and 26th October. For some hitherto unexplained cause, the Bull of 16th October did not arrive till after this latter date. Savonarola had by this time succeeded in baffling Piero de' Medici's attempt; but he must have been forced to own to himself that he had violated his pledge of the 16th September, and acted in direct opposition to his Superiors, from whom alone his mission as a preacher was derived. The Brief must have caused him the greatest embarrassment. One fact, which is certainly not to his credit, shews that, in his excitement, he did not at all expect such lenient treatment. Through the Florentine Envoy of the Duke of Ferrara, he had secretly entered into relations with that Prince, and asked for his assistance in case the Pope should not accept his excuse and proceed further against him. Now that Alexander had shown himself so placable and ready to make concessions, and since also the chief object of his sermons, the frustration of Piero de' Medici's enterprise, had been achieved, to abstain from preaching during Advent entailed no very great sacrifice on Savonarola. And in addition to this, his party were gaining more and more the upper hand in the city. A loyal and lasting submission was never contemplated by him; on the contrary, he brought every influence that he could control to bear upon the Pope to induce him to withdraw the prohibition. The Government of Florence interested itself strongly in this direction, and addressed itself especially to Cardinal Caraffa, the Protector of the Dominicans in Rome. Florentine reports from Rome went so far as to assert that the Cardinal had, in a conversation with Alexander, persuaded the latter to permit Savonarola to preach again, provided he confined his sermons to matters of religion. The Friar himself, however, never ventured to maintain that any such permission had been granted. The attitude of the Signoria in Florence also shews clearly that nothing was even said by the Pope that could be so construed; of course, no Brief to that effect was forthcoming. They decided, on 17th February, 1496, to command Savonarola, under pain of their indignation, to resume his sermons in the Cathedral. The Friar, who had found so many excuses for evading the commands of his spiritual superiors, lost no time in obeying the order of the secular power.

On 17th February Savonarola again ascended the pulpit, and preached regularly throughout the whole of Lent. His first sermon shewed that he had already entered on the devious paths which henceforth he was to follow. Like Huss in earlier times, he saw nothing incongruous or unbecoming in making his own subjective convictions the standard of the duty of ecclesiastical obedience. "The Pope," he said, "cannot command me to do anything which is in contradiction to Christian charity or the Gospel. I am convinced that he never will; but were he to do so, I should reply : "At this moment you are in error and no longer the chief pastor or the voice of the Church". If there can be no doubt that the command of a superior contradicts the Divine precepts, and especially the law of Christian charity, no one ought to obey it. If, however, the matter is not perfectly evident, so that no doubt is possible, we ought to submit". He declared that he had earnestly examined all his ways and found them pure; for he had always submitted his teaching to the doctrines of Holy Church. Though convinced that the Briefs sent from Rome were invalid, inasmuch as they were solely inspired by lying reports, he had yet resolved to be prudent. Thus he had so far kept silence, but when he saw many of the good growing lukewarm, and the wicked more and more bold, he felt himself constrained to return to his post. " First of all, however, I sought the Lord, saying: I was rejoicing in my

peace and tranquillity, and Thou drewest me forth by showing me Thy light.... I would fain repose, but find no resting-place—would fain remain still and silent, but may not, for the word of God is as a fire in my heart, and unless I give it vent, it will consume the marrow of my bones. Come then, O Lord, since Thou would'st have me steer through these deep waters, let Thy will be done." He seemed to have already forgotten that it was the secular power which had commanded him to preach, and launched him forth again on these "deep waters."

Savonarola's second sermon was directed mainly against the vices of Rome. He began with a curious application of the passage in Amos, IV, I. "Hear this word, ye fat kine, that are in the mountains of Samaria". "For me," he said, "these fat kine signify the harlots of Italy and Rome ... Are there none in Italy and Rome? One thousand, ten thousand, fourteen thousand are few for Rome; for there both men and women are made harlots." And pursuing this strain, he describes the vices of Rome in terms scarcely to be repeated at the present day. The preacher seemed utterly regardless of the fact that his audience included hundreds of innocent children, for whom a special gallery round the walls of the Church had been provided.

This discourse, on the second Sunday in Lent, was by no means an isolated outburst of passion; the whole course of sermons teemed with these extravagant diatribes against the sins of Rome. Politics were frequently touched upon, but every topic led back in the end to declamation against the Curia. "Flee from Rome," he cried out, "for Babylon signifies confusion, and Rome hath confused all the Scriptures, confused all vices together, confused everything." In his last Lenten sermon in 1496, Savonarola emphatically repeated his new theory of what constituted obedience to the Church, which, had it prevailed, must have overthrown all order and discipline. "We are not compelled," he said, "to obey all commands. When given in consequence of lying report they are invalid; when in evident contradiction with the law of charity, laid down by the Gospel, it is our duty to resist them."

Even in the face of all this provocation, Alexander VI still maintained an attitude of great moderation and patience. He allowed more than six months to elapse before taking any action, so that Savonarola had ample time for consideration. Meanwhile, however, in Rome, the conviction that further steps must be taken continued to strengthen. On the one hand, from the ecclesiastical point of view, it was impossible permanently to tolerate his open defiance of the Brief forbidding him to preach, the abusive tone of his sermons, and finally, his unauthorised assumption of the office of a prophet. On the political side, his efficacious advocacy of the French alliance in Florence, threatened the Pope with a repetition of the French King's invasion of Italy, involving possibly his deposition and a schism.

As time went on, the excitement of the contending parties in Florence continued to increase, and Savonarola's preaching added fresh fuel to the flames. The accounts from Florence declared that he railed at the Pope as worse than a Turk, and the Italian powers as worse than heretics. His fulminations soon found their way abroad; and he often said that he had received letters of sympathy even from Germany. It was reported that the Sultan had caused his sermons to be translated into the Turkish language. There was certainly quite

enough in all this to cause Alexander to bestir himself, without needing any further stimulus from the League or from Cardinal Ascanio Sforza. The terrorism exercised by Savonarola and his adherents grew daily more and more intolerable. The prophet declared that no one could be a good Christian who did not believe in him. His most zealous disciple, Fra Domenico da Pescia, went so far as to say that earth and sea and heaven would pass away, the Cherubim and Seraphim, our Lady and even Christ Himself, sooner than any of Savonarola's teaching.

On the 7th November, 1496, the Pope despatched a new Brief with the object of putting an end to these scandals and removing Savonarola, who was the soul of the French party, from Florence, while sparing him as much as possible. The plan of uniting S. Marco with the unfriendly congregation of Lombardy was entirely dropped. Instead of this the Pope proposed to form a new congregation out of the Dominican Convents in the provinces of Rome and Tuscany, with a separate Vicar to be elected in conformity with the statutes of the Order by the several Priors of the monasteries every two years. For the first two years Cardinal Caraffa, who had always been friendly to Savonarola, was appointed vicar.

This time the prophet's answer to his Superiors was an unconditional refusal. The reasons which he gave in justification of this were peculiar. In his "Apology for the Congregation of S. Marco," he says: "The union with the new congregation does not depend on my decision alone, but needs the consent of 250 other monks, who have all written to the Pope protesting against it; and I am neither able nor willing to oppose their wishes on this point, since I hold them to be honest and just." After explaining the reasons against it, he continues: "This union is therefore impossible, unreasonable, and hurtful; nor can the brethren of S. Marco be bound to agree to it, inasmuch as Superiors may not issue commands contrary to the rules of the Order, nor contrary to the law of charity and the welfare of our souls. We must therefore take it for granted that our Superiors have been misled by false information, and resist meanwhile a command that is contrary to charity. Neither must we allow ourselves to be cowed by threats nor excommunications, but be ready to face death rather than submit to that which would be poison and perdition to our souls." At the same time, Savonarola preached frequently, descanting much on his prophetic gifts, and still more on politics.

All this, retailed with exaggeration by his enemies in Rome, was naturally extremely irritating to Alexander VI. Nevertheless, with that practical statecraft which his contemporaries so highly praise in him, the Pope still held back from plunging into a direct conflict with the Friar. He resolved first to try another expedient. In order to detach the Florentines from the French alliance he promised to give them Pisa, and requested them to send an Envoy to negotiate on this subject. Accordingly, on the 4th March, 1497, Alessandro Bracci was despatched for this purpose by the Signoria: to Rome. On the 13th he had an audience from the Pope. Alluding to Lodovico Moro, Alexander said:—"May God forgive him who invited the French into Italy; for all our troubles have arisen from that." He then endeavoured to persuade the Florentine Ambassador to renounce the alliance with France. "Keep to us," he exclaimed; "be loyal Italians, and leave the French in France I must have no more fine words, but some binding security that you will do this." It was in vain for the Ambassador

to point out the reasons which determined the Government to hold still with France; the Pope held to his point, and insisted that Florence must change her policy? He knew very well, he said, that this conduct, so unworthy of an Italian power was prompted by the belief of the Florentines in the predictions of a fanatic. He was deeply wounded at the way in which the Government of Florence permitted this Friar to attack and threaten him and hold him up to scorn.

There was ample justification for these complaints on the part of the Pope, for accusations against Rome again constituted the principal theme of the Lent sermons of the year 1497. The language of the preacher became more and more violent. "Come here, thou ribald Church," he cried out. "The Lord saith, I gave thee beautiful vestments, but thou hast made idols of them. Thou hast dedicated the sacred vessels to vainglory, the sacraments to simony; thou hast become a shameless harlot in thy lusts; thou art lower than a beast, thou art a monster of abomination. Once, thou felt shame for thy sin, but now thou art shameless. Once, anointed priests called their sons nephews; but now they speak no more of their nephews, but always and everywhere of their sons. Everywhere hast thou made a public place, and raised a house of ill-fame. And what doth the harlot? She sitteth on the throne of Solomon and soliciteth all the world; he that hath gold is made welcome, and may do as he will; but he that seeketh to do good is driven forth.... And thou, O prostitute Church, thou hast displayed thy foulness to the whole world, and stinkest up to Heaven."

Language such as this was calculated to alienate many who had hitherto favoured the Florentine prophet. The General of his Order and Cardinal Caraffa now ceased to defend him; and in Rome his cause was practically lost, while in Florence, also, public opinion was beginning to turn against him. His irreconcilable opponents, the Arrabiati and the Compagnacci (boon companions and lovers of the table), began to get more and more the upper hand. The excitement became so great that at last the Signoria issued a decree forbidding all monks of all Orders to preach after Ascension Day. On this day (4th May) Savonarola once more stood up in the Cathedral pulpit and boldly repeated his former assertion, that all who persecuted him were fighting against God; Italy, and especially Rome, would be terribly chastised, and then would come the reformation of the Church. It was untrue to say that he ought not to have preached that day because his preaching might give rise to disturbances; the Signoria might forbid preaching, but all the same there would be strife to determine whether such tyranny ought to be endured. At this moment a tumult began in the Church which soon spread into the streets. A regular pitched battle between the opponents and adherents of Savonarola seemed imminent. An Envoy in Florence writes: "We have got back to the days of the Guelfs and the Ghibellines". The authors of these disturbances remained unpunished, and the preacher could not fail to see that his party had lost its ascendancy. Under these circumstances he resolved to make an attempt to avert the storm that was gathering against him in Rome. On the 22nd May he wrote a letter to the Pope, beginning with the words, "Why is my lord so wroth with his servant?" He had never, he declared, made any personal accusations in his sermons against any one, least of all against the Vicar of Christ—further, he asserted that he was always ready to submit himself to the judgment of the Church, and preached no

other doctrine than that of the Holy Fathers, as would soon be proved to the whole world in his forthcoming work, *The Triumph of the Cross*.

While Savonarola was penning these words, judgment had been already pronounced against him in Rome. Even his former friend and supporter, Cardinal Caraffa, had now become convinced of the necessity for this step. Savonarola had invented all sorts of flimsy pretexts for evading the examination into his prophetic gifts which Rome was bound to require, and to which it was his clear duty to submit. What would become of the authority of the Holy See if every one were to follow his example? At the same time, while withholding from his Superiors that submission to which his vows had bound him, he claimed unquestioning obedience to his own commands, as Divine revelations!

On the 12th May, 1497, Alexander attached his signature to the Brief of Excommunication. He had delayed his action as long as he could, and given the hot-headed Friar ample time to come to a better mind. Referring to the complaints brought to Rome of Savonarola's proceedings, the Florentine Envoy expressly says that Alexander had let it be clearly seen that he "was not inclined to make use of all the weapons that he had in his hand." But Savonarola's obstinate refusal to carry out the orders of the Holy See, in regard to the union of the Convent of S. Marco with the newly-erected Tuscan and Roman congregation, and his persistent disregard of the prohibition against his preaching, displayed an amount of insubordination towards the Papal authority that could not be left unchallenged. In addition to this, there were his incessant diatribes against Rome, and the assumption of prophetic authority on which these were founded; and no doubt political motives tended in the same direction, since Alexander was making every effort to detach Florence from France, and Savonarola was in this his strongest antagonist. However, the Friar's persistent insubordination was certainly the main determining factor in the final decision against him. "It was impossible for even an Alexander VI to tolerate a prophet overriding the Hierarchy."

The Brief of Excommunication runs as follows: "We have heard from many persons worthy of belief, that a certain Fra Girolamo Savonarola, at this present said to be Vicar of S. Marco in Florence, hath disseminated pernicious doctrines to the scandal and great grief of simple souls. We had already commanded him, by his vows of holy obedience, to suspend his sermons and come to us to seek pardon for his errors; but he refused to obey, and alleged various excuses which we too graciously accepted, hoping to convert him by our clemency. On the contrary, however, he persisted still more in his obstinacy; wherefore, by a second Brief (7th November, 1496), we commanded him, under pain of excommunication, to unite the Convent of S. Marco to the Tuscan-Roman Congregation recently created by us. But even then he still persisted in his stubbornness, thus, *ipso facto*, incurring the Censure. Wherefore we now command you, on the feast days and in the presence of the people, to declare the said Fra Girolamo excommunicate, and to be held as such by all men, for his disobedience to our apostolic admonitions and commands; and, under pain of the same penalty, all are forbidden to assist him, hold intercourse with him, or abet him either by word or deed, inasmuch as he is an excommunicated person, and suspected of heresy. Given in Rome, 12th May, 1497."

In order to spare the Florentines as much as possible, the Brief was not sent to the Government but to the several convents. It was not solemnly published until the 18th June. Meanwhile the Florentine Envoys in Rome were working hard to obtain from the Pope the withdrawal, or at least the suspension, of the sentence. Savonarola's letter of 22nd May had arrived in the interim and produced a softening effect on Alexander, who from the first had been doing his best to avoid extreme measures. It seems most probable that at this juncture, in spite of the intrigues of the enemies of the Friar, it would have been possible to have obtained a suspension of the Brief. Alexander VI was cut to the heart by the murder of the Duke of Gandia, and frightened also, as the assassin could not be discovered. So prudent a statesman could not have desired to aggravate the tension of the situation just then by embarking in a new conflict. The fact that he put Savonarola's case into the hands of the newly-appointed commission for the reform of the Church, for further consideration, seems to prove that a pacific solution of it was quite within the bounds of possibility.

At this critical moment it was Savonarola's own inconsiderate violence which effectually crushed this last chance of a reconciliation. On the 19th June he wrote in great haste an "Epistle against the surreptitious Excommunication addressed to all Christians and friends of God." In it he endeavoured to defend himself against his opponents, and repeated his claim to a Divine mission. At the close he says: "This Excommunication is invalid before God and man, inasmuch as it is based on false reasons and accusations devised by our enemies. I have always submitted, and will still submit, to the authority of the Church, nor will ever fail in my obedience; but no one is bound to submit to commands opposed to charity and the law of God, since in such a case our Superiors are no longer the representatives of the Lord. Meanwhile, seek by prayer to make ready for that which may befall you. If this matter is pursued further, we will make the truth known to all the world." This theory is in direct contradiction to the teaching of the Church, which enjoins obedience even to an unjust Interdict, and would obviously destroy all discipline. Savonarola was bound to obey the Holy See, however it might be desecrated by such an occupant as Alexander VI.

The Pope had no choice but to treat this step as a declaration of war. On the 26th June he told the Florentine Envoys that he was determined to proceed against the disobedient Friar, in the manner prescribed by the Church for dealing with rebels and those who contemned her authority. The Florentines still hoped by diplomacy to avert the catastrophe, especially as Alexander declared that, if Florence would give up the French alliance, he would do everything in his power to meet all the wishes of the Republic. The Florentine Envoy was also indefatigable in exerting himself to influence the Cardinals in favour of Savonarola, and not entirely without result, for some members of the commission recommended that the Censure should be suspended for two months, and the Friar induced meanwhile to come to Rome. But these views did not prevail. The commission of Cardinals agreed with the Pope that it was out of the question to comply with the request of the Signoria, unless Savonarola would first consent to yield obedience to the commands of the General of his Order and of the Holy See. People began to say that the Interdicts would be extended to the city itself. Still the Florentine Envoy refused to relinquish all

hope, but was forced on the 12th February, 1498, to confess, after months of toil, that the case presented extraordinary difficulties.

Meanwhile Savonarola, more than ever convinced of his divine mission, did everything that in him lay to increase these difficulties and to exasperate the Pope and make a reconciliation impossible.

Hitherto, even during the Plague, he had abstained from attempting to exercise any sacerdotal functions; he well knew that to do so while under a formal sentence of Excommunication would be a sacrilege.

At the end of the year 1497 he changed his mind on this point. On Christmas Day he celebrated three masses and gave communion to all his religious and a large number of the laity. Many of his partisans even disapproved of this sacrilegious act. Presently it was announced that he intended to begin again to preach. The excommunication, he explained to the Ferrarese Envoy, was unjust and had no power to bind him; he did not mean to take any notice of it; see what a life Alexander VI was leading; nothing should hinder him from preaching, "his commission came from One who was higher than the Pope, higher than any creature." The Vicar of the Archbishop of Florence tried to prevent this by issuing a mandate forbidding all from being present at the sermons, and desiring the parish priests to explain to their flocks that the excommunication was perfectly valid, and that any one attending Savonarola's preaching incurred the same penalty himself, and would be cut off from the Sacraments and from Christian burial. The Signoria, however, made short work of this proclamation, threatening the Vicar with the severest penalties if he did not withdraw it at once.

On Septuagesima Sunday, 11th February, 1498, Savonarola again entered the pulpit of S. Marco under the aegis of the secular power and in open defiance of the commands of his spiritual superiors. In burning words he defended his disobedience. "The righteous prince or the good priest," he declared, "is merely an instrument in the Lord's hands for the government of the people, but when the higher agency is withdrawn from prince or priest, he is no longer an instrument, but a broken tool. And how, thou would'st say, am I to discern whether or no the higher agency be absent? See if his laws and commands be contrary to that which is the root and principle of all wisdom, namely of godly living and charity; and if contrary, thou may'st be truly assured that he is a broken tool, and that thou art nowise bound to obey him. Now tell me a little, what is the aim of those who, by their lying reports, have procured this sentence of Excommunication? As all know, they sought to sweep away virtuous living and righteous government, and to open the door to every vice. Thus, no sooner was the Excommunication pronounced, than they returned to drunkenness, profligacy, and every other crime. Thus, I will not acknowledge it, for I cannot act against charity. Any one who gives commands opposed to charity is Excommunicated by God. Were such commands pronounced by an angel, even by the Virgin Mary herself and all the saints (which is certainly impossible), *anathema sit*. If pronounced by any law, or canon, or council, *anathema sit*. And if any Pope hath ever spoken to a contrary effect from this, let him be declared excommunicate. I say not that such a Pope hath ever existed; but if he hath existed he can have been no instrument of the Lord, but a broken tool. It is feared by some that, though this excommunication be powerless in Heaven, it

may have power in the Church. For me it is enough not to be interdicted by Christ. Oh, my Lord, if I should seek to be absolved from this excommunication, let me be sent to hell; I should shrink from seeking absolution as from mortal sin."

"The Pope may err," Savonarola asserted in his sermon on 18th February, "and that in two ways, either because he is erroneously informed, or from malice. As to the latter cause we leave that to the judgment of God, and believe rather that he has been misinformed. In our own case I can prove that he has been falsely persuaded. Therefore any one who obstinately upholds the excommunication and affirms that I ought not to preach these doctrines is fighting against the kingdom of Christ, and supporting the kingdom of Satan, and is himself a heretic, and deserves to be excluded from the Christian community."

These and similar utterances which occur in all his sermons were the result of Savonarola's unfortunate conviction derived from his visions, that he had a mission from God, and his attacks on the Italian, and especially the Roman clergy, became more violent than ever. "The scandals," he says, "begin in Rome and run through the whole of the clergy; they are worse than Turks and Moors. In Rome you will find that they have, one and all, obtained their benefices by simony. They buy preferments and bestow them on their children or their brothers, who take possession of them by violence and all sorts of sinful means. Their greed is insatiable, they do all things for gold. They only ring their bells for coin and candles; only attend Vespers and Choir and Office when something is to be got by it. They sell their benefices, sell the Sacraments, traffic in masses; in short, money is at the root of everything, and then they are afraid of excommunication. When the evening comes one goes to the gaming table, another to his concubine. When they go to a funeral a banquet is given, and when they ought to be praying in silence for the soul of the departed they are eating and drinking and talking. They are steeped in shameful vices; but in the day-time they go about in fine linen, looking smart and clean. Many are absolutely ignorant of their rule and where to find it, know nothing of penance or the care of souls. There is no faith left, no charity, no virtue. Formerly it used to be said, if not pure, at least demure. Now no one need try to keep up appearances, for it is considered a disgrace to live well. If a priest or a canon leads an orderly life he is mocked and called a hypocrite. No one talks now of his nephew, but simply of his son or his daughter. The ... go openly to S. Peter's ; every priest has his concubine. All veils are cast aside. The poison is so rank in Rome that it has infected France and Germany and all the world. It has come to such a pass that all are warned against Rome, and people say, 'If you want to ruin your son make him a priest'."

But the scene which Savonarola permitted himself to enact on the last day of the Carnival, was even more outrageous than his language. He began by saying mass in S. Marco and giving communion to his monks and a large number of laymen. Then he mounted a pulpit which had been erected before the door of the Church, carrying the Blessed Sacrament in his hand, and, almost beside himself with excitement, blasphemously exclaimed, "Oh Lord, if my deeds be not sincere, if my words be not inspired by Thee, strike me dead this instant."

“O ye priests,” Savonarola cried out from the pulpit on the 1st March, “you have surpassed the pagans in contradicting and persecuting the truth of God and His cause. O my children, it is evident now that they are worse than Turks. Now must we resist the wicked as the martyrs resisted the tyrants. Contend ye evil-doers against this cause like pagans; write to Rome that this Friar and his friends will fight against you as against Turks and unbelievers. It is true that a Brief has come from Rome in which I am called a son of perdition. Write that he whom you thus designate says that he has neither concubines nor children, but preaches the Gospel of Christ. His brethren, and all who follow his teaching, reject all such deplorable things, frequent the Sacraments, and live honestly. Nevertheless, like Christ Himself, we will somewhat give way to wrath, and thus I declare to you, that I will preach no more from this pulpit except at the request of those who desire to lead a good life. I will preach in S. Marco but to men only, not to women: under the present circumstances this is needful”

Nothing could have pleased Savonarola’s enemies better than this aggressive tone. His friends were in the greatest embarrassment. The Florentine Ambassador in Rome knew not what reply to make to the Pope’s complaints of the intemperate sermons of the Friar and the obstinacy of the Florentines in clinging to their prophet and to the French alliance. On the 25th February, 1498, Alexander told the Envoys that “even Turks would not endure such insubordination against lawful authority,” and threatened to lay an Interdict on the city. A few days later he attached his signature to a Brief to the Florentines, which ran thus: “On first receiving notice of the pernicious errors diffused by that child of iniquity, Girolamo Savonarola, we required him to abstain entirely from preaching, and to come to Rome to implore our pardon and make recantation; but he refused to obey us; We commanded him, under pain of excommunication, to join the Congregation of S. Marco to the new Tuscan-Roman Congregation, and again he refused to obey, thus incurring, *ipso facto*, the threatened excommunication. The which sentence of excommunication we caused to be pronounced and proclaimed in your principal churches, likewise declaring that all who heard, or addressed, or held intercourse with the said Girolamo would incur the same penalty. Nevertheless, we now hear that, to the grave hurt of religion and the souls of men, this Friar still continues to preach, despises the authority of the Holy See, and declares the excommunication to be null and void. Wherefore we command you, by your duty of holy obedience, to send the said Fra Girolamo to us, under safe custody; and if he return to repentance, he will be paternally received by us, inasmuch as we seek the conversion, not the death, of the sinner. Or at least put him apart, as a corrupt member, from the rest of the people, and keep him confined and guarded in such wise that he may have speech of none, nor be able to disseminate fresh scandals. But if ye refuse to obey these commands, we shall be forced to assert the dignity of the Holy See, by subjecting you to an Interdict and also to other and more effectual remedies.”

This Brief, therefore, does not contain the Interdict itself I but only threatens it. In a second the Canons of the Cathedral are enjoined not to allow Savonarola to preach on any pretext whatsoever. Thus the Pope still abstained from doing anything more than that which was absolutely necessary, and demanded nothing that was not strictly within his rights. According to the ecclesiastical laws of that time Savonarola was unquestionably a delinquent, and

being a religious, Alexander had a right to require that he should be handed over to the Holy See for judgment. It is quite true that, from the beginning and throughout, the fact that the Friar was the soul of the French party in Florence was one of the weights in the scale, and not a light one; but it is an exaggeration to assert that Alexander's only motive in his proceedings against Savonarola was to induce Florence to join the Italian League against France; at this moment it is clear that in the Pope's mind the vindication of the authority of the Church was the foremost consideration. "If the monk will prove his obedience," he said on 27th February to the Florentine Envoy, "by abstaining from preaching for a reasonable time, I will absolve him from the censures which he has brought upon himself; but if he persists in his disobedience we shall be obliged to proceed against him with the Interdict and all other lawful punishments, to vindicate our own dignity and that of the Holy See." The Pope again expressed himself in similar terms when, on the 7th of March, the Florentine Envoy presented the reply of his Government to the Brief of 26th February. The reply pointed out that Savonarola had never entered the pulpit in the Cathedral since the arrival of the Brief, defended him warmly on all points, declaring that he had been calumniated, and said that the Government was unable to comply with the Pope's request. Alexander, however, was well aware that Savonarola continued to preach and abuse him in S. Marco in exactly the same manner as he had done in the Cathedral. "This is a sorry letter," he said to the Florentine Envoy on the 7th March, "that your Government has written to me. I am not misinformed, for I have myself read the sermons of this Friar of yours, and conversed with people who have heard them. He despises the censures and has had the insolence to call the Pope a 'broken too' and to say that he would sooner go to hell than ask for absolution." With growing irritation Alexander went on to complain that the Signoria still permitted Savonarola to preach. More than once it had been at their express desire that the Friar had re-entered the pulpit at S. Marco; the Pope demanded that he should be absolutely silenced, otherwise he would lay the city under Interdict. The Envoy strove to mollify the Pope by pointing out that there was nothing reprehensible in Savonarola's teaching. Alexander replied that it was not the Friar's doctrines that he condemned, but his conduct in refusing to ask to be absolved from the excommunication, declaring it to be null and void, and continuing to preach in spite of his express prohibition. Such an example of open defiance of his and the Church's authority was most dangerous. This declaration was endorsed by a new Brief dated 9th March, again denouncing in the strongest terms Savonarola's disobedience in preaching and exercising sacerdotal functions, notwithstanding his excommunication, and in disseminating through the press his denial of the validity of the Papal censures, and other subversive doctrines. "Does the Friar think," it said, "that he alone was excepted when our Lord conferred the power of binding and loosing on our predecessor S. Peter? ... Our duty as Pastor of the flock forbids us to tolerate such conduct any longer. We therefore once more command you either to send Savonarola to Rome, or to shut him up in some convent where he can neither preach nor speak to any one until he comes to himself and renders himself worthy to be absolved. If this is not done we shall lay Florence under Interdict; all that we require is that Savonarola shall acknowledge our supreme authority."

The numerous letters of the Florentine Ambassador show the extremely embarrassing position in which he was placed by the perfectly legitimate

demands of the Pope. From Florence he received nothing but fair words excusing Savonarola, while Alexander VI insisted on deeds. On the 16th of March, in a very outspoken letter, he again explained the true state of things to his Government. The Pope, he says, absolutely requires that Savonarola shall be silenced; if not, the Interdict will certainly be pronounced. They may spare themselves the trouble of any more fair words and apologies for the Friar; they make no impression on any one. On the contrary, every one laughs at their notion that Savonarola's Excommunication can be set aside. The power of pronouncing censures is by no means an insignificant part of the authority of the Holy See. They need not fancy that they will be permitted to question it. "I repeat once more," he adds, "what I have so often written to you, if the Pope is not obeyed, the Interdict will be laid on the city. Consider, moreover, how you yourselves would act if one who owed you obedience not only frankly acted against your commands, but flouted you into the bargain."

A few days later the Ambassador announced that the Pope had received further accounts of the abuse showered upon him, the Cardinals, and the whole Roman Court by Savonarola in his sermons. The result of a consultation with several of the Cardinals was that to forbid his preaching was not enough, he must be sent to Rome; otherwise, not only would an Interdict be laid upon Florence, but all Florentines residing in Rome would be arrested and put in prison and their property confiscated.

It was so obviously the fault of the Signoria that matters should have been brought to such a pass as this, that their conduct has been suspected of having been due to the intrigues of Savonarola's enemies, whose influence was growing from day to day. The Milanese Ambassador in Florence wrote to his Government on the 2nd March, 1498, that the Signoria were endeavouring to irritate the Pope to the utmost, in order to provide themselves with a plausible pretext for taking proceedings against the Friar. It is not necessary to determine whether this view is correct or not, but the fact remains that the behaviour of the Signoria did necessarily greatly embitter Alexander against Savonarola. The Pope complained of the Friar's disobedience and of his being permitted openly to set his authority at defiance. The Signoria replied that the preacher was doing a great deal of good and was a true reformer, and that therefore they could not comply with Alexander's commands. When the accounts from Rome became more menacing, they gave way so far as to forbid him from preaching; but allowed his followers, Fra Domenico and Fra Mariano Ughi, to go on declaiming against Rome in their sermons as freely as ever. The Pope complained of this in a conversation with the Florentine Ambassador on the 23rd of March and demanded an answer to his Brief. "I do not require," he said, "that the friars should be prevented from preaching, but these attacks on the authority of the Church and abusive language against myself must be put a stop to." Referring to Savonarola, he added: "If he would be obedient for a while and then ask for absolution, I would willingly grant it, and permit him to resume his sermons, but he must cease from abusing the Holy See, the Pope, and the College of Cardinals; for I do not object to his doctrines, but only to his preaching without having received absolution, and to his contempt of myself and of my censures; to tolerate this would be to give away my apostolic authority." These words are remarkable as clearly proving that at this time the vindication of the Church was the first consideration.

Could the proud Friar at this juncture have made up his mind to humble himself before the Pope and ask for absolution, possibly the storm which was ultimately to overwhelm him might, even at the last moment, have been averted. But nothing could have been further from his thoughts; blinded by his false theory, that a Council is superior to the Pope, he obstinately persisted in pushing matters to an extreme. On the 13th March he addressed an angry letter to Alexander, accusing him of having “made a compact with his enemies, and let loose savage wolves upon an innocent man.” Then, following in the way of all other rebels, he urged that a Council should be held to depose the Pope as “guilty of simony, a heretic, and an unbeliever.” Savonarola’s friends pressed the Florentine Envoy in France and Spain to support this plan; he himself addressed a letter to all the great Christian Princes, to the Kings of France, Spain, England, and Hungary, and the Emperor of Germany, strongly urging them to convoke an anti-Papal Council. “The hour of vengeance has arrived,” he wrote in this document, “God desires me to reveal His secret counsels and to announce to all the world the dangers to which the barque of Peter is exposed in consequence of your slackness. The Church is steeped in shame and crime from head to foot. You, instead of exerting yourselves to deliver her, bow down before the source of all this evil. Therefore, the Lord is angry and has left the Church for so long without a shepherd. I assure you, *in verbo Domini*, that this Alexander is no Pope at all and should not be accounted such; for besides having attained to the Chair of S. Peter by the shameful sin of simony, and still daily selling Church benefices to the highest bidder; besides his other vices which are known to all the world, I affirm also that he is not a Christian, and does not believe in the existence of God, which is the deepest depth of unbelief.” After this introduction, he required all Christian Princes to unite in convoking a Council as soon as possible in some suitable and neutral place. On his side he not only bound himself to substantiate all his charges with irrefragable proofs, but also assured them that God would confirm his words by miraculous tokens.

The agitation in favour of a Council acquired a real force and extension from Alexander’s growing unpopularity. The way in which he had given up the projects of reform which he had announced before the death of the Duke of Gandia, and his unblushing nepotism necessarily aroused bitter feelings against him, both in Italy and abroad. There was fermentation on all sides. The greatest danger seemed to lie in Savonarola’s friendship with the French King Charles VIII who had already, on 7th January, 1497, obtained a pronouncement in favour of his plans for calling a Council from the Sorbonne. Alexander had got to know of these intrigues, either through intercepted letters or through some unwary speaker. He now thought that he had good reason to fear that Savonarola’s mysterious threats, such as “Some day I will turn the key,” or “I will cry, Lazarus, come forth,” were more than mere empty words. No doubt he recalled to mind Andrea Zamometic’s attempts to bring about a Council, and especially dreaded combinations between the Friar and Princes or Cardinals who were hostile to him, with the object of getting him deposed by a Council. “From henceforth all his moderation and gentleness vanished.” At the same time the tempest burst upon Savonarola from another quarter.

At the very moment that the Friar was thus attempting to stir up a revolt amongst the Princes of Europe his standing ground in Florence was slipping away from under his feet.

The days in which Savonarola was the guide and ruler of almost the whole of Florence had long gone by. The turning point for him came in the year 1497 with the failure of Piero de' Medici's attempt to make himself master of the city, and the execution of five of his adherents. Their relations set themselves as avengers of blood to hunt Savonarola down and the influence of the Arrabiati became so great that from that time his followers had to fight hard to hold their ground. The position of the Frateschi naturally was very much damaged when, on the top of this, the excommunication also came, for it produced a great impression in the city, and many held it to be binding.! The disputes on this point and on the guilt or innocence of the Friar grew more and more vehement. The revolutionary character of Savonarola's attitude was severely stigmatised by the Franciscans of S Croce. When he was silenced by the Government they redoubled their attacks upon him. The Dominicans were unwearied in denouncing him; their chief argument was his Divine mission. In his sermons he had repeatedly asserted that supernatural tokens of the righteousness of his cause would not fail to be forthcoming if the natural evidence were insufficient. For a time the moderation of his conduct and the fact that many of his prophecies came true had caused him to be widely believed. Gradually people became more and more sceptical, and he found himself more and more obliged to stand on the defensive against the cavillers who disbelieved in his prophecies. The very palpable disadvantages consequent on the state of tension between Florence and Rome which was the natural result of her championship of an excommunicated religious, and especially the Pope's refusal to consent to the levying of a tithe on Church property, had a considerable effect in increasing the number of sceptics. The deliberations of the Council in March 1498, on the course to be pursued in their relations with Rome, shew how far matters had gone in this respect. Francesco Valori, Savonarola's confidential friend, and others, stood up for him, but they were strongly opposed.

His enemies took pains to point out, in addition to higher considerations, the material inconveniences that must attend persistence in the course which Florence had hitherto been pursuing. Giovanni Conacci observed that the Pope's jurisdiction was universal, and he ought to be allowed to have what rightly belonged to him. Giuliano Gondi reminded the Florentines of their profession of obedience; in refusing to obey the Pope they were breaking a solemn oath. The result of Savonarola's preaching, denying that Alexander was a true Pope and vilifying his person, would be that a sect would be formed in Florence. It was not worth while to make enemies of the Pope and all the Italian powers for the sake of such a man; in the end the Florentines would be declared rebels against the Church, and would be treated as such. Giovanni Brunetti remarked that however good and learned Savonarola might be, he was still not infallible. Guid' Antonio Vespucci said that, looking at the case on all sides, he thought it would be better to obey the Pope. "You have got an envoy in Rome," he said, "who is commissioned to request the Pope to restore his consent to the tax on the clergy, without which the city cannot exist. For this end he is charged to do all he can to conciliate the Holy Father; there is no sense in contradicting a man from whom you are seeking to obtain a favour. Whether Savonarola be innocent or guilty is of no moment; the Holy See holds him to be guilty, and unless we satisfy the Pope on this point we shall certainly get nothing from him, and it is much to be feared that the Interdict, with all its disastrous consequences, will come upon us. Stress has been laid on the harm that will be done by silencing the Friar, but

since his own Superiors have forbidden him to preach it is not at our doors that the sin will lie. For Rome the matter is far from being so unimportant as some would make it out. Censures are the weapons of the Apostolic See; if it is deprived of these, how can it maintain its dignity and authority? This is perfectly understood in Rome. It is said that we ought to consider God and His honour. I agree; but the Pope is Christ's Vicar on earth, and derives his authority from God. It is therefore more meritorious to accept his censures, whether they be just or unjust, than to defend the Friar. No doubt if we could be sure that Savonarola was sent by God it would be right to protect him against the Pope; but as we cannot be certain of this, it is more prudent to obey Rome."

Meanwhile Savonarola unflinchingly maintained the supernatural origin of his prophecies, and asserted that if necessary they would be confirmed by a miracle. On the last day of the Carnival of the year 1498, before all the people, holding the Blessed Sacrament in his hand, he prayed, "O God, if my words are not from Thee, I entreat Thee to strike me down this very moment." On Quinquagesima Sunday of the same year, in his sermon he cried out, "I entreat each one of you to pray earnestly to God that if my doctrine does not come from Him, He will send down a fire upon me, which shall consume my soul in hell." In other sermons he had repeatedly told stories to his audience of cases in which the truth was not recognised until manifested by some direct token from God, and offered himself to pass through the fire in order to prove the reality of his mission. After such utterances as these it was not surprising that on 25th March, 1498, the Franciscan, Francesco of Apulia, in a sermon in S^{ta} Croce, should have taken up the challenge, and undertaken to submit to the ordeal by fire with Savonarola. "I fully believe," Francesco said, "that I shall be burnt, but I am ready to sacrifice myself to free the people from this delusion. If Savonarola is not burnt with me then you may believe him to be a prophet."

Savonarola meanwhile showed no great inclination to prove his mission by the ordeal, but it was otherwise with his followers. Not only the enthusiastic Fra Domenico da Pescia but also many other Dominicans, and even several laymen and many women, announced their readiness to undergo it. "It is wonderful," writes a Florentine to his friend on 29th March, 1498, "to see how many here are ready to go through the ordeal as joyfully as if they were going to a wedding."

Savonarola's enemies recognised at once that the question thus started might, and possibly must, entail the destruction of their hated foe. "If he enters the fire" they said, "he will be burnt; and if he does not, he will forfeit the faith of his adherents, and it will be easy to stir up a riot, during which he may be arrested." They therefore resolved to do their best to have the trial by ordeal carried out. For this it was necessary to obtain the consent of the Government; and here there was considerable opposition from many who recognised the scandalous nature of the proposal; also Savonarola's refusal to take up the challenge in person was embarrassing. However, the majority agreed that all possible means must be tried, including the ordeal if necessary, to heal the divisions in the city. Savonarola's party were the most eager advocates of the ordeal. Again and again their master had told them that one day his words would be miraculously confirmed and his enemies destroyed, and now it seemed as if the day had come. With fanatical confidence they clamoured for the ordeal; convinced that when the decisive moment arrived, the master would no longer

be able to restrain himself, he would plunge into the flames, and then would come the miracle.

The propositions, the truth of which Domenico da Pescia hoped to establish by means of the ordeal by fire, were those which were most contested by Savonarola's opponents. They were the following: "The Church of God is in need of reform; she will be chastised first and then renovated. Florence also will be chastised and afterwards restored and flourish anew. All unbelievers will be converted to Christ. These things will come to pass in our own time. The Excommunication pronounced against our revered father, Fra Girolamo Savonarola, is invalid and may be disregarded without sin."

The attitude of the Government towards the ordeal should have caused Savonarola and his followers to pause; but common-sense had long been thrown to the winds by the Friar's party, to make way for a blind belief in the somnambulist oracles of Fra Silvestro Maruffi. On the 30th March, the Signoria had decreed, in regard to the ordeal, that the party whose champion succumbed must immediately leave the city; that if either of the combatants refused to enter the fire, he would incur the same penalty; that if both were burnt, the Dominicans would be considered the vanquished party. In a new decree on 6th April there was no longer any mention of a penalty for the Franciscans; it simply announced that if Fra Domenico perished, Savonarola would have to leave Florence within three hours.

When the news of these proceedings reached Rome, Alexander at once expressed his disapprobation. The Florentine Ambassador endeavoured in vain to obtain his sanction for the ordeal. He condemned it in the strongest terms, as did also the Cardinals and the whole Roman Court. The Ambassador insisted that the only way of preventing it would be for the Pope to absolve Savonarola, an obviously impossible alternative.

Meanwhile the 7th of April, the day fixed for the ordeal, had arrived. Savonarola's misgivings had been dissipated by a vision of angels which had been vouchsafed to Fra Silvestro. On the morning of the appointed day he said mass and delivered a brief address to those who had attended it. "I cannot promise you," he said, "that the ordeal will take place, for that does not depend upon us; but, if it does, I have no hesitation in assuring you that our side will triumph." Then he set out for the Piazza accompanied by all his friars singing the Psalm, "Let God arise and let His enemies be scattered," as they walked in procession. The Franciscans, who had come quietly, were already there. An enormous multitude had assembled and were eagerly awaiting the unwonted spectacle. The Signoria had taken every precaution to secure the preservation of order. Two piles of faggots forty yards long and saturated with oil and pitch were prepared, divided by a space wide enough to allow a man to pass between them. It had already struck twelve when the Dominicans and their adherents, walking in solemn procession (Savonarola carrying the Blessed Sacrament), reached the Piazza. The Franciscans had come earlier, simply and without any demonstration, and now stood in silence on their side of the Loggia, while the Dominicans prayed aloud. All was ready. But now a difference arose between the two parties as to what each of the champions should be allowed to take with him into the flames. Fra Domenico insisted on taking the Crucifix, and this the Franciscans refused to permit. While this question was being discussed, a heavy

shower came on, threatening to drive the spectators away, but they were too eager to be easily scared and it ceased in a few minutes as suddenly as it had begun. Fra Domenico persisted in his determination not to lay aside the Crucifix. At last he said that he would be willing to take the Sacred Host instead. Against this not only the Franciscans but the whole body of spectators energetically protested, rightly judging that such a proceeding would be nothing less than an outrage on the Blessed Sacrament. Savonarola and Fra Domenico were of a different opinion; later, Fra Domenico acknowledged that the reason he refused to give way on this point was, that Fra Silvestro's angel had expressly ordered him to carry the Blessed Sacrament with him into the fire. The only possible explanation of Savonarola's persistence in this matter was the influence exercised over his mind by this friar. As a priest he must have known that to introduce the Sacred Host in such a manner into a personal experiment was absolutely forbidden by Canon Law. He seemed to have entirely forgotten that in the Church the only purposes for which the body of the Lord can lawfully be used are for the adoration of the faithful, or for their food. He maintained that only the species could be burnt, and that the Host itself would remain untouched, and quoted a number of doctors of the Church in support of his view, which the Franciscans as resolutely contested. Meanwhile it was growing dark and Savonarola's opponents were becoming more and more violent. The only course now open to the Signoria was to command both parties to withdraw. The mob, disappointed of the spectacle to which they had been so eagerly looking forward, were furious. Their wrath naturally was directed against the Dominican, "whose proposal of carrying the Sacred Host into the fire was looked upon as an insult to the Blessed Sacrament." The bad impression produced by this was all the stronger because the Franciscan had been ready to enter the fire without any more ado and without expecting any miraculous interposition. The conduct of Savonarola and his party was universally condemned, especially after having so confidently announced that a miracle would take place in their favour; "the idea that the whole thing was a fraud gained ground from moment to moment." If Savonarola was so confident that God would protect him, it was said, why did he shrink from himself undergoing the ordeal? Also, why did he insist on Domenico's being allowed to carry the Blessed Sacrament with him into the flames? Even those who believed in the prophet said that if the proof of his Divine mission were to be held as really incontestable, he ought to have entered the fire alone. Thus, in a single day, Savonarola by his own act had dissipated the prophetic halo which had hitherto surrounded him in the eyes of the people. His fate was sealed. "He had himself led the populace to look for, and believe in, such tokens as the ordeal would have been, and whenever the masses find themselves disappointed in their expectations, and think themselves cheated and insulted, their resentment is bitter and ruthless."

On the following morning, Palm Sunday, Savonarola still further damaged his position by again preaching in S. Marco in direct contradiction to the command of the Signoria. On the same day his banishment was decreed; but this sentence was not carried out. The Compagnacci resolved to take advantage of the anger and disappointment of the populace in order once for all to crush the Frateschi. Before Palm Sunday was over the two parties into which the city was divided had come to blows. The sermon of a Dominican friar who was preaching in the Cathedral was violently interrupted. Francesco Valori,

Savonarola's chief supporter, was murdered, and the Convent of S. Marco was stormed. At first Savonarola thought of defending it, but when the city officials presented themselves and summoned him to appear before the Signoria, he followed them. By torchlight he and Domenico da Pescia were led to the palace through the seething crowd, which hooted and jeered at the prophet as he passed.

The Signoria lost no time in acquainting the Pope and the various Italian powers with what had taken place. The Florentine Ambassador in Rome was also charged to beg for a general absolution from all Church penalties that might have been incurred by having allowed the Friar to go on preaching for so long, or by proceedings against ecclesiastical persons. In addition they asked for powers to try the religious who had been arrested, and also again approached the question of the tax on the clergy. Alexander VI expressed his satisfaction that the scandal caused by the excommunicated Friar was at last put an end to; he willingly granted the absolution, but desired that the prisoners should be sent to Rome. Although this request was afterwards repeated with considerable urgency, no attention was paid to it in Florence. To send the delinquents to Rome was held not consistent with the dignity of the Republic; the sentence ought to be carried out where the crime had been committed. It was finally decided that two Papal Delegates were to assist in the trial, and on May 19th the General of the Dominicans, Gioacchino Turiano, and Francesco Romolino, Bishop of Ilerda, came to Florence in this capacity. But long before they arrived the trial had begun, and it was evident that Savonarola's opponents were now complete masters of the city and were prepared to employ any amount of torture and falsification of evidence to ensure his destruction.

It is plain that Savonarola's statements, forced from him by torture and further distorted by interpolated sentences and omissions, cannot be accepted as proofs of anything. Thus the justice of his sentence can never be either proved or disproved; but the excitement of Florence was so great that the Government believed that it was absolutely necessary to put a stop to the Friar's proceedings. No doubt Alexander VI. was urgent in his demands that the rebel who had intended to call in the help of the secular powers to achieve his dethronement should be punished. Nevertheless the responsibility for the severity with which he was treated must rest on the rulers of Florence. It has been truly said, in excuse for this, that the Republic was at that time in such a critical position, both externally and internally, that the Government were convinced that this was a case for the application of the old Roman maxim, "the good of the State before everything else," and that they were bound to adopt any measures, however extreme, that seemed expedient for its defence.

What was given out as Savonarola's "Confessions" was of a nature to shake the faith even of his most trustful disciples in his Divine mission and his prophetic character, and the mass of his disciples began rapidly to fall away. "On the 29th April, 1498," writes the loyal Luca Landucci in his Diary, "I was present at the reading of the depositions at the trial of Savonarola, whom we had all believed to be a prophet. He confessed that he was no such thing and that his prophecies were not from God. When I heard this I was filled with amazement and confusion. My soul was pierced with anguish when I perceived that the whole of the edifice which my faith had reared was founded on lies and was crumbling away. I had thought that Florence was to be a new Jerusalem,

out of which would proceed the law of holy life, the reformatipn of the Church, the conversion of unbelievers, and the consolation of the good. Now all this has vanished. My only comfort is in the word: *In voluntate tua Domini omnia sunt flosita*”- The majority even of the friars of San Marco now abandoned their master. On the 21st of April they sent a letter of apology to Alexander. “Not merely ourselves,” they said, “but likewise men of far greater talent, were deceived by Fra Girolamo’s cunning. The plausibility of his doctrines, the rectitude of his life, the holiness of his manners; his pretended devotion, and the good results he obtained by purging the city of immorality, usury, and every species of vice; the different events which confirmed his prophecies in a manner beyond all human power and imagination, were such that had he not made retractation himself, declaring that his words were not inspired by God, we should never have been able to renounce our faith in him. For so firm was our belief in him that we were all most ready to go through the fire in support of his doctrines.”

As every one had foreseen, the trial resulted in the sentence of death being pronounced upon Savonarola, Fra Domenico, and Fra Silvestro, “for the monstrous crimes of which they had been convicted.” On the following day the sentence, death by hanging, was executed.

All three met their fate courageously and calmly. Before being delivered over to the secular arm, they were degraded from their priestly dignity as “heretics, schismatics, and contemnors of the Holy See.” One of the spectators is said to have called out to Savonarola, “Now is your time, Prophet, let us have the miracle.” When life was extinct the bodies were taken down and burnt; a gust of wind for a moment blew the flames aside, and many cried, “A miracle, a miracle”; but in another moment the corpses were again enveloped. The ashes were thrown into the Arno so as to leave no relics of the prophet for his disciples to venerate.

Such was the end of this highly gifted and morally blameless, but fanatical, man. His greatest faults were his interference in politics and his insubordination towards the Holy See. His intentions, at least in the earlier years of his active life, were pure and noble; later, his passionate nature and fanatical imagination carried him far away and led him to overstep the bounds of what was permissible in a religious and a priest. He became the head of a political party and a fanatic, openly demanding the death of all enemies of the Republic; this could not fail in the end to bring about his destruction.

In theory Savonarola remained always true to the dogmas of the Catholic Church; but in his denial of the penal authority of the Holy See, and in his plans for calling a Council, which, if they had succeeded, must inevitably have produced a schism, his tendencies were practically uncatholic.

It may justly be urged in Savonarola’s defence that in Florence and in Rome, and indeed throughout Italy, a deplorable corruption of morals prevailed, and that the secularisation of the Papacy in Alexander VI had reached its climax; but in his burning zeal for the reformation of morals he allowed himself to be carried away into violent attacks on men of all classes, including his superiors, and he completely forgot that, according to the teaching of the Church, an evil life cannot deprive the Pope or any other ecclesiastical authority of his lawful jurisdiction. He certainly was quite sincere in his belief that he was

a prophet and had a Divine mission, but it soon became evident that the spirit by which he was led was not from above, for the primary proof of a Divine mission is humble submission to the authority which God Himself has ordained. In this, Savonarola was wholly wanting. "He thought too much of himself and rose up against a power which no one can attack without injuring himself. No good can come of disobedience; that was not the way to become the apostle of either Florence or Rome."

CHAPTER VII.

CESAR BORGIA RESIGNS THE CARDINALATE, AND BECOMES DUKE OF VALENTINOIS.—CHANGE IN THE PAPAL POLICY.—ALLIANCE BETWEEN ALEXANDER VI. AND LOUIS XII.

ONLY a few weeks before Savonarola's execution the Prince on whom the visionary Dominican had hung such strangely baseless hopes for the reformation of the Church and the salvation of Italy, had passed away. Charles VIII died suddenly in the prime of life on the 7th April, 1498. He was succeeded by Louis XII. The new ruler showed at once what Italy had to expect from him by assuming not only the title of King of Jerusalem and the two Sicilies, but also, as descendant of one of the Visconti, that of Duke of Milan.

These pretensions were hailed with satisfaction in Florence, and still more so in Venice, the Republic having fallen out with Milan about Pisa. Louis lost no time in securing the services of the turbulent Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, and Venice, in the same breath with her congratulations on his accession, proposed an alliance. The French King had announced his accession to the Pope in remarkably friendly terms. Alexander hastened, on the 14th of June, to respond to these advances by sending persons of unusual distinction, the Archbishop John of Ragusa, the protonotary Adrian of Corneto, and Raimondo Centelles, as Envoys to France. They were charged, first of all, to congratulate the new King on his accession, and to call his attention to the war against the Turks; in the next place, they were to say that the Pope would investigate certain claims made by Louis in regard to the Neapolitan question; and to warn him against making any attack upon Milan. They were to ask him to endeavour to obtain the restitution of Pisa and Florence. Finally, they were to require him to give up the alliance with the Orsini and Colonna, and to abstain from taking the banished ex-Prefect of Rome, Giovanni della Rovere, under his protection. On the 14th

June the Envoys were again desired to impress upon the King that nothing must be done against Milan.

About the same time an Envoy from Louis XII appeared in Rome, asking for the dissolution of his marriage with his consort Jeanne, to which he had been constrained in earlier days by Louis XI. The King swore that he had never consummated the marriage. The Pope, on the 29th July, 1498, appointed a judicial commission to examine into the case, and in December they decided in favour of the dissolution. On the 13th of September Alexander had already granted a dispensation to Louis to contract a fresh marriage with Anne of Brittany, the widow of his predecessor, stipulating at the same time that something was to be done for his beloved Caesar. The advances made to France, formerly so energetically repelled, though only begun in June, soon developed into a firm friendship. Many causes, besides those already mentioned, conduced to this result, and especially the conduct of Naples.

Ever since the Autumn of 1497 Caesar Borgia, who was only in minor orders, had been seeking to return to the secular state, to obtain a principality, and to marry a Princess. The Pope at first seems to have been averse to these projects; but Caesar had little difficulty in overcoming this feeling, and Alexander's ambition began forthwith to busy itself with a plan for obtaining the throne of Naples for the house of Borgia by means of an Aragonese alliance. Caesar was to marry Carlotta, the daughter of the Neapolitan King, and receive the principality of Tarento. Then Mantuan Envoy states expressly that this was the Pope's real object in bringing about the marriage between Lucrezia and Alfonso, the natural son of Alfonso II, and now Prince of Bisceglia and Quadrata. On the 15th July Alfonso came incognito to Rome, and was cordially received by Alexander and Caesar. On the 21st the marriage itself took place very quietly, but was celebrated on the following days with great festivities, in which Alexander took part with boyish gaiety. On this occasion a sharp encounter took place between Caesar's retainers and those of the Duchess, not a good omen for the future. Alfonso's good looks are much vaunted by one of the chroniclers, and this marriage of Lucrezia's was a happy one. On the other hand, Caesar's alliance with Carlotta, who had been brought up at the French Court, fell through. She herself refused, and her father was even more opposed to it than she was. On the 24th July, writing to Gonsalvo de Cordova, he said that the Pope was insatiable, and that he would rather lose both his kingdom and his life than consent to this marriage. In this remarkable letter the King confesses the extreme weakness of his Government. The Pope was perfectly aware of all this, and the knowledge made him still more desirous of entering into closer relations with the growing power of France. Yet another motive was added by the conflict between the Orsini and Colonna, which had broken out afresh. The Orsini, in spite of their union with the Conti, were completely defeated at Palombara on the 12th April, 1498. The Pope's efforts to bring about even a truce between the contending parties were unsuccessful. It seemed as if both sides were bent on continuing the contest until one or other was destroyed, when suddenly, on 8th July, they came to an agreement to place the decision in regard to Tagliacozzo and Alba in the hands of King Frederick of Naples. This mysterious reconciliation meant a combination against the Pope. In his own palace, one day, a set of verses were put up, urging the Colonna and Orsini to come forward bravely to the rescue of their afflicted country; to slay the bull (a play upon the

Borgia arms) which was devastating Ausonia; to fling his calves into the raging Tiber, and himself into hell.

Alexander VI and Caesar meanwhile had succeeded in obtaining what they wanted, and on the 17th of August Caesar resigned his Red-hat with the consent of all the Cardinals. Sigismondo de' Conti calls this a new and unheard of proceeding; but at the same time dwells on the fact that Caesar was naturally a warrior, and unsuited for the priesthood. Sanuto, in his Diary, is much more severe in his judgment. He says: "When Cardinal Ardicino della Porta wished to resign the Cardinalate in order to become a monk, many in the Consistory were against it, while all gave their consent to Caesar's plan; but now in God's Church everything is topsy-turvy." The disposal of Caesar's benefices, which were worth 32,000 ducats, was left with the Pope, who later gave the Archbishopric of Valencia to Cardinal Juan Borgia.

On this same 17th August the French King's Envoy, Louis de Villeneuve, arrived in Rome in order to accompany Caesar to France. The preparations for the journey took so long that they did not start until the 1st of October. A few days earlier Alexander addressed an autograph letter to Louis XII, in which he commended Caesar to him as one who was more dear to him than anything else on earth. In this Brief Caesar is called Duke of Valentinois; thus this principality must have been already bestowed upon him, although the formal investiture did not take place till later. It is a curious coincidence that the former Archbishop of Valencia should have become Duke of Valentinois, so that he still retained the appellation *Valentinus*, which could stand for either.

The new Duke set forth on his journey in royal state; 100,000 ducats were said to have been spent on his outfit. He was clad in silk and velvet and bedizened with gold and jewels. The equipment of his suite corresponded with his own. The trappings of his horses were mounted in silver, and their saddle-cloths were embroidered with costly pearls. French galleys were waiting for him at Civit  Vecchia. On the 3rd of October he embarked for Marseilles, where on the 19th he was received with royal honours. In Avignon, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, who was now completely reconciled with the Pope, and in August had been reinstated in Ostia, also gave him a splendid reception. Slowly, and with great pomp, the proud Duke pursued his journey through Lyons to the Royal camp, which was then at Chinon. On the 19th of December (according to other accounts, the 20th) he made his entry there with a splendour hitherto unknown in France. He brought to the King the Bull of dispensation for his marriage, and a Red-hat to the Archbishop of Rouen, George d'Amboise. At this time Louis spoke openly of his designs on Milan, in which he expected the Pope's support.

The closer relations with France caused a breach between the Pope and Ascanio Sforza and Lodovico Moro. As early as September, 1498, we find this mentioned in the Envoy's reports. The Colonna and Frederick of Naples were on the side of Ascanio Sforza. Their attitude was so menacing that on All Saints' Day the Pope appeared in the Church with a strong guard; and later this occurred again several times.

Even when the Portuguese Envoys, on 27th November, came for their audience, they found a large guard in the ante-chamber. If, as many thought, this was intended to overawe the Envoys, it quite failed in its effect. On the

contrary, they remonstrated in unsparing terms with Alexander on his nepotism, his simony, and his French policy, which, they said, endangered the peace of Italy, and, indeed, of the whole of Christendom. I the Pope persevered in this they openly threatened a Council. "The demeanour of the Portuguese Envoys," Ascanio Sforza wrote on 3rd December, "is all the more unpleasant to the Pope in that he believes their Spanish Majesties to be at the bottom of it, and that the Spanish Envoys, who are daily expected, will say the same things, or worse. He thinks the King of the Romans also has a hand in it, as he has made similar representations." Under these circumstances Alexander VI awaited with keen anxiety the announcement from France, which, he hoped, would bring the assurance of the French alliance.

In the Consistory, in December, the Pope and Ascanio Sforza came to a sharp passage of words. The testy Cardinal declared that Alexander, in sending Caesar to France, was bringing ruin on Italy. "Are you aware, Monsignore," replied Alexander, "that it was your brother who invited the French into Italy?" The Venetian Envoy, who reports this incident, adds that Ascanio intended, with the help of Maximilian I and King Ferdinand of Spain, to get a Council summoned to dethrone Alexander. We can understand with what misgivings the advent of the Spanish Envoys was awaited.

They arrived on the 19th December. On the same day Cardinal Borgia started for Viterbo, in order to quell the disturbances which had broken out there. Three days later they appeared before the Pope with that display of anxious concern for the welfare of the Church which Ferdinand's successors were so apt at employing, while, in fact, their aims were entirely political. Ferdinand of Spain dreaded, above all things, an alliance between Rome and Louis XII, which would give to France the predominance in Italy, and frustrate all his designs in regard to Naples. Consequently, he had charged his Envoys to threaten Alexander with a Council and reform. They began by telling the Pope to his face that the means by which he had obtained the Pontificate were notorious. Alexander interrupted them with the remark that, having been unanimously elected Pope, his title was a far better one than that of their Spanish Majesties, who had taken possession of their throne in defiance of all law and conscience. They were mere usurpers, and had no right whatever to their kingdom. The rest of the audience corresponded with this beginning. The Envoys reproached Alexander with his simony and his nepotism, and threatened a Council. The Pope justified himself, and accused the Spanish Ambassador, Garcilasso de la Vega, of concocting false reports. When the Envoys spoke of the death of the Duke of Gandia as a Divine chastisement, he angrily replied that the Spanish monarchs were more severely punished than he was, for they were without direct successors, and this was doubtless on account of their encroachments on the rights of the Church.

Louis XII endeavoured to tranquillise the Pope by informing him that he had an agreement with Ferdinand, and consequently there was nothing to fear from him. Meanwhile, Alexander became more and more disturbed, as he found the Portuguese and Spanish Envoys making common cause and combining to threaten him with a Council. In January 1499, the Ambassadors of Portugal and Spain presented themselves together before the Pope. In presence of Cardinals Costa, Ascanio, Carvajal, de S. Giorgio, and Lopez, one of the Envoys told the Pope to his face, that he was not the lawful Head of the Church. Alexander in his

anger threatened to have him thrown into the Tiber, and retorted by attacking the conduct of the Queen of Spain, and complaining of the interference of both King and Queen in matters concerning the Church. The Venetian Ambassador thought he perceived that the Pope, in his alarm, was beginning to repent of his alliance with France and to wish to be friends again with Ascanio. To add to his annoyance, news came from France that, in spite of all Giuliano della Rovere's persuasions, the daughter of the King of Naples persisted in her refusal to marry Caesar. Alexander laid the blame of this on Louis XII. In a letter of 4th February, 1499, to Giuliano della Rovere, he complained of the King's faithlessness, which had made him the laughing-stock of the world; as every one knew that, but for this marriage, Caesar would never have gone to France. On the 13th of February he spoke in a similar strain to Ascanio, and begged him to endeavour to persuade the King of Naples to agree to the marriage. Ascanio, however, replied that this was impossible. The Cardinal thought that the Pope was very much afraid of Spain and thoroughly mistrustful of France. Just at this time Louis XII concluded his treaty with Venice for the partition of Milan, leaving it open to the Pope to join in the League if he pleased. At this juncture it seemed extremely unlikely that this would take place. If Caesar had not been in France, the Venetian Envoy, in a report of 12th March, says he believes that Alexander would have allied himself with Milan. Perhaps that was too much, but it is certain that at that time Alexander was extremely dissatisfied with France, and was still in the same mood when Louis XII offered the hand of the charming Charlotte d'Albret to Caesar.

Alexander's position was an extremely critical one. In Rome, the probability that Germany and Spain would renounce their obedience was freely discussed. There can be no doubt that in both these countries there was a strong party hostile to Rome. This explains why Christopher Columbus, when on 26th February, 1498, he settled his estate upon his son Diego, commanded him to employ his wealth in the support of a crusade, "or in assisting the Pope if a schism in the Church should threaten to deprive him of his seat or of his temporal possessions." The danger from Spain was pressing. In order to remove at least one of that country's grounds of complaint, Alexander resolved, on the 20th of March, 1499, to take Benevento away from the heirs of the Duke of Gandia and restore it to the Church. In May, Alexander promised to send his children away from Rome and to carry some reforms into effect; he granted powers for the adjustment of ecclesiastical affairs in Spain, and made large concessions to the King and Queen in regard to their control. In consequence, his relations with Spain became more friendly. Alexander had nearly given up all hope of the realisation of Caesar's marriage with the French Princess, when an autograph letter from Louis arrived announcing that it had taken place. On the 24th of May Cardinal Sanseverino read the letter in the Consistory. This event created a complete revolution in the Pope's dispositions; he now openly embraced the French side and that of Venice, and announced that the Milanese dynasty must be done away with. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza saw that Rome was no longer the place for him; on the 14th July he quitted the city, taking all he had with him. In the first instance he went to the Colonna at Narni, and thence sailed in a Neapolitan ship to Genoa, whence he fled to Milan. Thither he was afterwards followed by the Cardinals Colonna and Sanseverino, and Alfonso, Lucrezia's husband. Lucrezia was, on the 8th August, made Regent of Spoleto, and went there at once, accompanied by her brother Jofre.

Alexander's children had all now been removed from Rome; but this had no effect on his nepotism. Nepi was soon bestowed upon Lucrezia, and the governor left there by Ascanio Sforza had to hand it over; meanwhile, the plans for Caesar's advancement were maturing.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FRENCH IN MILAN.—CAESAR: BORGIA CONQUERS IMOLA AND FORLI. — RESTORATION OF LODOVICO MORO. — Louis XII. CONQUERS MILAN A SECOND TIME.—ANARCHY IN ROME.— MURDER OF THE DUKE OF BISCEGLIA. — FRIVOLITY AND NEPOTISM OF ALEXANDER VI.—PARTITION OF THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES BETWEEN FRANCE AND SPAIN.

By the month of July of the year 1499, a French army had already crossed the Alps, and fortress after fortress went down before the "rush of the Swiss and the French." Venice would have chimed in from the eastern side had not her hands just then been over full with the war against the Turks. Lodovico Moro had hoped that the German Emperor and Frederick of Naples would have come to his aid, but Maximilian was fully occupied in fighting the Swiss. Frederick was to have declared war against the Pope; but when Alessandria fell into the hands of the French, he gave up all thoughts of this. Thus Lodovico was left to face the French entirely alone. Seeing that the situation was hopeless, on the evening of 1st September he fled to the Tyrol, to put himself under Maximilian's protection. Cardinals Ascanio Sforza and Sanseverino followed him. The moment he was gone the Milanese opened their gates to the French; on the 6th September Trivulzio entered the city, and the fort surrendered almost immediately. A few days later Cremona submitted to the Venetians. Upon this Louis, XII hastened to Italy to enjoy his triumph. On the 6th October he entered Milan, and was greeted with acclamations by the populace. The King was accompanied by the Marquesses of Mantua, Montferrat, and Saluzzo, the Dukes of Ferrara and Savoy. Caesar Borgia, the Cardinals d'Amboise and Giuliano della Rovere, as well as the Envoys from Genoa, Florence, Siena, Lucca, and Pisa.

Alexander VI, now that the alliance with Louis XII was turning out so favourably for his beloved Caesar, hailed the success of the French arms with unconcealed delight, quite regardless of the scandal he was causing throughout the whole of Europe. On the 24th of August, 1499, two Portuguese Envoys

arrived in Rome and at once asked for an audience. On the part of their Government, they animadverted strongly on the Pope's nepotism, on Caesar's resignation of the Cardinalate, and on the French alliance, which was fatal to the peace of Europe. If he persisted in these paths, the result would be the calling of a Council. Alexander was annoyed and troubled at these new threats, but did not make any change in his proceedings. On the 25th September he went to Lucrezia at Nepi. Here it was arranged that Caesar was to conquer the Romagna. The King of France manifested his gratitude by placing a portion of his army at the Duke's disposal. "It was not difficult to make the expedition appear as though undertaken for the interests of the Church, though in reality the interests of the family were the first consideration. The relations between the rulers of the cities of the Romagna and their feudal Lord were so variable, and often so unsatisfactory, as easily to afford a handle for proceeding against them to any Pope who wished to do so. Alexander resolved to make use of this opportunity to strike a crushing blow. Bulls were issued declaring the Lords of Rimini, Pesaro, Imola, Faenza, Forli, Urbino, and Camerino to have forfeited their fiefs by the non-payment of their dues. Louis XII arranged that proceedings should only be taken against those who belonged to the party of the Sforza, and this plan had also the advantage of satisfying the susceptibilities of the Venetians.

In the middle of November Caesar began the campaign by attacking Caterina Sforza and the sons of Girolamo Riario. Imola opened her gates of her own accord, and the fort fell in the early part of December. In Forli, also, the inhabitants offered no resistance, but the citadel here was far stronger and was bravely defended by the high-spirited Caterina herself; yet on 12th January, 1500, it was forced to capitulate.

When Caesar's nephew, Cardinal Juan Borgia, heard at Urbino the good news of the fall of Forli, he set out on horseback, although suffering from fever, to offer his personal congratulations, but was prostrated by a fresh attack of the malady before he could get beyond Fossombrone. Later, an utterly groundless story was concocted of Caesar's having poisoned his nephew.

Just as Caesar was preparing to proceed against Cesena and Pesaro, an event occurred which deprived him of his French troops and brought the whole campaign to a standstill. The Milanese rose against the extortions of the French, while Lodovico Moro appeared in Como at the head of a body of Swiss and German troops; and on the 5th of February, 1500, re-entered the city in triumph. The French lost the whole of Lombardy as quickly as they had won it. Without the help of the French troops, which had now been sent against Lodovico Moro, it was impossible to go on with the conquest of the Romagna, the more so as Venice had grown jealous and now strongly supported the Lords, of Faenza and Rimini. Caesar, therefore, returned to Rome and made his triumphal entry into the city on the 26th February, clothed in black velvet and with a gold chain round his neck; all the Cardinals and Envoys came to meet him. Alexander VI was beside himself with joy; he wept and laughed in the same breath. Amongst the Carnival-plays the triumph of Julius Caesar was represented in the Piazza Navona. On Laetare Sunday (29th March), the Duke received from the hands of the Pope the insignia of a standard-bearer of the Church and the Golden Rose. The power of the Duke of Valentino was now almost unlimited. Even on the 23rd of January a report from Rome announced

that, at the approaching nomination of Cardinals, Caesar's influence would be decisive: he was the person to apply to. No Castellans were appointed to any of the strong places within the Papal States but such as were devoted to him; the governorship of the Castle of St. Angelo was given to one of his retainers.

Meanwhile the state of affairs in Lombardy had again completely changed. Louis XII had lost no time in sending a fresh army across the Alps, and the battle at Novara proved a decisive victory for France. The Swiss refused to fight against their kinsmen in the French army, and abandoned Lodovico, who was taken prisoner (10th April, 1500). Louis XII shut him up in the fortress of Loches in Touraine; Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, who fell into the hands of the Venetians, was delivered over to the French, and imprisoned in Bourges; thus reaping the reward of his unprincipled conduct at Alexander's election.

On the evening of the 14th of April, 1500, the news of Lodovico's catastrophe reached Rome; the Pope is said to have given 100 ducats to the messenger who brought it the Orsini lighted bonfires everywhere, and Rome resounded with cries of "France and the Bear" (—Orsini). This occurred in the midst of the Jubilee festivities, which had filled the city with pilgrims from foreign parts. "The events of the year and the state of Rome were anything but suitable however to a religious celebration. In spite of the precautions taken by Alexander, even in the previous year, the insecurity of both life and property in the city was frightful; murders occurred nearly every day. The severest punishments effected no improvement in its condition, which indeed was not worse than that of most of the other Italian cities; but the events which took place in the Borgia family attracted more attention than any of these deeds of violence.

Next to Caesar, Lucrezia at that time again stood highest in the Pope's favour. In the Spring of the year 1501 Sermoneta, which had just been snatched away from the Gaetani, was added to Spoleto and Nepi, which had already been bestowed upon her. As she was on excellent terms with her present husband, there seemed nothing now to mar her happiness. It was, however, not destined to last long: on the evening of the 15th of July, as Alfonso was returning from the Vatican he was set upon by five assassins in the Piazza di San Pietro. Though badly wounded he succeeded in making his escape. He was so much afraid of poison that he refused all medical help, and sent word to the King of Naples that his life was in danger, as his own physician had endeavoured to destroy him by this means. A report was immediately circulated that the attempt originated from the same quarter as the murder of the Duke of Gandia. All the probabilities of the case point to the Orsini, who believed that Alfonso was intriguing against them with the Colonna, who were allied with the King of Naples. It is most unlikely that Caesar had anything to do with it. Nevertheless, Alfonso was convinced that his brother-in-law was the author of this foul deed, and the moment he felt himself recovering he was bent on revenging himself. Lucrezia and Sancia strove to make peace, and the Pope posted a guard at the door of the sickroom, but all was in vain. In a despatch of 18th August, which was forwarded at once, Paolo Capello, the Venetian Ambassador, writes that on that day Alfonso, looking out of the window, saw Caesar walking in the garden. In a moment he had seized a bow, and discharged an arrow at his detested enemy. Caesar retaliated by having Alfonso cut to pieces by his own body-guard. Lucrezia, who had been herself nursing her husband with the tenderest care,

was inconsolable. Overwhelmed with grief she went back to Nepi to hide herself in its solitude. Some of Alfonso's Neapolitan servants were arrested on a charge of having planned an attempt on Caesar's life, but nothing of any importance was extracted from them. When the Neapolitan Envoy heard what had happened he at once took refuge in the palace of the Spanish Ambassador. Alexander told the Venetian Envoy, who came to see him on the 23rd August, that Alfonso had tried to kill Caesar. Beyond this nothing on the subject was allowed to transpire; a few conjectures were whispered about, but no one dared to speak above his breath. Evidently Alexander VI thought it prudent to hush up the whole affair as much as possible; no doubt he too was afraid of Caesar.

Shortly before the murder, Alexander's own life had been in great danger. In the ninth year of his reign, on the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, Sigismondo de' Conti relates, just as the Pope was about to give his audience, the sky being clear, suddenly, with no warning, a tornado of wind sprung up and tore off the very solid roof of the upper part of the Sala de' Papi as though it had been made of straw. In consequence, that portion of the roof under which the Pope was sitting also gave way, but the balcony over his head, still remaining attached to the wall, protected him from the falling masonry, and the gold embroidered hanging over his throne from the smothering dust. Half an hour elapsed before his servants could make their way through the wind and dust to the place where he lay, bleeding and apparently hardly alive. He was carried into the adjoining hall and there soon recovered consciousness. His physicians found that two fingers of the right hand had been injured, and he had a wound in his head. The first night he was very feverish, but soon began to get better. "If nothing unforeseen occurs," the Mantuan Envoy writes on the 2nd July, "he will recover." This Envoy states that on the previous day also Alexander had a narrow escape of being killed by a heavy iron chandelier, which fell just in front of him. Any other man would have been led to look into himself and consider his ways by such a series of narrow escapes; but Alexander was a true Borgia, he thanked God and the Blessed Virgin and SS. Peter and Paul for his preservation, and lived on as before. Writing of Alexander in September 1500, Paolo Capello says: "The Pope is now seventy years of age; he grows younger every day, his cares never last the night through; he is always merry and never does anything that he does not like. The advancement of his children is his only care, nothing else troubles him."

In Caesar's eyes this accident was a warning to carry out his plans with as little delay as possible. His campaign against the Tyrants of the Romagna required a considerable sum of money and the acquiescence of Venice, where, since the month of May, a Papal Nuncio, Angelo Leonini, had been permanently residing. He succeeded in obtaining both money from the creation of Cardinals of 2nd September, 1500, and the consent of Venice in return for the help against the Turks given them by Alexander.

On the morning of the 1st of October, 1500, Caesar set out from Rome at the head of an army of 10,000 men. He had in his pay some Roman Barons of the houses of Orsini and Savelli, Giampolo Baglione of Perugia, Vitellozzo Vitelli of Città di Castello, and other chiefs, who, frightened at the alliance with France, thought there was less danger in siding with the dreaded foe than in resisting. The Lords of Pesaro and Rimini, Giovanni Sforza and Pandolfo Malatesta, made no attempt to defend themselves and sought safety in flight. Faenza was not so

easily conquered; its ruler, Astorre Manfredi, was beloved by all his subjects, and was supported by the Florentines and by his maternal grandfather, Giovanni Bentivoglio. The citizens defended themselves with resolution, and when winter came on, the siege had to be raised. When the Spring returned, Caesar again invested the city (7th March, 1501) and on the 25th April it was forced to capitulate. Astorre Manfredi was faithlessly carried off to the Castle of St. Angelo where, in January 1502, Caesar had him and his younger brother put to death. Next came the punishment of Giovanni Bentivoglio, who had supported Faenza in its resistance. When several castles had been taken, he sued for mercy, gave up Castel Bolognese also, and promised to supply Caesar for five years with 300 horsemen. Alexander now bestowed on Caesar the title of Duke of Romagna, thus making the largest province of the Church hereditary in the Borgia family, in utter indifference to the probability that this might easily entail on the Church the loss of all these States.

Encouraged by these rapid successes Caesar now turned his attention to Florence, at that time seriously weakened by the war with Pisa. In great alarm the Florentines purchased peace by granting him for three years a subsidy of 36,000 ducats, and promising not to help Piombino. The Lord of this principality, Jacopo d'Appiano, lost in a very short space of time the greater part of his possessions. After this the Duke returned to Rome, where he was wanted on account of the state of affairs in Naples. Highly important decisions were come to in relation to this kingdom in the next few weeks. Hitherto it had been a constant tradition of Roman policy that no foreign power was to be allowed to obtain a footing in Naples. Now Alexander VI abandoned this principle.

Soon after Caesar's arrival on the 25th June, 1501, a Bull was drafted assenting to the secret treaty of 11th November, 1500, between France and Spain for the partition of Naples between, them. Louis XII was to be King of Naples and to possess Terra di Lavoro and the Abruzzi. Ferdinand was to take Apulia and Calabria with the title of Grand Duke. Both were to hold their lands in fief from the Church. The way in which the King of Naples had been dallying with the Turks served as the pretext for his deposition. One motive which strongly inclined Alexander VI to agree to the plan was the blow that it would deal to the rebellious Roman Barons, who would now be deprived of all support. On the 27th June, 1501, the League with France and Spain was announced; and the French army, which was already encamped near Rome, began its southward march. On the 4th July Caesar joined it with his troops.

Frederick of Naples had had no suspicion of Ferdinand's perfidy, and knew nothing of it until the Papal Bull was published. The French reached Capua, destroying the villages of the Colonna on their way, almost without resistance, and successfully stormed and sacked that city before the end of July. Gaeta now also capitulated, and the French army under d'Aubigny appeared before Naples. Frederick fled to Ischia and surrendered to the French King, who gave him the Dukedom of Anjou and a yearly pension. France and Spain divided his kingdom between them.

CHAPTER IX.

ALEXANDER VI. AND THE WAR AGAINST THE TURKS IN THE YEARS 1499-1502.

ALEXANDER'S unabashed nepotism and wholly worldly aims in politics cast their baneful shadows also over the resistance to the Turkish advance during his reign. The Pope's nepotism repeatedly acted as a direct hindrance to efforts against the Turks, but its indirect effects were perhaps still more injurious; for no one trusted him, and whatever he put his hand to was believed to have, for its ultimate object, nothing but the aggrandisement of the house of Borgia. Nevertheless, even such a man as Alexander could not remain entirely inactive in presence of the danger from the East. The noble generosity of his predecessors in assisting the refugees from the countries which had been conquered by the Turks was continued under his rule, and towards the close of the century he appeared to be thoroughly in earnest in his efforts to organise a Crusade. Prince Dschem, in the hands of the Christians, acted to a certain degree as a check upon the Sultan; but after his death fresh attacks on Christian lands recommenced almost at once. In Bosnia, in the year 1496, a number of small fortresses, still occupied by the Hungarians, were invested by Turkish troops and many of them conquered.

In Moldavia the inroads of the Turks, beginning in the same year, were of a more serious character. In 1498 a band of Turks and Tartars, combined with Moldavians, swooped down on Poland itself. Far and wide they ravaged the country; "the land was strewn with corpses. All the towns on the hills and plains round Lemberg and Przemysl as far as Kanczug were plundered and burnt; the harpies encamped in the fields for a short time and then returned whence they came, loaded with booty."

Already in the previous year the friendly relations hitherto subsisting between Venice and the Porte had been sharply disturbed. The Turks had for some time past been busily occupied in strengthening their armaments, and especially their navy. The object of these preparations was kept a profound secret, and the Venetians, with all their sagacity, were completely deceived. When the preparations were completed, the Sultan, without any declaration of war, began hostilities by arresting all the Venetians in Constantinople. Venice was plunged in dismay and distress, and, to make matters worse, the finances of the Republic were at that moment at a very low ebb. To meet the heavy expense of fitting out a fleet it was necessary to raise all tolls and taxes and to impose new ones. All the officials of the republic were required to surrender the half of their salaries to the State, and the clergy had to contribute a third of their revenues, this with the Pope's consent. By dint of these exertions an imposing fleet of 130 sails was equipped. But even this was quite insufficient to cope with that of the Turks, which numbered 270. On the 26th of August, Lepanto, the only important sea-port in the Gulf of Corinth that still remained in the hands of

the Venetians, fell. At the same time 10,000 Turkish horsemen from Bosnia made a successful raid on the mainland of Venice. The whole district on one side to Tagliamento and even near Vicenza, and on the other as far as Drau, was devastated with fire and sword, and all the inhabitants slain or carried into captivity.

In the Summer of 1499 the Turkish question was repeatedly discussed in Consistory. It was then thought, from the report of the Grand-Master of Rhodes, that the attack was to be directed against that island. While the deliberations on the help to be sent to Rhodes were going on, the news came of the descents on Venetian territory. In the beginning of August, letters from the French Envoy in Venice to a French Cardinal came to hand, accusing the Milanese Government of having instigated the Turkish attack. The Milanese Envoy in Rome defended the conduct of his master in view of the hostile attitude of the Venetians, and declared openly that Milan would not scruple to use the Turks and the Moors in self-defence. It never came to this, however, for in the Autumn of that year Lodovico Moro was driven out of Milan.

In consequence of the increasingly menacing reports which continued to arrive from the East, Alexander, in the late Autumn of 1499, issued an invitation to all the Christian Princes to send representatives to Rome in the ensuing March to deliberate on the formation of a League against the Turks. This invitation met with so little response that in February 1500, it was found necessary to repeat it. Even this produced but little result. On the 11th March a secret Consistory was held, to which all the Envoys in Rome were invited. These consisted of the representatives of Maximilian, Louis XII, Henry VII of England, and Ferdinand of Spain, besides those of Naples, Venice, Savoy, and Florence. Alexander VI put before the assembly the great danger now threatening Europe from the Turks, and expressed his regret that his summons of the previous Autumn had met with so little attention. He went on to say that Venice was the bulwark of Christendom and that it was the duty of all Christian powers to support her. The answers of the Envoys were so unsatisfactory that the Pope made no secret of his displeasure with Germany, France, and Naples; Spain was the only Government to which he awarded unqualified praise. In the beginning of May, Alexander VI proposed in Consistory that a Legate should be sent to Hungary and that a tithe should be levied on the clergy of France, Germany, and Hungary; also that the Cardinals should be taxed, beginning with himself. Many of the Cardinals objected, but the Pope stood firm. In spite of all this the Venetian Envoy still refused to believe in Alexander's sincerity, which is significant of the prevailing opinion in regard to him. These doubts were dissipated by his later acts.

A Bull, dated 1st June, 1500, was addressed to all Christendom, setting forth the fury and cruelty of the Osmanli and their hatred of the Christian name, and urging all to unite against the common enemy. The purpose of the Turks, it affirmed, was, first to conquer Rome, and then to subjugate all the Christian populations. Consequently, the Roman Church had now formally declared war against the hereditary foe. To meet the expenses of the contest, a tithe was to be levied on all ecclesiastical benefices without exception, and on all the officials in the States of the Church. All who resisted the impost were threatened with Excommunication. This Crusade-Bull was to be publicly read, in the vulgar tongue, on some feast-day in all the dioceses of the world. The Jews were

required to contribute a twentieth of their property. At the same time a Brief was drawn up addressed to the King of France. In it the Pope said that Envoys had been summoned to Rome in March, in order to take counsel on the war against the Turks. Many had not come, and those that had appeared were not provided with sufficient powers. Although the summons had been repeated, as yet the Pope had received nothing from the Princes but fair words. Hence he now once more turned to the King of France, who, now that he was ruler of Milan, was doubly bound to come forward to protect Italy from the Turks, and requested him to send representatives at once. Spain and Venice were full of zeal, thus there was a good prospect of success. For his own part, he had imposed a tithe upon all the inhabitants of the Papal States and on the clergy throughout the world, and was prepared to make even greater sacrifices.

A further proof that Alexander was then in earnest in regard to the war is given by the fact that at the end of June he recalled Cardinal Peraudi, the eager advocate of the Crusade, to the Court, and in the Spring of the following year began to collect the contributions of the Cardinals, out of which a fleet was to be equipped.

In the beginning of September, the Venetian Envoy in Rome wrote that the Pope had been doing all he could throughout the Summer for the support of Venice and Hungary, and had given peremptory orders to the commander of the Spanish fleet to join that of Venice; that his dispositions in regard to the Crusade were excellent, if he only carried out the half of what he had promised it would be quite sufficient. The doubt again implied in these words was not deserved; a few days earlier Alexander had despatched various Briefs, the contents of which amply prove his sincerity; and he was exerting himself to the utmost to bring about the union of the Spanish fleet with the Venetian.

Soon after this the Venetian Envoy received the sad tidings that Modon had fallen into the hands of the Turks, and the loss of Navarino and Koron followed almost immediately. Since the fall of Negroponte such consternation and dismay as now prevailed in Venice had not been caused by any of her other disasters. The possession of these old and important colonies was held to be so essential to the maintenance of her navy, both for commerce and for war, that the Council of Ten declared that all her sea-power depended upon them. This terrible blow was formally announced by the Signoria to all the powers of Europe. "On the 10th of August," writes Raphael Brandolinus Lippi from Rome to a friend, "the unhappy city of Modon was conquered. The few inhabitants who fell into the hands of the Turks were all barbarously impaled; not one was spared. This is what we have come to through the troubles in Italy! To this have, we been brought by our internal dissensions! The eloquent Venetian Envoy, Marinus Giorgius, delivered such a splendid oration on the Turks, that his Holiness and the whole College of Cardinals were deeply stirred. Now at last we may hope that the Pope will insist on the formation of a League for the destruction of the Turks."

Vain hope! Eager as, the "Christian" powers were to avenge the smallest indignity inflicted on themselves, they were utterly indifferent where only the honour of the Christian name was concerned. But on this occasion it was not Alexander's fault that so little was done to check the enemy's advance. On the 11th of September, 1500, it was decided in Consistory that two things must be

done: first, every possible effort must be made to bring the Spanish fleet to bear against the Turks; secondly, Legates must be sent to Hungary, France, and Germany. On the 5th October the new Legates were chosen : Giovanni Vera for Spain, Portugal, and England; Petrus Isvalies for Hungary and Poland; Peraudi for Germany and the northern kingdoms. At the same time a Brief was sent to Gonsalvo de Cordova ordering him to join the Venetian fleet with his ships as quickly as possible; and the Cardinals were asked for their tithe. In spite of all this the Venetian Ambassador was not satisfied, and continued to question the sincerity of the Pope's assurances that he would do all that could be done. However true it may be that if Alexander had completely given up his policy of nepotism, more especially his plans for Caesar Borgia's aggrandisement, he might have accomplished more in this direction, still it must be admitted that he did a great deal. It was the fault of the "Christian" Princes, not of the Pope, that all his efforts produced so little result. Hardly anywhere was any enthusiasm to be found or willingness to make any sort of sacrifice. At that very time it had been resolved at the Diet at Augsburg that the Pope should be required to refund a portion of the money which had flowed into Rome for Jubilee Indulgences and annates, for the assistance of the administration, because "the empire had thereby been too much impoverished and drained of its coin." It required indeed a zeal no less fervent than that which burned in Peraudi's heart to undertake the German Legation under such circumstances as these. Though suffering from gout, he set out on the 26th October, full of hope that he would succeed in effecting a reconciliation between Maximilian and the German Princes and the King of France. But even on the frontier, he was met "by serious difficulties, in all influential quarters." Although Alexander had expressly commanded that all moneys brought in by the Jubilee from Germany should be exclusively devoted to the Turkish war, neither, at Court nor throughout the Empire was it believed that this would be carried out. Maximilian went so far as to refuse permission to Peraudi to enter the Empire. It is probable that Lodovico Moro, then there in exile, had a hand in this decision. His chances would have been unfavourably affected by a reconciliation between the Christian powers and a Crusade; but Peraudi would not lose heart. At Roveredo he spent his days and nights in writing letters to all the German, Danish, and Swedish Princes and prelates, admonishing them to make peace with each other and combine in turning their arms against the Turks. In his zeal for the Crusade, he was prepared to defy the Royal prohibition, go straight to the Diet, and there, if necessary, in virtue of his apostolic powers, pronounce the Ban of the Church against the King of the Romans and some of the Princes; like the Carthusian Thomas he thought nothing of death if it were in defence of the Christian faith.

After keeping him the whole winter in Roveredo, Maximilian at last came to a better mind, and allowed him to enter the Empire. Here he met with the greatest difficulties in dealing with the administration, although he was able to give the most positive assurances that the Pope and Cardinals had decided to leave all moneys coming in on account of the Jubilee Indulgences and other privileges absolutely untouched, in the keeping of the Empire, for the Crusade. It was not till the nth of September, 1501, at the Diet at Nuremberg, that he at last succeeded in coming to an agreement with the assembly and the Imperial Government; and this convention was loaded with vexatious and obstructive conditions for the Legate.

Maximilian, on his side, for political reasons, deferred his permission for preaching the Indulgences until January, 1502. Thus more than a year had passed away before Peraudi was able to begin to execute his mission. In spite of the unfavourableness of the season, in the early months of the year 1502 he travelled with astonishing rapidity through the whole of South-Western Germany, and preached the Indulgence in the Dioceses of Constance, Augsburg, Strasburg, Spires, Mayence, Treves, and Cologne. Towards the end of the year he visited the North-Eastern part of the Empire to announce the Jubilee there, and make peace between Lübeck and Denmark. During this journey the weather was very bad, and in consequence Peraudi was repeatedly confined to his bed from attacks of gout. This, and still more the hopeless indifference to the Crusade which confronted him among all classes of people, princes, townsmen, and clergy, so discouraged him, that more than once he entreated the Pope to recall him.

Gasparo Pons had been sent to England by Alexander VI, in order to collect the tithe from the clergy, and announce the Jubilee Indulgences, the proceeds of which were to go to the Crusade. The clergy paid the tithe, and the King, Henry VII, contributed £4000, but absolutely refused to send any assistance in the shape of men or ships. It was right and good, he said, that the Pope should endeavour to induce the Princes of Christendom to be reconciled with each other and combine for this holy purpose. He himself, thank God, had long been at peace with all men; he could not, however, send material help; that should be done by France and Spain, and equally by Hungary and Poland.

The King of France was occupied with plans which had no connection with the war against the Turks. The French clergy were extremely irritated against Alexander for having imposed the tithe without previously acquainting them of his purpose and asking their consent. "Many openly opposed it and appealed to a General Council against whatever censures they might thereby incur. On the 1st April the Theological Faculty of Paris pronounced that censures inflicted after an appeal had been already made to a Council, were invalid, and that the appellants therefore need not pay any regard to them and need not abstain from celebrating mass and exercising other ecclesiastical functions."

Amongst the Hungarian prelates the spirit of sacrifice was almost entirely absent. The secular nobles were not so averse to the war, but they too made difficulties. "They were not content with the Pope's offer to hand over to the King the Jubilee Indulgence moneys, the tithe on Church property in Hungary, and a Crusade-tax. They thought the income to be derived from these sources uncertain, or that the burdens would all fall on their shoulders." As Venice was bent on beating down the demands of the Hungarians, the negotiations dragged on for a long time, and it was mainly due to the exertions of Thomas Bakocs that an agreement was at last arrived at. This high principled and able man had been appointed Primate of Hungary in the year 1497, in the place of Ippolito d'Este, in order to satisfy the national feeling of the Hungarians, who objected to the highest spiritual office in the kingdom being held by a foreigner. Bakocs was made a member of the Sacred College by Alexander VI on the 28th of September, 1500, as a reward for his diligence in this matter. At the end of May in the following year, a League was at last concluded between Hungary, Venice, and the Pope. Alexander VI bound himself to contribute 40,000 ducats annually as long as the war should last. Venice promised 100,000 ducats and the

prosecution of the war at sea, while Hungary undertook to attack the Turks by land. Unfortunately, Hungary only contributed a few “freebooting expeditions on an extensive scale.” Meanwhile, at sea some slight successes were achieved. The new Venetian Admiral Benedetto Pesaro, “an experienced and resolute sailor,” late in the Autumn of 1500 made an expedition into the Aegean sea and reconquered Aegina. He was at last joined, in tardy compliance with the Pope’s commands, by the Spanish fleet of 65 sail, under the famous Admiral Gonsalvo de Cordova. The combined fleets succeeded before the close of the year in wresting the island of Cephallonia from the Turks and thus obtaining a new point of vantage in the Ionian Sea.

The year 1501 was spent in “alternations of successes and failures.” Alessio was won but Durazzo was lost. In the Spring of the following year the Papal fleet, consisting of 13 galleys and 2500 men, was ready to sail.

Bishop Giacompo da Pesaro was appointed by Alexander to the command of the fleet. His portrait is familiar to all lovers of art in Titian’s altar-piece representing the Pesaro family venerating the Blessed Virgin and the Divine Child. In this picture, by the side of the Legate, his brother is represented in full armour, holding aloft in one hand the Papal banner of the Crusade, and with the other leading two Turkish captives who follow him. Pesaro’s first step was to join Benedetto, who was waiting for him at Cerigo with 50 Venetian ships. Together they sailed at once for the island of S^{ta} Maura (the ancient Leukadia), and in spite of a desperate resistance on the part of the enemy, they succeeded towards the end of August in making themselves masters of this, from a strategic point of view, very important place. In this battle the Papal Legate Giacompo greatly distinguished himself, and at last planted the Papal banner with his own hands on the battlement of the conquered fort. It was not destined to float there. Both Venice and Constantinople had begun to weary of the war. The Porte found itself threatened in Asia by the new Persian empire, and the finances of Venice were nearly exhausted, while her trade was suffering severely. The Hungarian alliance had proved of little value, the war being very feebly carried on by King Lladislaus. In consequence, the Republic lent a willing ear to the Turkish overtures for peace and S^{ta} Maura was hardly conquered before it was again restored to the Sultan.

On the 14th of December, 1502, a temporary agreement was arrived at in Constantinople, which paved the way for the formal Peace which was announced by Venice on the 20th May, 1503. Without the support of Venice, Hungary was far too weak to face the Turks. Hence we cannot be surprised at finding King Lladislaus also laying down his arms. On the 20th of August, 1503, he concluded a truce with the Porte for seven years. While the war lasted Hungary received very large sums from Rome. The account books prove that, in the years 1501 and 1502, Lladislaus received from the Cardinals 6851 ducats; 1884 ducats, 16 solidi, and 8 denare; 6686 ducats and 6 solidi; 6666 ducats; 3587 ducats and 10 solidi; 1884 ducats, 16 solidi, and 8 denare; 6700 ducats; 222 ducats; 51,687 ducats; 2328 ducats and 12 solidi; 2534 ducats; 13,333 ducats; finally, 2325 ducats and 16 solidi. To all this must be added the pensions given to the numerous refugees from the countries which had been conquered by the Turks, and to the widows and children of those who had fallen in the war. Putting all this together, and taking into account the difference between the value of money then and in our own day, it must be admitted that Alexander

was not as remiss in regard to the Crusade as has been represented by the enemies of the House of Borgia. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Pope could have accomplished a great deal more if he had given up his gross nepotism and thought less of Caesar's advancement. A glance at the state of things in the States shews how far he was from doing this in any way.

CHAPTER X.

Cesar Borgia Governor of Rome and Duke of the Romagna.— Plans upset by the Death of Alexander VI.

ONE of the immediate results of the Neapolitan war had been the downfall of the Roman Barons. Ever since the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII the Colonna had leant for support upon the House of Aragon. When the agreement between Spain and France had finally sealed the fate of this family they sought to shelter themselves from the coming storm by proposing to give up the keys of their fortresses to the College of Cardinals; but Alexander required that they should be delivered to him, and in June, 1501, he succeeded in obtaining this. On the 22nd of the month Francesco Borgia started from Rome in order to take possession in the Pope's name of Rocca di Papa and the other castles belonging to the Colonna. On the following day about twenty of the vassals of the family came to Rome, and swore fealty to the Pope.

On the 27th of July Alexander went to Castel Gandolfo and Rocca di Papa and thence to Sermoneta. He had the effrontery to hand over the Regency of the palace to Lucrezia Borgia during his absence, with power to open his correspondence.* Soon after his return from this expedition a Bull was drawn up in which the Colonna and Savelli were declared to be rebels on account of their league with Federigo of Naples, and were excommunicated, and their property confiscated.† Out of the possessions of the Colonna, Savelli, and Gaetani the Pope carved two Dukedoms for his family; a few of the forts and villages belonging to the Savelli were given to Giovanni Paolo Orsini; but all the most beautiful and fertile districts fell into the hands of the Borgia. A Bull of 17th September, 1501, gave to Rodrigo, the son of Lucrezia and Alfonso, then two years old, the Dukedom of Sermoneta with Ninfa, Cisterna, Nettuno, Ardea, Nemi, Albano, and other towns. The Dukedom of Nepi, which included Palestrina, Olevano, Paliano, Frascati, Anticoli, and other places, was bestowed on Juan Borgia, also an infant. This child was legitimised by a Bull on 1st September, 1501, as the natural offspring of Caesar, and his age incidentally mentioned as about three years. A second Bull of the same date legitimised this same Juan as Alexander's own son. These undoubtedly genuine documents nullify all attempts to rebut the accusations against the moral conduct of the

Pope. "Almost the whole of the States of the Church were now the property of the Borgia; the Romagna and other territories belonged to Caesar, and another member of the House possessed the hereditary estates of the Roman Barons. This was something entirely new in the annals of the Church." Meanwhile, Lucrezia Borgia was not forgotten. By a marriage with Alfonso, the heir-apparent of Ferrara, she was to enter one of the noblest and oldest families in Italy, and at the same time secure Caesar's sovereignty in the Romagna, and help forward his designs on Florence and Bologna. At first both Alfonso and his father, Ercole, refused to listen to the project, and Maximilian I was equally against it. But Louis XII, Alexander's ally, intervened, and when the Pope had engaged himself to grant a relaxation of feudal rights and a reduction of fief dues, the betrothal took place in September, 1501. Lucrezia was wild with delight. Still young and beautiful, all her sorrow for Alfonso was forgotten in the brilliant prospect of high position and gratified vanity that opened out before her. The Ferrarese Envoys gave feast after feast in her honour. One evening she so overfatigued herself with dancing that she was laid up with fever the next day. The bride's outfit was truly royal. Alexander told the Ferrarese Envoys that he meant Lucrezia to have "beautiful pearls than any other Italian princess." At the same time, regardless of the duty imposed upon him by the dignity of his office, the Pope permitted himself to be present at scandalous dances of a similar character to those which had drawn on him the rebuke of Pius II in former days. Society at that time was so corrupt that even this gave but little offence; everything bad was believed, but no one thought much of anything.

On the 9th of December the bridal escort, consisting of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este and four other members of the ducal family, with a retinue of 500 persons, started from Ferrara. It reached Rome on the 23rd, and on the same day the Ferrarese Envoy, writing to his master, expresses the favourable impression produced on him by Lucrezia. "She is singularly graceful in everything she does, and her manners are modest, gentle, and decorous. She is also a good Christian, and more, she is going to confession and to communion on Christmas Day. As regards good looks she has quite sufficient, but her pleasing expression and gracious ways make her seem even more beautiful than she is. In short, she seems to me to be such that there is nothing to fear, but rather the very best to be hoped, in every way from her." On the 30th December Lucrezia's marriage with Alfonso, by procuration, was celebrated with great splendour in the Vatican. The bride's dress was of gold brocade and crimson velvet trimmed with ermine. The hanging sleeves touched the ground, and her long train was borne by maids of honour. A black band confined her golden hair, and she wore on her head a light coif of gold and silk. Her necklace was a string of pearls with a locket consisting of an emerald, a ruby, and one large pearl. From thence until the day of her departure (6th January, 1502) one entertainment succeeded another in a perpetual round of gaiety. Plays, among others Plautus' *Menaechmi*, balls, and allegorical representations alternated with races, tournaments, and bull-fights.

Lucrezia's marriage with the heir of Ferrara was the turning point in her life. In spite of all the investigations of recent times much in the Roman life of this remarkable woman remains shrouded in darkness; but this is not the case in regard to its closing period in Ferrara. During this time Lucrezia, who was Duchess of Ferrara from 1505 till 24th June, 1519, when she died in her

confinement, not only won the love of her husband, but also that of her people. All accusations in regard to her conduct, which no doubt were not entirely groundless, from henceforth wholly cease. Lucrezia is only heard of as a faithful and loving wife, and the consoler and advocate of all who were poor or oppressed. Her beauty, added to her sweetness and kindness, captivated the hearts of all. She encouraged arts, and was surrounded and praised by cultivated men such as Ariosto, Bembo, Strozzi, and others.

Lucrezia Borgia di cui d'ora in ora
 La beltà, la virtù, e la fama honesta,
 E la fortuna, va crescendo non meno
 Che giovin pianta in morbida terra;

is the description of her in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (XIII, 19). Without giving credit to every flattering word that may occur in the strains of a Court-poet, we may fairly assume that he would not have written anything that was in flagrant contradiction with the general opinion. "The art of flattery has its laws and its limits; he who would praise a royal personage for qualities in which he or she was notoriously deficient, must be utterly unacquainted with the world and the usages of society. Such praise would practically be satire, and the foolish courtier would certainly not be rewarded." The poets, however, are not the only witnesses in her favour. Scholars, statesmen, and historians all agree in pronouncing the same verdict, so that the latest biographer of the Duchess says at the close of his work: "This at least is certain, that during her life at Ferrara she was regarded as a pattern of womanly virtue." More especially in times of scarcity she showed herself a "Mother" of the people; and actually pawned her jewels in order to help the poor. Jovius tells how completely she renounced all the luxury to which she had been accustomed from her youth, and lived a simple, religious life. He lays special stress on her solid practice of virtue; her religion was no mere show. As a proof of her practical charity he states that she founded a convent and chapel for well-born ladies out of her own private purse.

After Lucrezia's departure from Rome, Caesar's influence became absolutely unbounded. He was the real master; in almost everything the Pope conformed absolutely to the iron will of this man, the most terrible of all the cruel offspring of the Renaissance. Caesar was the tyrant of Rome, which he filled with his spies and minions. A word against him was a crime of high treason. A man who had made too free with his name when in domino had his hand and his tongue cut off and fastened together. The Venetian Ambassador was unable to protect one of his countrymen who was supposed to have circulated a pamphlet which contained reflections on Alexander and his son. He was murdered and his body cast into the Tiber. The Pope himself, though callous as a rule about such things, blamed his son for this. "The Duke," he said to the Ferrarese Envoy, "is a good-natured man; but he cannot tolerate an insult. I have often told him that Rome is a free city, and that here every one has a right to write and say what he likes. Plenty of things are said of me, but I take no notice. The Duke replied, That may be all very well for Rome, but I will teach such people to be sorry for what they say." Finally the Pope reminded his son how many of the Cardinals, whom Charles VIII had himself acknowledged to have been traitors to their master, had been forgiven by him. "I could easily," he said, "have had the Vice-Chancellor and Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere killed;

but I did not wish to harm any one, and I pardoned fourteen of the nobles." A short time before this Alexander had proved that this was not mere palaver.

At the close of the year 1501 a pamphlet against the Borgia had appeared which surpassed all former attacks in virulence. It was in the form of a letter to one of the exiled Roman Barons, Silvio Savelli, then living at the Court of Maximilian I, and was dated from the Spanish camp at Tarento, 15th November, 1501. "You are mistaken, my dear friend," it said, "if you think that you ought to attempt to come to terms with this monster. He has betrayed you, banished you, and resolved on your destruction, simply out of greed and faithlessness, and for no other reason. Therefore you should repay an enmity that will never cease with an unalterable hatred. You must choose a different path and disclose the misery of Rome to the true physician. Lay before the Emperor and the other Princes of the empire all the evil that has proceeded from this cursed beast for the perdition of Christendom; narrate the abominable crimes by which God is set at naught, and the heart of religion pierced through. Describe these horrors in detail before the Diet, and take care that they shall be disseminated from mouth to mouth. It is idle for Christendom to groan over the nations which are torn from her arms by her old enemy the Turk, while this new Mahomet far surpasses the old one in the havoc he causes in what yet remains of faith and religion by his filthy crimes. These are the days of Antichrist, for no greater enemy of God, Christ, and religion can be conceived." It goes on to accuse all the Borgia, Alexander, Lucrezia, and Caesar, of every imaginable crime and vice. All that could be invented by political hatred in Milan, Venice, and Naples, and all the venom that Roman satire could hatch, is heaped together and poured forth in unmeasured language. "There is no sort of outrage or vice," it says in one place, "that is not openly practised in the Palace of the Pope. The perfidy of the Scythians and Carthaginians, the bestiality and savagery of Nero and Caligula are surpassed. Rodrigo Borgia is an abyss of vice, a subverter of all justice, human or divine. God grant that the Princes may come to the rescue of the tottering Church, and steer the sinking barque of Peter out of the storm and into the haven! God grant they may rise up and deliver Rome from the destroyer who was born to be her ruin, and bring back justice and peace to the city!"

This diatribe, brimming over with political hatred and the spirit of revenge, cannot, of course, be regarded as historically trustworthy. But it shows what dangerous weapons the disgraceful conduct of the Borgia put into the hands of their enemies.

Alexander had this libel read to him; but, indifferent as he was to public opinion, it never occurred to him to attempt to curtail the liberty of speech or writing in Rome. We hear nothing of any measures to check the circulation of the pamphlet, or any attempt to prosecute its author. Silvio Savelli, in whose interest it was professedly written, was allowed later to return to Rome and was received in audience by the Pope.

Alexander paid heavily for his indifference to all these attacks and accusations. Writings like these exercised a lasting effect on the judgments regarding him, both of his contemporaries and of later times.

The longer this "incredible liberty" in the expression of opinion lasted in Rome the more freely was it taken advantage of by the enemies of the Borgia. "Sannazaro certainly wrote his epigrams in a place of comparative security, but

others said the most hazardous things at the very doors of the Court." Epigrammatic satire developed enormously in literary circles in Rome. Literary men vied with each other in producing the most melodramatic and unheard of accusations, and spicing them with the most caustic wit.

Alexander was often now loaded with vituperation by the very same persons who had formerly "praised him to the skies." Just at this time (1511) Cardinal Caraffa had had an ancient statue, supposed to represent Hercules strangling Geryon, placed on a pedestal just outside his palace, which was situated in one of the most frequented thoroughfares of Rome. Burchard relates how, in August 1501, on the pedestal of this antique fragment, which then went by the name of Pasquino (it is now thought to be Ajax with the body of Achilles), a prophecy of the death of the Pope was affixed, which was quickly circulated throughout the whole of Rome. This prediction, he adds, was posted up in several other parts of the city: in the Campo di Fiore, the Bridge of St. Angelo, the doors of the Vatican Library, and the gates of the Papal Palace. The number of places here mentioned proves that at that time the popular and courtly epigram was not yet a fixed institution in Rome. Up to the time of Leo X the statue of Pasquino is only occasionally mentioned as the place on which epigrams were posted. It had not yet acquired any special distinction in this respect. It was in his reign that it first became the recognised place for affixing all the epigrams and witticisms of the Roman satirists. It seems thus equally clear that the origin of the Pasquinade literature, centred here, was scholarly rather than popular. From the year 1504, on the Feast of S. Mark (25th April), this figure was dressed up in masquerade as Minerva, Jupiter, Janus, Apollo, Flora, etc., while the members of the literary circles covered its pedestal with witty epigrams. For the rest of the year Pasquino relapsed into silence; as yet he was still in the youthful, academic stage of his existence.

There can be no doubt that the comic poems of that time in Rome were often accompanied by caricatures. When later (in the year 1509), collections of these Pasquinades began to be made, the pictures were thrown away, and only the epigrams were kept. Thus valuable materials for the history of culture have been lost and we can never hope to recover them. Even such things as abortions like, for instance, the monster that was said to have been found in January 1496, at the time of the overflow of the Tiber, were, as Alexander's misgovernment grew worse and worse, caught hold of by the enemies of the Borgia, and interpreted in their own sense.

Five weeks after Lucrezia's departure, Alexander and Caesar, accompanied by six Cardinals, set out for Piombino, which had surrendered in the previous September. The object of their journey was to inspect the fortifications which were being constructed there, apparently under the direction of Leonardo da Vinci. On the 17th February, 1502, they set out by way of Civit  Vecchia and Corneto, and after Piombino the island of Elba was also visited. The return journey was begun on the 1st of March, but a violent storm came on, and they did not succeed in reaching Porto Ercole till the 4th. Although the gale had by no means subsided, the voyage was pursued as far as Corneto; but when they got there the sea was running so high that it was impossible to land. As the storm still continued to increase, the terrified crew threw themselves on their faces on the deck, the Cardinals wept, the Pope alone remained perfectly calm. In the evening they were obliged to return to Porto Ercole, and from thence

Alexander travelled back to Rome by Corneto and Civita Vecchia, and arrived there on the 11th of March.

There was a political reason for this expedition. Piombino was to form the basis of Caesar's operations against Tuscany, where the enmity between Florence and Siena, and the war against Pisa, created a favourable situation for him. In other directions, also, the moment was opportune. The King of France was thought to be safe, as he required the help of the Pope in the coming struggle with the Spanish League. The Roman Barons had been crushed, and all was quiet in the Romagna. Ferrara was an ally; Venice was too busy with the Turks to interfere; there was nothing to fear from Germany. Such a happy combination of circumstances called for prompt action, and all possible speed was made in the preparations. The artillery of the dethroned King of Naples was purchased for 50,000 ducats. The fact that Caesar alone, in May, 1502, drew the sum of 54,000 florins out of the Papal treasury, shows what large demands were made upon it by the Pope's nephews. This did not include the cost of weapons and ammunition. Between 10th May and 12th July the Apostolical treasury paid for 83,098 pounds of powder (each 1000 pounds cost 40 ducats). A separate register was kept in the Secretariat for the ordnance expenses.

On the 13th June Caesar left Rome at the head of his army. No one, says Sigismondo de' Conti, knew whither he was bound, but all the inhabitants of the States of the Church trembled at the approach of his troops, who in their violence and exactions behaved as though they were in an enemy's country.

The Duke proceeded to Spoleto, and from thence entered the Duchy of Urbino. By dint of fraud and treachery he succeeded in making himself master of the whole country, its deluded ruler, Guidobaldi, barely escaping out of his hands by a timely flight. In the following month he took Giulio Cesare Varano, the murderer of his brother Rudolf, prisoner, and conquered Camerino. He now received the title of Caesar Borgia of France, by the Grace of God Duke of the Romagna and of Valencia and Urbino, Prince of Andria, Lord of Piombino, Standard-bearer and General-in-Chief of the Church.

When the Pope heard of the conquest of Camerino he was "almost beside himself with joy," writes the Venetian Envoy, Antonio Giustinian. "He could so little contain himself that, to give some vent to his feelings and mark the importance of the news, he got up from his chair and went to the window, and there had the letter of his Duke of 20th July from Urbino read aloud." Camerino was given to the infant Juan Borgia, while Caesar's plans took larger and larger scope. He was, in fact, on the high road to become King of the whole of Central Italy. He was already beginning to think of turning his arms against Bologna when Louis XII came forward, in connection with Neapolitan relations with Asti, and gave it to be understood that he would not permit any further developments. All the enemies of the Borgia were besieging the King with complaints of, and warnings against, the Duke of the Romagna. Caesar's resolution was promptly taken. Disguising himself, he hastened to the royal camp at Milan, and arrived on the 5th of August. He was successful in winning Louis by the promise of help in Naples, in return for which the King engaged to support him in his attack on Bologna and the Orsini.

At this moment a conspiracy against Caesar was formed amongst the chief captains of the mercenary troops under his command. "They were afraid that

the dragon was preparing to swallow them one by one.” On the 9th of October the conspirators met at La Magione, not far from the Lake of Thrasimene. Many of the Orsini came, the Cardinal, the Duke of Gravina, Paolo, and Franciotto, besides Hermes, the son of Giovanni Bentivoglio, as the representative of his father, Antonio da Venafro, representing Pandolfo, Petrucci, Gentile, and Giampaolo Baglione, and Vitellozzo Vitelli. They proceeded at once to action, and on the 15th of October Paolo Orsini entered Urbino, and Guidobaldi immediately joined him there. Without the help of France, Caesar would have been lost, and he exerted himself to obtain the support of Venice and Florence also. It was at this time that Machiavelli was sent as Envoy to Caesar at Imola, and gave the first indication of his genius as a political historian by his judgments of the “inscrutable Duke who hardly ever spoke, but acted.”

Ferrara promised to send troops to Rome if the Pope should require help against the Orsini. Actually, however, the only help received by Caesar came from France alone; but that sufficed, for in the meanwhile his opponents lost time in negotiations, and split among themselves.

The Duke exerted all his craft to break up the League, and fool the conspirators; and they on their part walked blindly into the net that he had laid for them. Antonio da Venafro and Paolo Orsini came to Imola and concluded an alliance offensive and defensive with the Duke, by which they bound themselves to recover Urbino and Camerino for him. Bentivoglio entered into separate negotiation with Caesar ; and on the 2nd of December they came to terms. Soon after Urbino and Camerino were restored to him.

On the 10th December Caesar, who a short time before had received considerable sums from the Papal treasury, proceeded with his troops from Imola to Cesena. “No one knew or could guess the object of the movement,” writes Machiavelli, “for this Signor never speaks of his intentions until he carries them out, and he carries them out at the proper moment.” Soon, however, it became evident that the Duke’s purpose was to take Sinigaglia. Andrea Doria was in command of the Castle. When he found that Caesar was hurrying towards the city, and already preceded by the troops of Vitellozzo and the Orsini, he fled to Venice. The commander whom he left in charge declared that he would give up the citadel to Caesar but to no one else. The Duke arrived on the 31st of December, and was joined at the gates by Vitellozzo, Paolo Orsini, the Duke of Gravina, and Oliverotto of Fermo. He received them in the friendliest manner, and they entered together; but no sooner were they within the walls than he had them arrested, and their people disarmed. That very same evening Vitellozzo and Oliverotto were ruthlessly put to death. The Orsini soon after met with the same fate. In justification of these murders it was said later that those chiefs had agreed to rise against the Duke and assassinate him. No proofs of this are to be found; but it is not unlikely that it may have been true.

Caesar now turned with lightning-like rapidity on his other foes. On 1st January, 1503, he set off for Perugia on his way to Siena. “At his approach all the smaller despots (such as the Vitelli of Città di Castello, Giampaolo Baglione of Perugia, etc.) fled as from that of a hydra.”

The Duke’s “extraordinary good fortune and superhuman sagacity,” to use Machiavelli’s words, so encouraged the Pope, that he determined to proceed now himself against the Orsini. On the 3rd of January, 1503, Cardinal Orsini,

now blind, but still spending his nights in play and feasting, was arrested in the Vatican, and taken first to Torre di Nona and then to St. Angelo. At the same time, Rinaldo Orsini, Archbishop of Florence, Giacomo Santa Croce, and other adherents of the family were put in prison. Cardinal Orsini's palace and all his property were confiscated by Alexander VI. The other Cardinals interceded for him, but without effect. The Pope declared that his treachery and participation in the captains' conspiracy could not be left unpunished. In Rome the numerous arrests created quite a panic. Many fled from the city, so that at last Alexander found it necessary to send for the Conservators, and assure them that all the guilty persons had now been disposed of; the other citizens were to remain in Rome and enjoy the Carnival. In the latter respect he himself set them the best example.

On the 5th of January, Jofre Borgia set out to occupy Monte Rotondo and the other strongholds of the doomed family. This was the signal for a final effort to avenge themselves on the part of the remains of the Orsini party in combination with the Savelli and a few of the Colonna. They entrenched themselves in Cere and Bracciano, and on the 23rd January attacked the Ponte Nomentano. The attack was repulsed; but the Pope was so much alarmed that he had the Vatican barricaded and commanded Jofre to return at once.

On the 20th February, 1503, the Pope advised the Cardinals to fortify their palaces, for there was fear of an attack from the Orsini. Two days later Cardinal Orsini died after an illness of twelve days. The report that he was poisoned by the Borgia was widely circulated, but the truth of this is doubtful. Such was the death of the man who, next to Ascanio Sforza, had the greatest influence in procuring the election of Alexander VI.

Meanwhile Caesar had advanced against the Orsini from Umbria, and, devastating the country as he went along, had made himself master of all the places belonging to Giovanni Giordano Orsini with the exception of Cere and Bracciano, which last was their chief stronghold. A short time after, it was said that the Duke had been seen in Rome; but no one could be sure, as he always wore a mask when he went out. Meanwhile the war against the Orsini dragged on. Cere did not fall until the beginning of April; 6000 cannon balls had been discharged at this fortress. Upon this Giovanni Giordano Orsini concluded an armistice (4th April) and betook himself to his protector, the King of France, for aid in the negotiation to follow. Louis at that moment was greatly disturbed at the unfavourable turn taken by events in Naples.

In April the Spaniards, under Gonsalvo de Cordova, had opened the campaign with a brilliant victory over the French. On the 16th of May the Spanish General entered Naples in triumph. Louis XII, however, was not disposed to relinquish this noble possession without a struggle, and a new army was immediately equipped.

The French reverses in Naples were of great advantage to Caesar. He could now ask a high price for his assistance, and it was not necessary to consider France so much as heretofore in shaping his plans. The important point now was to get money so as to have as strong an army as possible wherewith to control the impending disturbances. Even on the 29th March the Venetian Ambassador reports that in the Consistory of that day it had been resolved by the Cardinals that a Bull should be issued to create eighty new offices in the

Court; the price of each was to be 760 ducats. "I leave it to your highness to count how much money the Pope has secured."

These were innocent expedients in comparison with others adopted by the man before whom all Rome, not excepting the Pope himself, trembled. In the night of the 10th of April the wealthy Cardinal Michiel died after two days of violent vomiting. Recent investigations have had the effect of acquitting Caesar of many crimes laid upon him by the hatred of his contemporaries, but the death of Cardinal Michiel is not one of these. It is extremely probable that Caesar poisoned the Cardinal in order to obtain the money that he wanted. Still, however, there was not enough. On May 31 the Venetian Envoy, A. Giustinian, writes: "Today there was a Consistory. Instead of four new Cardinals, as people expected and as the Pope had said, nine were nominated. Five of these are Spaniards, Giovanni Castelar of Valencia, Francesco Remolino, Francesco Sprats, Jacopo Casanova, and Francesco Iloris; three are Italians, Niccolo Fiesco, Count of Lavagna, Francesco Soderini, and Adriano da Corneto; one is a German, Melchior Copis von Meckau, Bishop of Brixen. Most of them are men of doubtful reputation; all have paid handsomely for their elevation, some 20,000ducats and more, so that from 120,000 to 130,000 ducats have been collected. If we add to this 64,000 ducats from the sale of the offices in the Court, and what Cardinal Michiel left behind him, we shall have a fine sum. Alexander VI is showing to the world that the amount of a Pope's income is just what he chooses."

There was another side also to this creation of Cardinals on 31st May. It indicated a change in the Borgia politics, an inclination to draw nearer to Spain and retire from France consequent on the latter's humiliation. But no decision was come to as yet. "The reversal of a policy which had now been followed for some years was in itself a thing not to be done hastily, and the objections to it were heightened by the approach of a large French army destined for the reconquest of Naples, and which was now close to the Papal frontier. Thus all was tension and uncertainty." One thing, however, is clear, and that is, that at this time Alexander and Caesar were preparing to fly at higher game. The Pope was in robust health and felt as young as ever; they both looked forward to a prolonged Pontificate. Consequently Caesar now began to look forward with confidence to the Lordship of the whole of Tuscany. The Ferrarese Envoy reports on the 10th of August that negotiations were going on between the Pope and the Emperor, to obtain for the Duke the investiture of Pisa, Siena, and Lucca. At the same time Caesar's troops had occupied Perugia and there awaited his orders. At this point a higher hand intervened; the forbearance of God had reached its appointed term.

The heat and drought of August had caused the malaria that year to be worse than usual, and it claimed a greater number of victims than was its wont. On the 5th of the month Juan Borgia, Cardinal of Monreale, died suddenly. The Envoys mention a great deal of sickness, which was not, they say, caused by the Plague, but by a specially virulent form of Roman fever, which was very speedily fatal. When the Venetian Ambassador was with the Pope on the 7th of August he found him in low spirits. Alexander told him that the sickness and many deaths in Rome alarmed him, and that he meant to take great care of himself. His depression was increased by the approach of the French troops.

The 11th of August was the anniversary of the Pope's election. Alexander appeared at the celebration in the chapel, and the Ambassador was again struck by his air of depression in contrast with the gaiety which was habitual to him on all such occasions. After Mass he conversed with the Ambassador on the critical situation in regard to politics. "See," he said, "how disastrous it has been that no understanding should have been arrived at between your Signoria and ourselves." Some days before, Alexander had watched from his window the funeral procession of Juan Borgia, who like himself had grown very corpulent. As it passed the Pope exclaimed, "This month is a bad one for fat people." The next moment an owl flew in and fell at his feet. "A bad, bad omen" he cried out and hastily retired into his bed-room.

On the morning of Saturday, 12th August, the Pope felt unwell; in the afternoon vomiting and fever came on and lasted throughout the night. At the same time Caesar, who was on the point of starting to join his troops at Perugia, also sickened. "The cause," writes the Venetian Envoy on 13th August, "seems to have been that a week ago (therefore on the 5th or 6th of August) both Alexander and Caesar dined at a villa belonging to Cardinal Adriano da Corneto and remained there till after nightfall. All who were there fell ill, Cardinal Adriano first, who on Friday had a severe attack of fever, which was repeated on the two following days."

August is well known to be the most dangerous month in Rome, and at that season it is especially perilous to be out of doors about nightfall. The malignant form of plague, often brought on by an imprudence of this sort, is called *Malaria perniciosa*: in a few hours the temperature may rise to above 106 and the strongest constitution may succumb to the violence of the poison. The neighbourhood of the Vatican is one of the quarters in which malaria is especially prevalent. An Envoy on the 14th of August remarks that no one can be surprised that Alexander and Caesar were ill, as the bad air in the Papal Palace had caused much sickness there.

On the 13th of August the physicians endeavoured to relieve the Pope by copious bleeding, a favourite remedy in those days. During all that day he was more comfortable and played at cards; but after a fairly good night another attack of fever supervened on the 14th, resembling that of the 12th, so that those about him became very anxious. Although it seemed a risk to repeat the bleeding of a patient of seventy-three, this was done. The Pope felt somewhat better on the 15th and had no fever, but on the 16th it returned.

Caesar also grew worse, the fever fits succeeded each other more and more rapidly. This, and his political anxieties, acted injuriously on the Pope's health. The physicians considered his case very serious, but the details were kept as secret as possible; even Beltrando Costabili, the Ferrarese Envoy, could find out but little. According to a report of his the whole of the next day (17th) Alexander was more at ease and quieter, so that Costabili's agent hoped that the fever might not return the following day, or only slightly. Here the Pope's illness is distinctly designated as the well-known Terzana; it was feared that it might develop into a Quartana. On the 18th he had a bad night, the fever returned with greater violence than before, and the case was felt to be hopeless. Alexander made his confession to the Bishop of Carinola and received Holy Communion. In the Palace the greatest excitement prevailed; many lost no time

in removing their property to a place of security. On the 18th Caesar Borgia was better; the younger man had strength to battle against the malady, but for Alexander, at seventy-three, the last hour had struck. About 6 o'clock in the evening he had a fit of suffocation and became unconscious; for a moment he came to himself again, but immediately after passed away, about the hour of vespers.

In consequence of the simultaneous illness of both the Pope and his son, and the rapid decomposition of the body, which, considering the heat of the weather, was perfectly natural, the cry of poison was raised at once; but on the 19th of August the Mantuan Envoy writes that there was no sort of ground for supposing this. All the best informed contemporary writers are here agreed; neither the Venetian Ambassador Giustinian nor Jakob Burchard say anything of poison. These men were in Rome at the time of Alexander's death, which Guicciardini, Bembo, Jovius, Peter Martyr, and Sanuto were not. The narrative of the latter is self-contradictory in many places and must obviously be relegated to the realm of fiction. It is clear that Alexander succumbed to the well-known Roman fever; one of the physicians thought the actual death was caused by a fit of apoplexy. The interval of seven or eight days between the dinner and the first appearances of illness, and the periodical character of the fever fits, quite excludes the hypothesis of poison.

In accordance with Roman usage, Alexander was buried at the end of twenty-four hours in the Church of S. Andrea, then called S^{ta} Maria della Febbre, adjoining S. Peter's. The funeral was of the simplest character; the enemies of the Borgia made no secret of their joy; they loaded the dead man with abuse, and circulated a story of the devil's having come to fetch his soul.

Although some friends were not wanting who strove to draw attention to Alexander's better qualities, the general judgment on the life and career of this unhappy man was a most unfavourable one. When Julius II, who was an implacable enemy of the Borgia, occupied the Papal Chair, it became usual to speak of Alexander as a "Maraña" and the impersonation of all that was horrible and bad. The noble Marcantonio Altieri openly expressed his satisfaction that now "all the Borgia had been uprooted from the soil and cast out as poisonous plants, hated by God and noxious to man," and this was by no means the worst of the things that were said.*He was universally described as a monster and every sort of foul crime attributed to him.

Modern critical research has in many points judged him more fairly and rejected some of the worst of the accusations against him. But even though we must beware of accepting without examination all the tales told of Alexander by his contemporaries, "even serious and honest historians are not wholly free from bias"; and though the bitter wit of the Romans found its favourite exercise in tearing him to pieces without mercy, and attributing to him in popular pasquinades and scholarly epigrams a life of incredible foulness, still so much against him has been clearly proved, that we are forced to reject the modern attempts at whitewashing him as an unworthy tampering with truth. "The reign of this Pope, which lasted eleven years, was a serious disaster, on account of its worldliness, openly proclaimed with the most amazing effrontery, on account of its equally unconcealed nepotism, lastly, on account of his utter absence of all moral sense both in public and private life, which made every sort of accusation

credible, and brought the Papacy into utter discredit, while its authority still seemed unimpaired. Those better qualities which Alexander undoubtedly did possess shrink into nothing in the balance when weighed with all this." From a Catholic point of view, it is impossible to blame Alexander VI too severely, and, indeed, he has met with his deserts from Egidius of Viterbo in his reign of Leo X, and later, from the Annalists of the Church, Raynaldus and Mansi. It was the very first duty of a Pope in those days of growing worldliness to make every effort to stem the tide of corruption; but Alexander, like any secular Prince, cared for nothing but the advancement of his family* Even when the shock of his son's death recalled him for a moment to the sense of his true vocation, his repentance was of the shortest duration, and he very soon returned to his old ways and lived the immoral life of the secular sovereigns of his day.

Thus he who should have been the guardian of his time, saving all that could be saved, contributed more than any other man to steep the Church in corruption. His life of unrestrained sensuality was in direct contradiction with the precepts of Him whose representative on earth he was; and to this he gave himself up to the very end of his days, but it is noteworthy that in matters purely concerning the Church, Alexander never did anything that justly deserves blame; even his bitterest enemies are unable to formulate any accusation against him in this respect. Her doctrines were maintained in all their purity. It seemed as though his reign were meant by Providence to demonstrate the truth that though men may hurt the Church they cannot harm her.

In the Church there have always been unworthy priests as well as bad Christians; and that no one might be scandalised by this, our Lord Himself has foretold it. He likens her to a field in which the tares grow up with the wheat; to a net in which are both good and bad fish; even amongst His disciples he endured a Judas.

Just as the intrinsic worth of a jewel is not lessened by an inferior setting, so the sins of a priest cannot essentially affect his power of offering sacrifice or administering Sacraments or transmitting doctrine. The personal holiness of the priest is, of course, of the highest importance for the lives of the faithful, inasmuch as he constitutes a living example for them to follow, and compels the respect and esteem of those who are outside. Still the goodness or badness of the temporary minister can exercise no substantial influence on the being, the divine character, or the holiness of the Church; on the word of revelation; on the graces and spiritual powders with which she is endowed. Thus, even the supreme high priest can in no way diminish the value of that heavenly treasure which he controls and dispenses, but only as a steward. The gold remains gold in impure as in pure hands. "The Papal office belongs to a higher sphere than the personality of its occupant for the time being, and can neither gain nor lose in its essential dignity by his saintliness on one side, or his unworthiness on the other". Even the first Pope, S. Peter, had sinned deeply in denying his Lord and Master: and yet the office of Supreme Pastor was given to him. In the words of the great S. Leo: *Petri dignitas etiam in indigno herede non deficit.* \ .

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CHAPTER XI.

ALEXANDER VI.'S ACTION IN THE CHURCH.—THE GREAT JUBILEE OF THE YEAR 1500.—EDICT FOR CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS.—MISSIONS IN AMERICA AND AFRICA.—PAPAL DECISION IN REGARD TO THE COLONIAL POSSESSIONS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

NOTWITHSTANDING the predominance of secular interests throughout the whole of the reign of Alexander VI, this Pope was not inactive in matters regarding the Church. In all essentials, in spite of abuses, the government of the Church was steadily carried on; no doubt, however, this was partly owing to the marvellous perfection of her organisation.

Like his predecessors, Alexander gave a hearty support to the monastic orders, enriched them with many privileges and did all he could to secure and promote their well-being and their work. Innocent VIII had in 1490 granted to the Church of the Augustinians the same indulgences as could formerly only be gained by visiting the stations in Rome. Alexander VI in 1497 bestowed on this order, permanently and exclusively, the office of Sacristan of the Chapel of the Papal Palace. From that time a special prayer for the Pope was ordered to be said in all Augustinian Churches and Convents. Thus the Order, from which the most violent and powerful foe of Rome was to proceed, was bound to the Holy See by the closest ties.

The Dominicans were not only confirmed in their inquisitorial powers, but also favoured in many other ways. The Pope punished those who laid hands on the property of the Order, encouraged devotion to S. Thomas Aquinas, promoted the reform and foundation of Dominican convents, and granted to the Dominicans equal privileges with those of the other mendicant orders, and the right of establishing confraternities of the Rosary. The old and very extensive privileges of the Franciscans were also confirmed afresh by him. Substantial favours were bestowed upon the Congregation of Canons Regular of S. Saviour by Alexander and on the Gesuati. The protection of the Pope was also extended to the Congregation of Augustinian Hermits in Italy, who were known by the name of Apostolic Brothers. Innocent VIII in 1484 had bestowed on this body a more solid organisation by binding them to observe the rule of the Hermits of S. Augustine and giving them a habit. Alexander VI completed the work of his predecessor in a Bull of the year 1496. Among other things it was ordained that in future they might take solemn vows according to the rule of the Augustinian Hermits, and enjoy all their privileges. Their General resided at S. Rocco in Genoa. In the year 1497 he united the Cistercian convents of Upper and Central

Italy into one congregation, to which he gave the name of the Congregation of S. Bernard.

In 1494 the Order of the Knights of S. George, and in 1501 the Order of Nuns founded by S. Jane of Valois for the closer imitation of the Blessed Virgin, received the Papal approbation.^f A more important approbation was that bestowed by him on the Order of S. Francis of Paula in 1493, and in 1505 on his Tertiaries, to whom he granted many privileges. In the year 1496 the Pope reconstituted the Order of the Holy Sepulchre. Alexander VI frequently came forward as the protector of convents against their oppressors, whether ecclesiastical or secular, and energetically withstood encroachments on the liberties of the Church.

In this respect Alexander's attitude in regard to the absolutist pretensions of the authorities in the Netherlands' is especially interesting. In spite of the supineness of the clergy in that country, who took no notice of the infringements of their privileges and immunities, the Pope acted with the greatest decision. Quite at the beginning of his reign he threatened the magistrates of Brabant with excommunication, but they refused to desist from their encroachments on the rights of the Church. Immediately he addressed himself to Duke Philip of Burgundy, pointing out how the liberties of the Church were violated in his dominion, especially in Brabant, and calling upon him to put a stop at once to these proceedings. A Brief was despatched to the Bishop of Liege, sharply rebuking him for having neglected the defence of the rights of the Church, and for not having informed the Holy See, and commanding him, under pain of suspension and Interdict, to repair his negligence without delay. Similar letters were written to many other persons who were in a position to have influence in the Netherlands.

Alexander took pains on many occasions to promote devotion to S. Anne and the Blessed Virgin. In regard to the latter, the ordinance restoring the ringing of the Angelus in August 1500, was an act of wide and lasting importance. No canonisations took place during this Pope's reign, but several causes were introduced, and the investigations in regard to conduct and miracles were conducted with great care and circumspection. Papal instructions on these points are to be found in connection with Bishop Benno, Henry VI of England, and S. Frances of Rome. Amongst other ecclesiastical acts of Alexander VI. should be mentioned his confirmation of the Bull of Sixtus IV on the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady, and in the year 1501, his affirmative decision of the question as to whether it was allowable for the Bishop Albert of Wilna to take up arms to defend himself against the Tartars. On the 20th of August of the same year, he declared the form of baptism in which the passive mood is used (which is customary amongst the Ruthenes in Lithuania and others of the Greek rite) to be valid, and forbade the reiteration of the Sacrament; grounding his decision on that of Eugenius IV. On the 8th of June, 1451, he wrote to the Grand Duke of Lithuania, admonishing him to do everything in his power to persuade his consort to "abjure the Russian religion, and accept the Christian Faith." In the year 1496 Constantine, Prince of Georgia, sent the Basilian monk Nilus to Rome with overtures for a reunion in religion and an alliance against the Turks. Alexander in reply sent him the Decree of the Council of Florence and other information on the subject.

In accordance with the decree of Paul II, that each twenty-fifth year should be a Jubilee, the year 1500 was so kept under Alexander VI, and preparations for it were begun in 1498.

On the 28th March, 1499, the Jubilee Bull was discussed in Consistory, and it was decided that all other indulgences and faculties should be suspended during this year. All the Cardinals gave their assent to this last resolution, which in many places, and especially in Germany, gave considerable dissatisfaction, and on the same day the Bull was published. On the 22nd December a similar Bull was brought out in Rome in Latin and Italian, granting special privileges to the Penitentiary of S. Peter; and all the clergy of the city were invited to the opening of the Jubilee.

The Pope himself performed this ceremony on Christmas Eve, 1499, having taken pains to settle all the details beforehand with his Master of Ceremonies. The ceremonial observed on these occasions was no modern invention, but, as the Bull of indiction expressly says, was founded on ancient rites and full of symbolic meaning. The Pope was carried to S. Peter's arrayed in full pontificals, holding a gilt lighted candle in one hand and blessing the people with the other. All the Cardinals and Prelates who accompanied him also carried lighted candles. The procession stopped in front of the Church, and the Papal Choir began the usual Antiphons. Then the Pope proceeded on foot to the so-called sacred door, where a hammer was put into his hand in token of the power entrusted to him, in virtue of which he "openeth and no man shutteth; shutteth and no man openeth" (Apoc. III. 7). With a few blows of the hammer he made a breach in the wall with which this door is closed, the bricks having already been loosened, and the rest was cleared away by workmen. This part of the ceremony occupied about half an hour. Then the Pope, holding the lighted candle in his left hand, entered first, the rest following, while the *Te Deum* was intoned; after which Vespers were sung immediately.

On the 14th of April the Pope visited the four principal churches in order to gain the Jubilee Indulgence. On Easter Day he celebrated the High Mass in S. Peter's, and afterwards gave the solemn blessing and absolution. According to Burchard, the crowd which assisted at these solemnities numbered 200,000 persons. Although this may be an exaggeration, still it is certain that, in spite of the troubles of the times and the insecurity in Rome itself, the numbers attending this Jubilee were very large. Even in December a vast crowd of pilgrims passed through Florence. A Bull to provide for the safety of the wayfarers on their journey was issued in February; and many precautionary measures were adopted to maintain order in Rome, though they failed to prove completely effectual. Nevertheless visitors still continued to arrive. A pious Camaldolese monk was greatly consoled by the sight of so many thousands who had not perished in Sodom. "God be praised," he exclaimed, "who has brought hither so many witnesses to the Faith". "All the world was in Rome" (*orbis in urbe*), writes Sigismondo de' Conti. No difficulties or dangers seemed capable of checking the inflow of pilgrims, showing how deeply rooted the Faith still was in the hearts of the various nations. Not a few succumbed to the Plague which was raging in many parts of the States of the Church. Those who came by sea were in danger of being captured by pirates, and Alexander stationed a cruiser at Ostia for their protection. By land, the Italians especially suffered much from the hated French troops, nevertheless a great number appeared.

Thousands arrived from Germany, the Netherlands, and Hungary. "Men and women, widows and maidens, monks and nuns," says Trithemius, "came flocking to Rome to gain the Indulgence." In the Confraternity-book of the Hospital of S^{to} Spirito in Rome in the month of January, 1500, not less than 150 Hungarian pilgrims are entered, and in the course of the year they numbered more than 500. Nor were the Italians behindhand. The Neapolitans had a procession of their own, in which the venerated picture of S^{ta} Maria del Carmine was carried, many scourging themselves as they walked till the blood came. The fact that the deaths of foreigners in Rome between Christmas and S. John's Day were estimated at 30,800, shews how large the number of pilgrims must have been.

Amongst the celebrities who made this pilgrimage, the first to be mentioned is Nicholas Copernicus, who arrived in Rome about Easter, and remained there a whole year. He lectured then, but not, as is almost universally supposed, in the capacity of a mathematical professor at the High-school, but as a private teacher, giving the lectures freely, according to the custom of the time. Amongst his hearers were many distinguished and learned men. Michael Angelo and Alessandro Farnese (afterwards Paul III) are supposed to have been amongst them. Of Italian pilgrims one of the most notable was Elizabetta Gonzaga, the wife of Guidobaldo of Urbino. It was a perilous enterprise, as at that time Caesar Borgia was planning his attack on Urbino, but in spite of the dissuasions of her brother she insisted on undertaking it. She went incognita with one or two attendants, and only remained a few days, merely long enough to gain the Indulgence. This lady, and numbers of other women, were only brought to Rome, where they must have seen so much to grieve them, by genuine piety. Even those who, like Sigismondo de' Conti, were far from being hostile to the Borgia, could not conceal their disapproval of Alexander's unrestrained nepotism. Caesar was incessantly asking for money to carry out his enterprises in the Romagna, and his father, without another thought, handed over to him all the receipts from the Jubilee, which, as Sigismondo says, former Popes, such as Nicholas V and Sixtus V, had employed in restoring and adorning the churches of Rome.

Towards the end of the Jubilee year Rome was visited by a great calamity. On the 1st November, an eye-witness writes, after several days of rain the Tiber began to overflow, and the houses along its banks were flooded. In two more days the Vatican was cut off from the rest of the city, and on the 4th the waters rose to such a height that many churches and houses were flooded. This high water lasted fifteen hours, after which the inundation subsided; but the streets were smothered in mud and hardly passable. People consoled themselves as best they could by saying it was not as bad as that of five years before.

In December the Jubilee in Rome was prolonged until the Feast of the Epiphany and extended first to the whole of Italy and then to the whole of Christendom. According to these Bulls, all Christians living at a distance from Rome might, in the following year, gain the great Indulgence without visiting the city, by fulfilling certain conditions and paying a certain sum. The Pope left all moneys collected in Venetian territory in the hands of the Republic for the war against the Turks. The same thing was done in Poland, though there the money was not employed for the purpose specified. In Italy, Caesar had the effrontery to appropriate the Jubilee moneys on his own authority. The

Florentine historian Nardi relates how his emissaries appeared in Florence and demanded the money in the Jubilee chest, "to enable him to pay the soldiers who were plundering us, and it was no small sum." The knowledge that these things were done, goes a good way towards explaining the resistance which those who were commissioned to preach the Jubilee Indulgences met with in Switzerland as well as in Germany. Cardinal Peraudi had to put up with all sorts of harassing restrictions in the empire, and to undertake that all the money there collected should be handed over untouched to the administration for the Crusade.^f

This Cardinal took advantage of his visit to Germany to endeavour to do something for the revival of religion amongst the people, taking up to some extent the work of Nicholas of Cusa. He himself preached to the common people, though he had to employ an interpreter. He devoted himself especially to the reform of the convents, many of which had become sadly relaxed. He also laboured to put down concubinage amongst the clergy, and, on the other hand, to defend their privileges and the liberty of the Church.

If Alexander VI did nothing towards the reform of the Church, yet he was not wanting in earnest care to preserve the purity of her doctrine. His Censorial edict for Germany, dated 1st June, 1501, is a very important document in this respect.

In this, which is the first Papal pronouncement on the printing of books, it is declared that the art of printing is extremely valuable in providing means for the multiplication of approved and useful books; but may be most mischievous if it is abused for the dissemination of bad ones. Therefore measures must be taken to restrain printers from reproducing writings directed against the Catholic Faith or calculated to give scandal to Catholics. The Pope has been credibly informed, that in many places, especially in the Dioceses of Cologne, Mayence, Treves, and Magdeburg, many books and pamphlets have been, and still continue to be, printed, containing various errors and perverted doctrines. "Since" the Bull goes on to say, "we desire to put a stop to so detestable an evil without any delay, in accordance with the duty imposed upon us by our pastoral office, we hereby, in virtue of our apostolical authority, forbid all printers and their assistants residing in the above named Dioceses, under pain of excommunication *latae sententiae*, and a fine to be imposed by the Archbishops of Cologne or their Vicars-General or other officials, and paid into the Apostolic Chancery, from henceforth either to print or cause to be printed, any book, pamphlet, or work of any sort, without first submitting the same to the above named Archbishops or their Vicars-General or officials, and obtaining their express permission, gratuitously given. Further, we lay it upon the Archbishops and their Vicars and officials as a duty of conscience, not to grant this permission without examining the books in question, or causing them to be examined by capable and Catholic persons, so as to prevent anything from being printed that is contrary to the Catholic Faith or ungodly or capable of causing scandal. And because it is not enough to guard against the future printing of bad books without providing that those already printed shall be suppressed, in virtue of our authority we charge the said Archbishops, Vicars and officials to command all printers and other persons residing in their respective Dioceses, whatever may be their dignity, position or condition, within a certain fixed time, to notify all printed books in their possession to the said Archbishops, Vicars or

officials, and without prevarication of any kind, to deliver up whatever books or treatises shall be judged by them to contain anything contrary to the Catholic Faith, or ungodly, or capable of causing scandal, or ill-sounding in any way, equally under pain of excommunication and a fine to be determined as aforesaid.”

In Italy Alexander VI energetically repressed the heretical tendencies which were especially prevalent in Lombardy. On the 31st of January, 1500, two inquisitors were sent by him with letters of recommendation to the Bishop of Olmutz, to proceed against the very numerous Picards and Waldensians in Bohemia and Moravia, who led extremely immoral lives. Ever since the year 1493 Alexander had been taking great pains to win back the Bohemian Utraquists; but these efforts had failed completely. When in the year 1499 some of the more moderate Utraquists showed an inclination to be reconciled with the Church, Alexander had the matter discussed in Consistory and bestowed special powers on the clergy in Prague.

In common with most other Popes of the 15th Century, Alexander VI showed great toleration to the Jews; he protected them both in Rome and Avignon. At the same time, he forbade the Spanish Dominicans to receive converted Jews into their Order.

The indulgence shown to the Jews was, however, in a great measure connected with politics; and the concessions granted by Alexander VI to the Spanish Monarchs in regard to the Inquisition, which went far beyond what was allowable, were equally due to political motives.

The judicial proceedings against the crypto-Jews or Marana in the States of the Church, instituted by Alexander VI in 1493, were also motivated by Spanish influence. When, later, he discovered that they had made their way into the Court he was unsparing in his determination to root them out. Peter d'Aranda, Bishop of Calahorra, and his bastard son, who had obtained the office of Protonotary, were tried in the year 1498, degraded, and imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo. They were accused of denying the doctrines of the Trinity, the sufferings of Christ, Hell, Purgatory, and Indulgences. Forty crypto-Jews in all were brought before the Court, the majority of whom abjured their errors.

Alexander exerted himself not only to maintain the purity of the Christian faith, but also, to provide for its propagation. The magnificent discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards offered a wide field to the Church in this direction. It is consoling to note how much, even under Alexander VI, was done in the way of spreading the knowledge of the Gospel amongst the heathen.

Greenland, being that part of America which was in earliest communication with Europe, was naturally also the first to profit by the pastoral care of the Popes. According to the Scandinavian Sagas, Christianity was introduced into Greenland by S. Olaf II, King of Norway, between A. D. 1015-30. This account is confirmed by a letter of Nicholas V of 22nd September, 1448, addressed to the Bishop of Skalholt and Holar in Iceland.

The occasion of this letter was a request from the Greenlanders to the Pope to send them new priests and a Bishop. In the first decade of the 15th Century the heathen pirates from the neighbouring coast had swooped down upon their country, slaughtered the greater part of the Christian inhabitants and carried off

the rest into slavery. The churches were all destroyed excepting nine, which were situated in remote places, difficult of access. In the course of time some of the captives managed to make their escape and return to their homes, where they now found themselves destitute of all spiritual aids, as the churches that still remained were in places inaccessible to many of them, and now the few priests who were left had all died. Nicholas V desired the Bishops to supply their needs.

His letter, however, does not seem to have reached its destination, and in the reign of Innocent VIII the Greenlanders again addressed Rome. They described their sad plight in touching words. The sea surrounding their inhospitable coast was so blocked with ice that in the course of eighty years no foreign vessel had anchored there. Left without a Bishop and without priests, many had forgotten the Faith of their fathers and relapsed into heathenism. The only relic which remained to those who still cherished it was the corporal with which the last priest had celebrated his last Mass. This was brought out once a year and publicly venerated. In response to this appeal Innocent VIII, at the close of his reign, appointed the zealous and self-sacrificing Benedictine monk Mathias, Bishop of Gardar or Greenland. Alexander in the year 1492 or 1493 confirmed this appointment, and commanded that the Bishop should receive all his nomination papers tax free.

Just at the time that the Bishop of Greenland was receiving his powers at Rome an event had occurred which was destined to make large demands on the pastoral care of the successor of S. Peter: Christopher Columbus had discovered the New World. A hot dispute arose almost immediately between Spain and Portugal as to the possession of the newly-found territory, and the Pope was called upon to mediate between them. The Holy See was still regarded by all Christian Princes and nations as the international arbiter, the highest tribunal for the decision of all national rights and important political questions. Acting on this principle, the Portuguese had turned to the Popes to obtain security in their rights over their discoveries along the West Coast of Africa. It was Calixtus III who, in one of these most useful decisions, granted to Portugal the exclusive rights of trading and founding colonies on the coast between Cape Bojador and Guinea. In the year 1479 Spain had acquiesced in this award at the peace of Alcacevas. No sooner had Columbus, who had been rejected by Portugal, returned from his famous voyage than King Emmanuel set up a claim to the newly-found lands on the ground of this treaty. The relations between the two countries soon became such that war seemed imminent. Justly estimating the importance of obtaining a decision from the Holy See, the astute King Ferdinand at once addressed himself to Rome. His confidential agent there was the Cardinal Bernardino Carvajal, who, in a very short time, achieved a marked success. On the 3rd and 4th May, 1493, Alexander put his signature to three highly important documents. The first, dated 3rd May, confers on Spain an exclusive right of possession over all the islands and countries now discovered by Columbus and all future discoveries of his, on condition of propagating the Christian Faith in them, and provided such lands are not already occupied by a Christian power. Thus Spain received exactly the same rights and privileges as those which had been bestowed upon Portugal for her colonies on the West Coast of Africa. The second, dated the same day, described these rights in detail; while the third, dated 4th May, defined the limits of what we should now call the

spheres of influence of Spain and Portugal. The boundary line between the two powers was drawn from the North to the South Pole, 100 Spanish leagues to the West of the most westerly island of the Azores; all that was East of the line belonged to Portugal, and all that was West of it to Spain. A later document of 28th September, 1493, added some further complementary details, amongst other things, granting all new discoveries, consequent on westerly or southerly voyages, to Spain.

The line of demarcation fixed by Alexander VI, which was pushed 270 leagues further to the West by the Treaty of Tordesillas on 7th June, 1494, formed the basis of all negotiations and agreements between the two great colonising powers in regard to the partition of the New World. The peaceful settlement of a number of thorny boundary questions between Spain and Portugal was entirely due to Papal decisions, and should therefore justly be regarded as one of the glories of the Papacy. Nothing but complete misunderstanding and blind party spirit could turn it into a ground of accusation against Rome.

It is simply absurd to speak of Alexander VI as having given away what did not belong to him, and taken no account of the liberties of the Americans. The word "grant" here signifies nothing more than the confirmation of a title legitimately-acquired; and was understood in that sense by contemporary and later theologians, and by the Spaniards themselves. How little such grants were looked upon as controlling the liberties of even heathen nations is shown by the fact that, in a similar concession to Portugal in 1497 the same word "grant" is used, with the condition appended of the free consent of the inhabitants. If this formula is wanting in the document of 1493, it is merely because it was understood as included in the title itself. In all these deeds the grant refers to the other European Princes and not to the populations of the New World. "These privileges conferred on the monarchs who received them, a right of priority in regard to the territories discovered by them. As nowadays patents are given for inventions and copyrights for literary productions and works of art, so in former times a Papal Bull, enforced by the censures of the Church, protected the laborious discoverer from having the hard won fruits of his toil wrested from him by a stronger hand."

As the choice by the Catholic Sovereigns of Alexander as arbiter was grounded in the first instance on the authority which he possessed as Pope, and their respect for the dignity of the Head of the Church, he was empowered to add to the perfect freedom of his decision, grounded on a full knowledge of the facts, the sanction of that apostolic authority which was their reason for selecting him as umpire in these important matters. He had power, and indeed was bound, to decide with the authority of the Church on these questions, which concerned the avoidance of bloodshed between Christian powers and the propagation of the Christian religion in those newly-discovered countries. All grants were accompanied by the condition that the Spanish monarchs should bind themselves to promote the spread of Christianity.

In the preparations for Columbus' second voyage, both Ferdinand and Isabella and Alexander took pains to provide missionary priests for the evangelisation of the native races. Their choice of a leader for the band of preachers shows with what care the selection was made. A friend of S. Francis of

Paula, the Benedictine Bernard Boyl, was the first apostle of the New World. In a Brief of 25th June, 1493, Alexander VI conferred upon this distinguished and in every way most competent man and his twelve companions, all the powers and privileges which they needed for the success of their holy enterprise. Amongst his companions may be mentioned the celebrated Bartolomeo Las Casas, Fray Jorge, Commander of the Knights of Santiago, and Pedro de Arenas, who is supposed to have said the first Mass ever celebrated on the newly-discovered islands. In the Instruction which Columbus received from the Spanish monarchs for his second and third voyages, the conversion of the new countries to Christianity is put before him as the consideration which should lie nearest to his heart. How rapidly the numbers of religious and converted Indians increased in Espanola (Hayti) may be seen from the fact that in 1501 negotiations were already begun in Rome for the establishment there of a separate hierarchy. At the instigation of the great Cardinal Ximenes in 1502 a number of Franciscan missionaries were sent to America. Alexander equally exerted himself to promote the spread of Christianity in the countries beyond the sea which had been discovered by the Portuguese: their enterprises were regarded in Rome as Crusades for the Propagation of the Faith.

CHAPTER XII.

ALEXANDER VI. AS A PATRON OF ART.

It is with a sense of relief that the historian now turns from all the moral miseries of the reign of Alexander VI to another region in which some things that were really great and beautiful were achieved.

Judging from the magnificent palace which he built for himself, while yet a Cardinal only, we should expect to find in Alexander a liberal patron of Art; and in fact, in spite of all the turmoil and confusion of his reign, his name is immortalised by its association with many splendid monuments in this domain.

The Pope's attention was especially directed to the Trastevere, the northern half of Rome, the Leonine city, which had grown up out of ecclesiastical foundations and the various national hospitals, and become the most important division of the city. Containing the Church of S. Peter and the Castle of St. Angelo, and being, in the 15th Century, the principal seat of the Court and of the Cardinals, it became the central point of the city, and by him was transformed into the handsomest quarter of Rome, a distinction which it retained until the reign of Clement VII. "These were the days of pageants, of ecclesiastical and secular processions and cavalcades, carnival-races, tournaments and bull-fights, the days in which the retinues of Lucrezia and Caesar Borgia were numbered by hundreds when they rode forth in state, and

Cardinals, the scions of royal houses, vied with Princes in the splendour of their equipages when they went to the Vatican, days in which ecclesiastical decorum was trampled under foot by worldly vanity and profane pomp.”

The great increase of street traffic in the Leonine city owing to the numbers of Cardinals, Prelates, and members of the Court who lived there, had already induced Sixtus IV to make a wide street, originally called by his name (now, Borgo St. Angelo), running from the moat of the Castle of St. Angelo to the gate of the Papal Palace. Alexander VI added a second one parallel with this and called it the Via Alessandrina (now Borgo Nuovo and the maiji thoroughfare of this quarter).

This street was planned primarily on account of the Jubilee. In the Consistory of 26th November, 1498, the Pope spoke of the necessity of making room in the streets for the concourse of pilgrims that was to be expected, and desired Cardinal Raffaele Riario, who understood architecture, to confer with other experts in these matters and see what would be required in the way of thoroughfares and bridges. In January 1499, this Cardinal was put in charge of the new approaches to the Vatican. In April the work was begun and carried through so rapidly that the new street was opened with' the Jubilee year on the 24th of December, 1499. Unfortunately, one result of the Via Alessandrina was the complete destruction of an interesting ancient monument, the so-called Meta. Mediaeval antiquarians thought it to be the tomb of Scipio Africanus; some went so far as to say it was that of Romulus. Some time before it had been divested of its marbles and transformed into an outwork of the, Castle of St. Angelo, and now was done away with altogether to make room for the opening of the new street.

The completion of the Via Alessandrina entailed other changes in its neighbourhood, and especially in the portion of the Castle of St. Angelo nearest the bridge.

During the course of his reign Alexander VI made extensive alterations in the Castle. The whole building was completely fortified in the best style of the day with parapets and towers, and surrounded by a wall and ditch. These works were begun immediately after his accession, and hurried on in consequence of the approach of the French, and afterwards prosecuted with energy and more methodically. This is proved by inscriptions as well as by the entries of disbursements in the account-books. Antonio da Sangallo, Giuliano's brother, was the architect and master of works. Substantial changes were made in the edifice, both internally and in its exterior. The old Porta Aenea in the wall of St. Angelo was thought too small and closed up, and a new gate built. The adjoining houses and vineyards were removed and the Piazza enlarged and paved to form the opening of the Via Alessandrina. A strong tower made of blocks of Travertine was erected by Sangallo, to command the bridge, which remained standing till the reign of Urban VIII. The outworks of the Castle were considerably strengthened and the ditch made broader and deeper. It was thought that the main stream of the Tiber was to be diverted so as to flow through it. Sanuto reports in January 1496, that the cost of the works was estimated at 80,000 florins. The Pope frequently inspected them in person. He also secured to himself, by a special agreement, the possession of whatever might be found in the course of the excavations.

This precaution, which bears witness to the growing interest in the relics of antiquity, proved well-judged. In constructing the earthworks the colossal bust of Hadrian which now adorns the Rotunda in the Vatican was disinterred. In the interior a new staircase with shallow steps was put in, and a military magazine, water tanks, and five subterranean dungeons were constructed. Coins were struck to commemorate these works. After the gunpowder explosion of 1497, the upper rooms which had been destroyed, were rebuilt and decorated by Pinturicchio in the antiquated style then in vogue (the so-called grotesque). According to Vasari, the same master painted in a lower tower (probably that adjoining the bridge) a series of pictures representing the principal events in the first years of Alexander's reign and containing many portraits. Unfortunately, not a trace remains of these paintings. The only indications of their existence are to be found in the inscriptions of the frescoes: these were written by the German, Laurent Behaim, who for twenty-two years was Maggiordomo to Rodrigo Borgia; they are in Hartmann Schedel's collection. They included the meeting between Alexander VI and Charles VIII, and the profession of obedience and departure of this monarch.

The prison of Torre di Nona on the left bank of the Tiber was also fortified anew. These two strongholds completely commanded the stream, and, by their artillery, the greater part of the city.

The Arcade, which leads from the Castle of St. Angelo to the Vatican, was not built by Alexander as has been supposed by many; it was already in existence; but the Borgia arms affixed in many places show that it was extensively restored by him. One of these shields over the door of the court of the Swiss Guards bears the date 1492, and shows in what direction the Pope's earliest apprehensions lay. We learn, from a report of the Ferrarese Envoy of 8th April, 1499, that work was going on in the Arcade at that date.

A Bull of the year 1500 bestowed certain privileges on all who assisted in building the houses in the new Via Alessandrina.

The Porta Settimiana which closes the Via della Lungara was rebuilt and has remained unaltered up to the present day. Cardinal Juan Lopez de Valencia, a former secretary of Alexander, was commissioned by him to erect a fountain in the Piazza of S^{ta} Maria in Trastevere. That of Innocent VIII in the Piazza of S. Peter's, which had also been newly paved, was adorned by Alexander with four gilt Bulls, the Borgia arms. Nor was the Vatican itself and its surroundings neglected. The Loggia used for the Papal Blessing was completed in the form depicted in Raphael's fresco of the "Fire in the Borgo." Within the Vatican a large number of nobly conceived works were executed. The architectural designs of Nicholas V were carried out and the decoration of the Pope's private apartments was entrusted to Pinturicchio, who had already before that time been painting in Rome. Till quite lately these rooms had been used for keeping the engravings in the Vatican Library and were only accessible to a few privileged persons. In the year 1889 the present Pope ordered this part of the Vatican to be restored, and when this is completed it is to be turned into a museum for objects of art of the mediaeval and Renaissance periods.

The dwelling rooms of Alexander VI (Appartamento Borgia) are on the ground floor of that part of the Vatican which lies between the Court of the Belvedere and the little Cortile del Papagallo. This portion was built by Nicholas

III, and restored and enlarged by Nicholas V. It contains six rooms, the first is a spacious hall into which three nearly square smaller chambers open; these apartments are exactly under the famous Stanze which contain Raphael's frescoes. The new part built by Alexander consists of a square tower (Torre Borgia), the upper storey of which, where the frescoes in memory of Pius IX now are, was the Pope's private chapel, while the lower floor, divided into two rooms and connected with the older part by a short staircase, closes the Appartamento Borgia on that side.

Almost immediately after his accession Alexander set to work at the renovation of these rooms and the erection of the Tower. Their decoration was intrusted to Pinturicchio. He accomplished his task with a celerity which could only be explained by supposing that he largely availed himself of the help of others. A close inspection of the paintings makes it only too clear that this was the case. Pinturicchio by no means overworked himself; in fact in 1494 he slipped away to Orvieto and had to be recalled by a Brief from the Pope! However, both in their drawing and still more in their composition, the greater part of these paintings are certainly his work. "As a whole the work should justly be ascribed to him, and deserves the highest praise for the evenness of its execution, and the careful schooling and sagacious selection in regard to the parts assigned to them, of the pupils whom he evidently employed."

The large hall through which the apartments were entered was used as an audience chamber, and called, on account of the portraits which it contained, the hall of the Popes. It was here that in the Summer of 1500 Alexander so narrowly escaped being killed by the falling in of the roof. Pinturicchio's share in the paintings in this hall cannot be ascertained, as Leo X caused the whole of it to be decorated afresh in the style of the antique frescoes in the baths of Titus, by two pupils of Raphael, Perino del Vaga and Giovanni da Udine.

The three rooms which open into the Sala dei Papi remain in all essentials exactly as they were in the time of Alexander. Each of these chambers is lighted by one window looking into the Belvedere Court. The ceiling, consisting of a double-cross vault, was intersected lengthwise by a broad arch resting on two pillars, thus forming two spans on the side-walls bounded by pointed arches; and on those facing, and containing the window, lunettes double the breadth of these. On these spans, paintings were executed under Pinturicchio's direction, and all the rest was richly decorated with gold and stucco-work in which the Borgia arms, the Bull, repeatedly appears.

The subjects of the pictures in the first of these rooms are exclusively religious, taken from the lives of Christ and of the Blessed Virgin. In the arches of the ceiling the Kings David and Solomon, and the prophets Isaias, Jeremias, Malachias, Sophonias, Micheas, and Joel are represented in half-length figures. The most striking of the wall-paintings is the one of the Resurrection of Christ, before whom a Pope, unmistakeably Alexander VI, kneels in adoration, in full pontificals, but bare-headed, with the Tiara on the ground beside him. This admirable portrait and that of another ecclesiastic in the picture of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, are evidently from the hand of Pinturicchio himself, while the other paintings were probably executed by his pupils.

This picture is not only highly interesting as a portrait of the Pope in his prime, as his contemporaries knew him, but is noteworthy also because it

explodes a story which, first set afloat by Vasari, has been repeated again and again. Vasari says that Pinturicchio painted over the door of one of the rooms in the palace a picture of the Virgin Mary, which was a portrait of Giulia Farnese, and in the same painting a likeness of Pope Alexander adoring her. In reality the only picture in which Alexander appears is that of the Resurrection of our Lord. There is a representation of the Madonna, but it is in the next room, and the Pope is not in it, nor is there any other picture in any of the rooms which corresponds with Vasari's description. Evidently he had never been inside the Appartamento Borgia.

The next room contains scenes taken from the lives of S. Catherine of Alexandria, S. Antony, and S. Sebastian, a picture of the Visitation and the story of Susanna. On the ceiling there are curious mythological representations of the history of Osiris and Io, probably plays on the Borgia arms, which a study of the poems of the Humanists of Alexander's Court might elucidate. It is overloaded with small figures and arabesques in stucco gilt, but many of the details are strikingly beautiful, and the pomp and richness of the decorations in this room have caused it to be looked upon as the masterpiece of the whole. The third room, like the first, is simpler. In the lunettes, personifications of Mathematics, Dialectics, Jurisprudence, Geometry, Arithmetic, Music, and Astronomy are painted, each accompanied by charming subsidiary figures. This room was probably the Pope's study. Perugino is supposed to have had a hand in the painting of the frescoes. From this room the chambers in the Borgia Tower are reached by a marble staircase. According to the inscription the Tower was finished in 1494. The first room contains the figures of the twelve apostles and twelve prophets; each carries a scroll on which a sentence from the Creed or one of the prophets is written. The last, which is almost square and was probably the Pope's bed-chamber, has mythological representations of the planets on the ceiling. In each of the twelve lunettes a prophet and a sybil converse together. As in the former chamber, they carry scrolls containing prophecies of the kingdom of Christ.

In spite of the many faults that may be found with the separate paintings, the decoration of the Appartamento Borgia is, as a whole, an eminently harmonious and pleasing work.

Pinturicchio left Rome on account of the disturbances there caused by the invasion of Charles VIII; later he returned and painted the series of historical pictures of the events of the Pope's life in the Castle of St. Angelo, which have already been mentioned, and executed the decorations in the grotesque style there which have also been mentioned before, and by which this new form of Art was introduced in Rome. This bright and fantastic style of Art was especially congenial to the taste of the age of Alexander VI. The serious and sculptural manner which belongs to fresco painting jarred on the sensuous frivolous habit of mind of the Borgia and their courtiers, in whom the aesthetic sense was so largely bound up with vanity and display. Continued development in this direction would have been fatal to Art. Thus it was most fortunate that the stern influence of Julius II. recalled the painters whom he employed to a severer style.

In Rome itself Alexander completed the roof of S^{ta} Maria Maggiore which had been commenced by his uncle Calixtus. Tradition says that the first gold brought from America was used for the decoration of the panels there, which are

the most charming of all Roman works of this kind. In April 1498, the Pope visited this church to inspect the work on its completion.

Restorations were executed by this Pope in S. Peter's, in his own former titular Church of S. Niccolo in Carcere, in that of the SS. Apostoli and on the city walls. Gratitude is due to Alexander for the rebuilding of the University ; in its present form it dates from Alexander VII, who belonged to the Chigi family.

For jewellery and metal work but little was done by Alexander beyond the regular necessary orders for the golden roses, swords of honour for princes, chalices for churches, and medals. Beyond these the only large order for goldsmith's work was that for the statues of the twelve Apostles in silver gilt, which were destined for his private chapel. Outside as well as inside Rome, Alexander did a great deal in the way of building. He spent 9000 ducats on the Castle of Subiaco, and extensive works were executed in the citadels of Tivoli, Civitella, Civit  Castellana, Nepi, Osimo, and Civit  Vecchia; the erection of a tower at Viterbo, and of dwelling-rooms in the citadel at Ostia. He also contributed to the building of the Cathedral at , Perugia, and helped in the erection of the shrine of S. Anthony at Padua.

The architectural energy displayed by Alexander had a stimulating effect upon the rest of Rome. New churches and palaces arose in all directions and quite changed the aspect of the city. The two greatest patrons of Art were the wealthy Cardinals Riario and Giuliano della Rovere. The latter built a palace for himself close to S. Pietro in Vincoli; his architect was Giuliano da Sangallo. Riario's palace, the famous Cancellaria which had been begun by Alexander VI, was finished in his reign. This magnificent building, with its exquisite pillared halls, was for a long time attributed to Bramante. Recent research has shewn that this view is untenable. The Cancellaria is, on the contrary, one of the last productions of the Tuscan style which was superseded by Bramante. For the same reason Cardinal Castellesi's splendid palace in the Borgo (now Giraud—Torlonia), the architecture of which is similar in character, cannot be the work of the author of the revival of the classical style in Rome.

Bramante came to Rome in the year 1499, and is supposed to have been employed by Alexander VI in the erection of the fountains mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. The remains of the ancient city which he then saw, inspired him with such enthusiastic admiration that, though already in his fifty-sixth year, he succeeded in an amazingly short time, in making the spirit of classical architecture completely his own. The result appeared in the famous Tempietto in the court of the Franciscan Convent near S. Pietro in Montorio, erected by him for Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain in commemoration of the martyrdom of the Prince of the Apostles. It was finished in the year 1502, and marks the change from the Lombard to the Roman Bramante, and the division between the arts of two centuries. It was no longer a mere imitation of classical forms, but a new creation so completely in the spirit of the old architecture that nothing in the building indicated its recent origin, and it was studied and measured by the architects of the day as though it had been a newly-discovered monument of classical times.

There are equally no grounds for connecting Bramante's name with the Church of the German Hospice of S^{ta} Maria dell' Anima, the foundation-stone of which was laid by Matthaeus Lang, the Ambassador of the German Emperor, on

the nth of April, 1500. The church was consecrated in 1511, and, according to the inscription, the façade completed in 1514. The somewhat Gothic interior must undoubtedly be ascribed to a German architect.

The list of churches erected in the reign of Alexander VI includes, besides the German National Church, that of SS. Trinita de' Monti on the Pincio, founded by Cardinal Briçonnet at the instigation of S. Francis of Paula, S. Rocco on the quay of the Ripetta, S. Maria di Loreto, a Confraternity-church not completed until the 17th Century, the Church of the Guild of the Bakers of Rome, and S^{ta} Maria di Monserrato, the Spanish National Church

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE HISTORY OF THE POPES
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